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THE
ORATIONS
AND
EPISTLES
OF
ISOCRATES.

Translated from the GREEK

By Mr. JOSHUA DINSDALE.

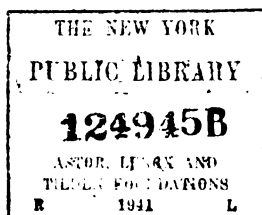
And Revised by the Rev. Mr. YOUNG.

*Ecce tibi ISOCRATES! è cujus ludo tanquam ex
equo Trojano innumeri principes exierunt.*

Cic. de Oratore.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. WALLER, opposite *Fetter-lane, Fleet-street.*
MDCCLII.



P R E F A C E.

IFIRST entertained the thought of translating this author's remains, because I believed his writings the properest of any orator's for the instruction of youth. There is a candour, lenity, and magnanimity every-where visible in his orations which are left us. He inculcates virtue in the simplest and sublimest manner, by the clearest precepts, and noblest examples. In fine, the orator and philosopher seem to rival each other in his works. Patriotism and philanthropy shine in their brightest blaze; and if it was possible, by exhortation, to recover a depraved, sinking people from ruin to virtue and courage, his magnanimous, moral eloquence would have done it; but to effect such a wonderful change, a generous-minded king, or an united people, must, with a noble ardor, stir up all to the pursuit of what is laudable. The body politic alone can preserve alive languishing popular virtue: all must awaken from the lethargy.

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of avarice and voluptuousness to recover a country's happiness and glory. In a word, there must be a national inspiration of the love of virtue and all true learning. However, our author has aimed nobly, as a private person, to attain the glorious end. What a distinguished love of his country, and the interests of virtue, is there throughout his works! To praise him as I ought, I must repeat all those beauties which his own best painter could not describe, and which all bemoil

ALL will agree who think rationally, that eloquence should be founded on solid reasons, and inflamed with a noble zeal for virtue. These qualities seem to have been the claim of few popular speakers. Perhaps there is a more evident love of virtue and philosophy in this author, than either Demosthenes or Cicero. His courage, tho' calm and sedate, seems more resolute; and he certainly effected more in a retired way, by his exhortations to Philip of Macedon, towards the destruction of the Persian tyranny, than all the Athenian haranguers, who were all, in a degree, subject to bribery. Read his writings, and you perceive with what flame of soul he excites his countrymen to oppose the Barbarians; how he endeavours to rekindle their ardor for glory, and not only make them emulate their neighbours' virtues, but



P. R O E F A C E.

surpass them! You will see him exhort them to union; rouse them up to assist their friends; to study the arts of war as well as peace; to call forth all their natural excellence, remember their ancestors power and glory, and not be a disgrace to such a glorious inheritance; but render the name of Greece as much feared and respected as it formerly was, after the defeat of all the Persian forces. This, he tells them, nothing but heroic virtue can effect. You must, says he, be public-spirited, lovers of true glory, of generosity to your fellow-citizens, of magnificence, of hospitality, and possess all the virtues of your ancestors, who have purchased immortal glory in all histories. Self-interestedness or cowardice, never gained true glory, or enjoyed any long time reputation and liberty. It is not due but to heroic philanthropy: such was that of Codrus, of Miltiades, of Leonidas, of Themistocles, of Conon, and all the heroes of antiquity.

As for his stile, all is smooth, all harmonious in Isocrates; there are no harsh elisions, or meeting of rough consonants; and he studies music and sweetness so much, that there sometimes seems a kind of langour in his periods, representing the conversation of tender lovers.

As

P R E F A C E.

As for the translation, let the reader accept this apology, that I neither designed it too literal or paraphrastical. A translation should be animated, which it cannot be without freedom: you otherwise have but the dead spirit of an author, especially if a classic. What a pitiful appearance does Virgil or Horace make in flat, unfigurative prose? And the same may be said, if I mistake not, of all too close translations. A literal translation is all that is expected from a raw, unexperienced school-boy; but is that the true sense of a polite author? So far from it, that it is a mere travestie. I therefore have endeavoured to observe a medium; but the reader, who has sufficient experience of the Greek, must decide of the performance.

LET me subjoin the character of our orator, drawn by Cicero and Dionysius Halicarnassens, and I shall conclude this preface.

CICERO IN BRUTO.

“ AFTER these appeared Isocrates, whose
“ house was, as it were, the public school of
“ all Greece, and the seat of eloquence. He
“ was a great orator, and perfect teacher, tho’
“ he sought not the glory of the bar, but gain-
“ ed



P R E F A C E.

“ ed that fame within his own house, which,
“ in my opinion, none of those who followed
“ him, could arrive at. He composed many
“ noble orations, and both excelled the anci-
“ ents in other respects, and in this particu-
“ larly, that he first remarked, that even in
“ prose, (tho’ verification should be avoided)
“ there should be observed numbers and har-
“ mony. If this happened in the writings of
“ any before him, it happened by chance, and
“ not by art, design, or regular method.”

DIONYSII HALICARNASSEI judicium de ISOCRATE.

“ ISOCRATES deserves distinguished praise
“ for his noble orations, and particularly for
“ the grandeur, beauty, and sublimity of the
“ subjects. They are not only capable of im-
“ proving others in eloquence, but of quali-
“ fying them, by the most virtuous precepts,
“ to govern well a private family, or a king-
“ dom. I repeat it, the most virtuous rules of
“ life are found in Isocrates; and, in my opi-
“ nion, if any would embrace that true philo-
“ sophy, which consists not in speculation
“ only, but in suitable actions; nor confines
“ felicity to itself, I would counsel such a one,
“ never

P R E F A C E.

"never to omit a day without studying this
"philosophic orator."

As for the particulars of his life, they are but few and common, as is usual in respect of men of literature; exclusive of this, that he was more intimate with all the great men of his time, than, perhaps, any other learned man or philosopher, and enjoyed the pleasure of glory, study, and books, to an extreme old age.

I MUST now acknowledge the kind assistance I have had from a very learned, ingenious gentleman, in several difficult and obscure parts of this author.

THE



THE FIRST
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES.
TO
DEMONICUS.



The S U B J E C T.

THE design of this oration is to persuade all noble youths to love and practise exalted virtues; that they may pass their lives not only with satisfaction and pleasure, but also with honour and glory: wherefore these delightful and useful precepts ought to be studied by all youthful ingenuous minds, as the solid basis of reputation and a happy life; for none can ever repent themselves of such an application. Eloquence and philosophy, perhaps, were never more advantageously united than in this celebrated author's writings.



THE FIRST
ORATION of ISOCRATES.
TO
DEMONICUS.

THERE is a great difference in the sentiments of the good and bad, in regard to the œconomy of life ; but in nothing more than in that which regards friendship. The bad shew kindness to their friends only when present ; but the good love them, though absent. A little time will put an end to the pretended friendships of the former ; but the friendships of the latter continue and shine through life. I therefore, out of conviction that noble minds, which are desirous of immortal glory, ought to imitate, not the examples of the bad, but the patterns of heroic virtue, send you this essay, as a proof of my friendship, and, at the same time, of my gratitude, to Hipponicus, your generous father ; for heirs have a right not only to their fathers estates,

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but

but to their friendships *. Fortune, and the circumstance of time, favour my intention ; for you admire learning, and I make profession of instructing others: in a word, you study philosophy, and I direct others in it. Those who write the rules of eloquence, and exhort to industry, and the acquisition of knowledge, do a noble action, yet reach not the perfection of philosophy : but those who inform youth, not of the methods only of attaining eloquence, and polishing their reason, but likewise of cultivating their manners, and acquiring real virtue, devote their labours to much more glorious purposes, in the same proportion as it is more excellent to be a good and wise man, than learned and eloquent. Wherefore, omitting persuasion, and only laying down the solid precepts of life, I design to shew you what youth ought to emulate and practise, and what to despise and avoid ; what company they ought to chuse, and how to direct the whole course of their lives: for they alone, who have been careful of observing such rules from the first dawn of reason, have attained the highest point of human glory and virtue, which is a felicity above all other happiness that mortals can aim at. A short time destroys beauty, or sickness withers it: riches are rather the instruments of vice, than the friends of virtue, as they give loose reins to luxury, and precipitate youth into shameful pleasures, and irretrievable dishonour. Great strength has, indeed, with prudence, benefited the possessors ; but, without it, has often been their total ruin ; has invigorated the body, but darkened and enervated the mind. It is virtue alone, which, if once not only rooted, but brought to perfection in the

* This is a noble philosophic sentiment, and worthy of our author. It shews, that children ought to emulate particularly, their parents virtues, and defer to their judgment in the choice of their friends. Who Demonius was, is not clearly known ; but he must have been a person of great distinction.

mind,

mind, bears the fruit of glory in old age †. It is more profitable than riches, and more excellent than nobility; making what is impossible to others natural and easy to its possessors; filling them with generous, exalted sentiments, and refining their minds to the last degree of excellence and glory. What alarms and terrifies others, it meets with intrepidity and courage, and judges cowardice and mean-spiritedness infamy and disgrace; but labour and courage, immortal merit and reputation. An heroic example of this is the life of Hercules and Theseus, the glory of whose actions have consecrated them to eternal fame; for all future duration will not be able to obscure the brightness of their magnanimity and virtues. But you, by reflecting only on your father's excellencies, have a noble pattern of my doctrine; for he had an exalted idea of virtue, and did not judge his nature unworthy of glory: he perfected his bodily qualities by temperance and exercise, and his mind by study and virtue: his courage was consummate: he loved not riches immoderately; but, with a noble and generous œconomy, enjoyed his affluence as a mortal; but, with prudence, avoided profusion, as if he was to be immortal. Nor did he live with such parsimony as to betray an excessive love or admiration of riches; but was a lover, in his house, of splendor and magnificence, and bountiful to all his friends, but especially those of merit, who needed it most. He was not like some weak persons, who yield to importunity, and neglect modest merit; and he valued those who loved him, and imitated his virtues, rather than such as were related to him by blood; for he judged, that nature ought to have a greater share in our friendships than law; and that a similitude of manners was a closer connection than that of blood; and choice, a stronger tie than that of nature. The whole time would be spent, did I enumerate all his virtues

† This encomium of virtue must be allowed just by every reasonable man; for, if there be an excellency in human nature, it is evident, by the effects, that it is virtue.

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and generous actions; but I shall more at large do justice to them upon another occasion; and have only mentioned Hipponicus, as an incentive to you his son in the roll of heroic glory †: for you ought to esteem your father's example, in good, the most obligatory law, and be fired with zeal to emulate his virtues. It is a shame, that painters should express the beauties of different creatures, and children not imitate their father's praise-worthy qualities. Believe me, it less becomes the Athletes to endeavour to equal their antagonists, than it does a son to endeavour not to fall short of his father's glory; but this is impossible, if youth is not improved by all the noble instructions of philosophy, as well as example. The body, indeed, is rendered nervous by labour and exercise; but the soul by reason and good precepts: wherefore it is my design to lay down an abridgement of such instructions, or general rules, whereby you may acquire the reputation of virtue, and be rendered glorious to posterity.

IN the first place, shew your gratitude to heaven, not only by sacrifices, but a steady veracity, and sacred observance of all leagues and oaths. The first shews, indeed, splendor and gratitude; but the latter only a truly noble, god-like mind. Worship GOD sincerely always in your heart, and publicly with your country; for, by doing so, you will have the reputation of a religious man, and a lover of your native laws. Be such towards your parents, as you would hope your children should be towards you. Use exercise rather for health, than strength, or beauty. You will best attain this, if you leave it off before nature is fatigued. Love not immoderate laughter, nor bold, injurious language: the one is foolish, and the other has a symptom of madness. Think it a disgrace to mention what is modest in the action. Be not austere and gloomy, but serene

† A young person, who is insensible to this reasoning, must have a corrupt, low-minded disposition.

and

and grave: by the first behaviour you would be thought proud; but, by the latter, will be esteemed a man of worth and credit. Believe decency of dress, modesty, justice, and temperance, the true ornaments of mankind; for in these virtues consists the true nobility of human nature*. Never imagine you can conceal a bad action; for, though you hide it from others, your own conscience will condemn you. Be good, and have your own approbation. Fear God, honour your parents, reverence your friends, obey the laws, pursue virtuous pleasures: virtuous pleasure is the purest source of happiness; and vicious pleasure a gulf of infamy and disgrace. Avoid public reproaches and suspicions, though they be ill-grounded; for the generality of men know no criterion of truth, but are led by popular opinion. Be persuaded that every base action will at last take air. You will gain the most lasting praise, if you are never known to do what you blame in others. What you have learned, preserve fresh in your memory by meditation; and what you are ignorant of, acquaint yourself with by the study of arts and sciences. It is the duty of every man to improve his knowledge, will, and understanding. It is as great a shame to hear rational, instructive discourse, and not be attentive to it, as to reject with scorn a valuable gift. Employ your leisure in good company and instruction; for, by this means, you will make familiar to you the noble and arduous inventions of others. Think philosophy a greater treasure than immense sums of gold: for gold is apt to take wings, and fly away; but philosophy and virtue are unalienable possessions. Wisdom is the only immortal inheritance. Look upon it as no hardship to travel into a foreign country to learn what is conducive to heroic virtue;

* This is truly a Socratic doctrine, which Cicero has inserted in his Offices. The great Athenian philosopher looked upon man's conscience, as it were a presence-room of the Deity, where every man was forced to do himself justice for his concealed crimes.

for it is a disgrace to human nature to see merchants cross such vast seas in hope of gain, and young noblemen not bear land-travels for the bettering and perfecting their minds. Love easy, free conversation, and be affable to all. It is the duty of civility to speak kindly to visitors; and the duty of affability to offend no one in conversation. Make your manners and silence your greatest reproofs. Be, as I have said, candid and free to all; but familiar only with the sincere and good: for, by so doing, you will offend none, and have the choicest friends. Be not too frequently in the same company, nor speak frequently of the same things; for there is a satiety of all things. Use voluntary exercise, that, upon occasion, you may bear involuntary labour. Gain true learning, that you may not be shamefully imposed upon by pretenders to it. What you would think it a disgrace to be excelled in, make yourself betimes a master of. Be not overcome by infamous passions, avarice, anger, voluptuousness, melancholy, and despair. You will overcome covetousness, if you think equity and justice the noblest treasure. You will overcome anger, if you dispose yourself to be such towards those who commit faults, as you would desire others to be towards you in a like case. You will overcome base pleasures, by thinking it a disgrace to command your domestics, and, at the same time, be a slave to sensual appetites. You will overcome dispondency and despair, by considering the misfortunes of other men, and remembering that you yourself are but a man. When a secret is committed to you, keep it more religiously than you would gold and silver entrusted with you; for a good man's word should be more sacred than another's oath. Think it as much your duty to be distrustful of the bad, as to trust the good. Never reveal to any your secret, unless it should prove as beneficial to others to conceal it, as to yourself not to have it known. Swear, if required, upon two occasions; either to free yourself from an ignominious accusation, or save your friends from danger or injustice. For the

the sake of your own money, never call God to witness your words, though you should swear truly : some will else either imagine you foresworn, or a slave to interest. Admit no one into your friendship, before you have inquired diligently how he has behaved to his former friends ; for you may expect, that he will behave to you as he has to them. Contract friendship slowly ; but once a friend, endeavour to be always so. The infamy is near the same to have no friend at all, and frequently to change your companions. Neither try your friends at your own hazard, nor be ignorant of their sincerity : you will best effect this, if, when you are not in necessity, you pretend to be so. Trust them with what is not, as if it was a secret of moment ; for, though mistaken in your notion of their probity, you will not be hurt : but, should you not be deceived, you will the better know their manners. Judge of your friends in the misfortunes of your life, and their voluntary sharing of danger : for we prove gold by fire ; but we know best our real friends in distress and affliction. You will behave in the most generous manner towards your friends, if you do not wait for their prayers ; but, by a spontaneous assistance, prevent their desires in their necessities. Think it the same disgrace to be exceeded by your friends in kind actions, as to be trampled upon by the injustice of your enemies. Esteem those friends that grieve not only for your adversity, but do not envy you in your prosperity : for many mourn for their friends who are in affliction ; but look not with an easy eye upon their happiness or promotion. Speak honourably of your absent to your present friends, that they may believe you will not set light by them in their absence. Be elegant and genteel in your dress, but not tawdry and whimsical. Value not yourself upon the greatness of your riches, but the rational use of them. Despise those who endeavour to heap up wealth, but are not qualified to enjoy it : they act much the same as that person would do, who should purchase a fine horse, though he knew not how to ride

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ride him. Make your estate a real good, as well as a possession. Riches are of service to those who understand how to make a right use of them ; but a mere possession to those, who have not souls adequate to the wise and just employment of them. Have a due value for the goods of fortune, on two accounts : the first, that you may be able to bear a great loss, and assist a worthy unhappy friend. In all other respects, love not violently, but moderately, the possession of riches. Be satisfied with the present ; but have in view what is better. Never object to any one his misfortune ; for chance is common, and futurity unknown. Act kindly by the good ; for gratitude due from a good man is a noble treasure. If you do good to the bad, you will act just as wisely as if you fed other mens dogs ; for they bark at their benefactors equally as at strangers ; and wicked men hurt their friends as readily as their enemies. Detest flatterers, as you would deceivers ; for both of them, if once believed, will prejudice those who put confidence in them. If you prefer such friends as flatter your vices, you will not find such as are willing, for your good, to incur your displeasure. Be affable to those you meet, and not grave or austere : for even slaves can hardly bear with superciliousness and pride ; but all men love sweetness of manners and affability. You will be affable and polite, if you shun dispute, are not morose, nor quarrelsome on slight occasions, not hastily opposing your friends in anger, though they should happen to be unjustly so with you ; but, while they are under the influence of passion, give way to them, and, when cooled, with reason reprehend them. Be not serious in jocular affairs, nor delight in rallery, when the business is of moment ; for what is out of season is never pleasing. Do not lose the grace of a kind action, which many persons do, by assisting their friends unwillingly. Be not subject to accuse others ; for it is odious : nor set yourself up as a censor ; for it is apt to provoke men to anger. Above all things, avoid conversation over liquor ; but if you happen
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to fall into such company, arise before you are intoxicated: for when the understanding is disordered by wine, it is like a chariot which has flung off its driver; for a chariot wanting a directing hand, is hurried without order; and the soul is full of error and deception, when the mind is darkened with strong liquors. Aim at immortality by your heroic actions; but let your conduct be so prudent, that you never become forgetful of mortality. Judge learning in proportion more excellent than ignorance, as all other vices almost are attended with some gain; but ignorance is productive of nothing but detriment. Of those you would make your friends, speak frequently some good to such as will tell them again: for praise is the beginning of friendship, as dispraise is of enmity. If you consult about an affair of importance, judge by the past of what may happen; for what is obscure is best cleared up by what is manifest. Consult leisurely, but execute speedily, your determinations. Believe the greatest happiness we can expect from God, to be good success; but the highest we can from ourselves, to be good counsel. If you are ashamed to speak openly about an affair, but think proper to know some friend's opinion, introduce your discourse as about another's affair; by that means you will perceive his sentiment, and will not discover yourself. When you design to ask any one's advice, consider how he has acted in his own behalf: for he who has judged indiscreetly about what concerned himself, will never advise prudently about the affair of another. You will be the more excited to make consultation, if you consider diligently the mischiefs of precipitation. For we have the justest value of health, when we remember the pains that attend sickness. Imitate the manners of kings, and follow their customs. By this means, you will seem to approve of, and emulate them; so that, by such behaviour, you will be more venerable to the people, and be secure of the friendship of potentates. Obey the laws of kings; but think their own examples to be the strongest law. For as a person who lives in a re-
public,

public, is obliged to humour the people, so he who lives under a monarchy, ought to admire and venerate the king. In a public post, use no vicious under-minister; for all will attribute to you his faults. Leave public employments not the richer, but the more glorious: for the love and praise of the public is preferable to accumulated riches. Neither assist or abet any bad action; for you will be thought to do the same things which you approve of in others. Acquire the power of acting freely; but always direct your actions by equity, to the end you may be thought to love justice, not out of weakness, but freedom and goodness. Chuse rather honest poverty than dishonest riches: for justice is far better than riches, as the latter only profits the possessor in life, but the first crowns the very dead with fame and glory. Riches may be the portion of the bad; but equity is the property of the good, and an impossible acquisition to the vicious. Never emulate those who gain by injustice; but rather admire those who suffer prejudice for justice: for should the good excel the bad in nothing else, they certainly have the better of them by good hope in futurity. Be careful of whatever may conduce to a happy life, but especially improve the solidity of your understanding: for a good mind is the greatest treasure in a man's body. Endeavour to habituate yourself to labour; but let the exercise of your mind be wisdom, that your body may be able to execute what you judge proper, and your understanding see what is profitable. Whatever you design to say, examine in your mind well first; for many persons tongues run before their judgment. Think nothing constant in human life; for, by this means, you will not be too elate in prosperity, nor dejected in adversity. Think there are two occasions of speaking, either about what you perfectly know, or about what is necessary you should speak of; for, in these two cases alone, speaking is better than silence: in others, it is more prudent to be silent than to speak. Take a just pleasure in prosperity, and grieve not immoderately in adversity,
but

but do not so in either case openly to all: for it is absurd to hide our substance in our houses, and let our minds be visible to strangers. Avoid dispraise more than danger: the end of life ought justly to be formidable to the bad; but infamy only ought to be so to the good. Above all, endeavour to live in security; but if you should be obliged to run the hazard of war, seek life and safety with honour, but never with disgrace. Providence has determined all shall die; but nature and equity allows none but the good and brave to do so with honour. Wonder not that many things I have said, agree not with your present age: I am not ignorant they do not; I chose by this treatise to give both proper advice at this time, and leave a rule for the time to come. You will easily now understand the utility of these precepts; but you will not always find a benevolent counsellor. Wherefore, that you might not stand in need of asking the rest from another, but find it in this essay, as in a store-house, I thought I ought to omit nothing of those things I have to advise you. I should return heaven my sincerest thanks, if I am not deceived in the opinion I have of you. We still find most men are not pleased with the best, but with the most luscious things, and will rather chuse those friends who participate in their vices, than such as give them good counsel. But I judge otherwise of you by this proof, that you have hitherto been diligent in all other learning: for it is natural, that he who has always commanded himself in what he knew to be good, should listen willingly to another's just exhortation. Above all, you will particularly stir up yourself to the emulation of virtue, if you persuade yourself, that the purest pleasures spring from it alone: for, by sloth and luxury, sorrow soon follows false pleasure; but from labour to attain virtue, from temperance and regularity of life, flow the most sensible and lasting joys. In the first case, we have a transient pleasure, but are afterwards pained: in the other, after industry comes solid satisfaction. And in all our actions we have not so lively

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The S U B J E C T.

AS the former Oration laid down the most generous rules of private life, so this contains directions for a wise and happy government. Nothing can be imagined nobler than the design, nor any thing almost executed in a more masterly manner. Here are the out-lines, if I may use the expression, of that perfect example of a wise merciful government, which is justly admired in TELEMACHUS: in fine, all the maxims of royal benevolence, and principles of universal philanthropy, are to be found here, as in a well-disposed, exhaustless magazine of the maxims, whereby to render flourishing and prosperous a whole kingdom. How happy would all nations be, did all kings know and practice these elevated sentiments!



THE
ORATION of ISOCRATES
TO
NICOCLES:
UPON THE WISE
MANAGEMENT of a KINGDOM.

AS for those, O Nicocles, who present kings with rich vestments, silver, ingeniously wrought gold, or any thing of such a nature, as they are indigent of themselves, and you abound in; such, I say, seem to me evidently to have lucre and not generosity in view, and more artfully to gain their end, than those who make profession of traffick: but I judged this discourse the noblest and most useful gift in my power, worthy of my profession to offer, and you to receive, if I be but so happy as to define by the study of what actions, or avoiding of others, you may the most wisely govern your city and kingdom. Private persons have many opportunities of instruction; and a particular help towards it is, that they do not live luxuriously, but are obliged to daily industry for the support of their families. They have likewise the restraint of the laws, by which they are governed: and still a more singular advantage is, that all have the liberty of speaking freely to them, and their friends may both correct them boldly,
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and their enemies reproach them sharply, for their vices. Add further, that several of the antientest poets have left accurate rules for the conduct of their lives: so that, by all these assistances, they may easily become better *. But kings enjoy no advantages of this nature ; and though they, of all men, stand most in need of true wisdom, because they are in so high an elevation of power, yet they pass often-times their lives without ever meeting with proper instructors. The greatest part of mankind cannot approach them ; and those who do, frequently speak with flattery. And tho' kings are masters of the greatest riches, and are possessed of the greatest power ; yet, by the mismanagement of these high prerogatives, they have been the cause that many have doubted, whether the private life of such as live with prudence and moderation, is not preferable to the splendor and elevation of kings †. When, indeed, the generality of mankind consider only the honours, riches, and power of monarchs, they are apt to think them demigods : but when they make reflection again upon the fears and dangers which attend regality, and looking back into history, find several monarchs to have been slain by those who least should have done so, others driven to commit injustices against their most intimate friends, and some of them subjected to both these calamities, men are persuaded, that any humble condition is rather eligible, than to be, upon these terms, the sole

* This is too frequently verified ; for where are to be found those heroic, courageous persons, who are the proper instructors of kings, who are adequate to their charge, and have that equity of mind as to scorn flattery, or the infusing into the breasts of potentates ungenerous, self-interested, or tyrannous sentiments ? A man who makes, by his instruction, a king virtuous, may be said to tincture a public spring with the power of health, wisdom, and every beneficial quality.

† Here is a beautiful contrast between the security of a private life and the danger of royalty : that tho' power and riches attend the latter, yet that happiness, security, and peace, are the surer portion of competency and retirement from all public offices.

monarch

monarch of all Asia. The cause of this inconsistency and contradiction in sentiments, is, that many are apt to look upon a crown as the indolent possession of priesthood; tho' the duty of the first is the highest office of nature, and requires the greatest wisdom and foresight. It is the duty, indeed, of those who are always with you, to give you, in the detail of actions, proper counsels how you may maintain your state, preserve your splendor and riches, and avoid damage and misfortune; but it is my part to give you general advice, to point out what you ought constantly to have in view, and how to direct the tenor of your whole life. Whether my performance will answer my design, it is hard to judge in the beginning: for many poems, as well as profewritings, while they were in the minds of the composers, have caused in all a great expectation; but, when finished, and exposed to others criticisms, procured the authors much less glory than they expected *. But yet the intention is certainly highly laudable, to cultivate that part of philosophy, which has been omitted by others, and lay down certain rules and principles for kings and governors. They who instruct private persons, benefit only th m; but whoever inspires with the love of virtue those who have supreme power, greatly advantage both monarchs and their subjects; for such philosophers render kingdoms safer to the possessors, and their respective governments milder and more clement towards particulars †.

We must first consider what is the duty of a generous-minded king: for, if we once comprehend well the nature and full extent of the complex ideas of any thing, having our eye upon that criterion, we shall the better judge and

* It is certainly true, that philosophy, and the principles of a generous refined morality, is the most worthy study of the human kind.

† This is a just observation; for, by the neglect of this care, we see several persons continue, during life, in a disgraceful ignorance of their respective obligations.

reason of the essential parts. I think all agree, that it becomes a great and good ruler to put an end to a city's miseries, to guard it in its prosperity, and make it happy and flourishing, if low and infirm. Whatever is occasionally done, ought ever to be directed to this noble end. It is evident, that those who are in this sublime power, and have such an important charge, should not be indolent, but animated with a noble ambition of becoming wiser and more diligent than others. Without this ardor, they degrade themselves: for this truth is manifest by experience, that they will have just such a conducted kingdom, as they manage the oeconomy of their own palace and minds. Wherefore no combatants ought to exercise with such care their bodies, as kings should endeavour to improve their minds. Not the greatest public assemblies propose any such glorious rewards, as those which great kings contend for every day: and certainly then, you who are sensible of this truth, ought to do your utmost as far to excel others in virtues, as you do in honours and riches: nor ever imagine, that tho' diligence and care are of the highest consequence in other respects, yet that they are useless towards rendering us better and wiser. Despond not so of human nature, as to judge, that man, who has found out the method and art of taming, and rendering more profitable other creatures, can no-ways benefit himself towards the acquisition of wisdom and virtue. No, on the contrary, be persuaded, that learning and vigilance can improve and elevate our minds to the highest perfection they are capable of by nature. Seek always the company of the most prudent, and invite them even from distant places: nor suffer yourself to be ignorant of either the writings of the most excellent poets, or of any who have made profession of knowledge. Be acquainted thoroughly with the writings of the former, and a professed disciple of the wisest of the latter. In fine, be a critic of the inferior class, and nobly emulate the highest; for, by these arduous exercises, you will soonest become the person we suppose; such an one, I say, as is most

most capable of reigning gloriously, and making happy a city, or a nation *. Such a one must have a soul, which glows with true glory. You will be stimulated to attain this glorious mark, if you think it a shame that bad men should govern better, or the imprudent direct the wiser: and the higher contempt you have of the ignorance and extravagancy of others, so much the more you will be excited to enlarge your own understanding. Such must be the principles of those who aim at decorum and honour.

Besides, you must be a lover of mankind, your city, and country; for it is impossible that any one should take care even of horses or dogs, and much less of men and public affairs, as they ought, if they take not a real pleasure in them. Let the people be the object of your love, and have a mild government over them; persuading yourself, from experience and history, that those aristocracies, as well as commonwealths, have continued the longest, which consulted most the interest and humour of the people. You will hold the reins of government in the prudentest manner, if you neither suffer the multitude to commit injustice, or be injured themselves: but have always in view the promoting the most worthy to honours, and securing the rest from oppression; for these principles are the foundations of a wise government. Change those edicts and institutes, which are not founded in equity; endeavour to be the inventor of the best and most political: if you cannot do this, imitate the best examples of other cities. Establish such laws as are entirely just, useful, and consistent with themselves, that admit of the least chicanery, and facilitate the determination of all disputes among the citizens; for good

* It was a noble axiom of an antient philosopher, that the greatest happiness of mankind consisted in perceiving the transcendent beauty of virtue, and loving it always supereminently.

laws should have all these qualities. Make business and trade profitable to them, and all law-suits and injustice prejudicial; that they may avoid the one, and love and cultivate the other †. Never give sentences in judgment out of favour to any man, nor ever contradictory to one another: always judge in the same manner of the same things: you will do this best, by loving honour and probity. It becomes kings to have an unalterable judgment about what is just and equitable, like the determinations and maxims of the wisest laws. Administer your high office in the kingdom, as you would govern your own house; that is, ornament it splendidly, and like a great king, and govern it with equity and exactness, in respect of all actions, that you may gain glory, and support it. Never shew your grandeur and magnificence in expences, the effects of which soon vanish, but in what I have mentioned before, in the beauty and value of your possessions, and your generous actions towards your friends; for the effects of such expences will be sure possessions, and of more worth to your posterity than their first intrinsic value. In religious ceremonies, follow the institutes of your ancestors; but believe it to be the truest and most glorious sacrifice, as well as divinest worship, if you make yourself as good and wise as possible; for there is more likelihood, that men of exalted virtues, rather than such as honour the gods with sacrifice, will have success, by their assistance, in great enterprises. Distinguish your nearest relations with the most pompous honours; but your best friends, with those that are the most real and powerful. Think your surest guard to be the courage of your friends, the love of your citizens, and your own conduct; for, by these means, kingdoms are soonest acquired, and longest preserved. Examine the oeconomy of private

† This is truly proper advice to a king. If he has a great soul, he must delight to see his nation flourish by commerce and public happiness; and will endeavour to extinguish law-suits, and promote an universal good understanding and tranquillity throughout his kingdom.

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families, and think all their profusion is ruinous of your own treasures; and that industry and frugality in the subject augments the riches of the king: for all the possessions in a kingdom are the property of generous, brave, and wise kings, in times of necessity. Always have such a strict regard for truth, that your words at all times may have more authority than the most solemn oaths of others. Let your city be a religious asylum for all strangers, and observe with the most scrupulous equity all commercial contracts. Think more favourably of such as, with proofs of gratitude, receive your gifts, than of such as come to offer you presents; for, by honouring more the first, you will spread your fame wider in foreign nations. Free your citizens from fear, and do not desire to be dreadful to the innocent; for you will have others affected towards you, as you behave to them. Never do any thing in real anger, tho' you may seem, out of prudence, to be inflamed with it. Command respect and awe, by being ignorant of no actions; but gain love, by appointing punishments that are less than the crimes. Do not endeavour to spread terror by severity; but draw love, by shewing, that others are your inferiors in courage and understanding, and by convincing them, that you more prudently consult for their prosperity than they themselves do. Be ready for war by art and preparation; but disposed for peace, by desiring nothing contrary to justice and reason. Behave so towards weaker cities, as you would wish a stronger government should behave towards your's. Love not contention about trifles, but shew courage when victory will be attended with advantage and glory. Think them not deserving dishonour, who have been conquered in a noble cause, but those who conquer with injustice. Never imagine those magnanimous, who attempt things above their power, but those who undertake moderate enterprizes, and such as they can bring to a happy conclusion. Emulate not those who have the greatest kingdoms, but who govern best their own states. Believe me, you will not be the happier,

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though you should be able to subject all mankind by fear and terror, but by being such as you ought, and acting as at present ; for you only desire now what is moderate, and are indigent of nothing. Chuse not promiscuously your friends, but such as are worthy of your noble nature, nor those whose conversation will give you the greatest pleasure ; but those whose counsels will best assist you in the good government of the city. Make a strict inquiry into the lives of such as you admit to your familiarity, and persuade yourself, that all will judge of your manners by your conversation. Charge such with the management of those affairs which you cannot administer yourself, whose conduct will not be a discredit to you ; for be assured, you will be made responsible for their behaviour. Never blindly believe, that such as praise whatever you say or do, are your real friends ; but think those so, who freely blame your errors. Give liberty of speech to the wise and prudent, that you may have them just approvers of your actions. Distinguish those who artfully flatter, from such as assent to you with benevolence, that the bad may not have advantage over the good. Listen to what is said of one another by different persons, and endeavour to know the characters of those who speak, and those they speak of. Punish with equal punishment calumniators, as you would transgressors. Govern yourself, as well as others ; and think it the most royal privilege to be a slave to no pleasures, but to command your affections as easily and regularly as your citizens. Receive none rashly into familiarity, nor without just reasons ; but accustom yourself to take pleasure in such conversations only as may benefit your mind, and make you appear the better to others. Seem not ambitious of glory from such actions as bad men are capable of ; but ground your magnanimity on virtue, of which vicious persons are totally incapable. Think those honours the truest, which are not paid out of fear in public, but by men, who, when they are in private, extol your mind and character more than your fortune.

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Conceal it, if you chance to take pleasure in any dishonest action ; and never openly appear to neglect virtue. Do not imagine private persons should live virtuously, and princes have the liberty of indulging vice. The greatest virtue is supreme glory ; wherefore judge it the best proof of your wise government, if you see your subjects become richer and wiser by your vigilance and example. Chuse rather to leave the inheritance of a lasting glory, than accumulated riches, to your children ; for the latter is uncertain, but the first immortal. And riches may be acquired by glory ; but glory cannot be the purchase of riches : the latter may be the portion of bad men ; but none except heroic souls can acquire the latter. Be splendid in your dress and ornaments of the body ; but be manly in all other respects of your life, that those who see you may judge you, by outward appearance, worthy of empire ; and those who privately converse with you, think the same thing upon account of your magnanimity and fortitude. Examine always carefully your words and actions, that you may fall into as few errors as possible. It is one of the greatest difficulties to seize the critical point of opportunity ; but when the uncertainty is great, be cautious, rather than by boldness overshoot the mark ; for mediocrity rather consists in some defect than in excess. Endeavour to be affable and serious ; for the latter suits royalty, and the first, familiar conversation. The union of these two qualities is a difficulty above all others ; for if you observe, you will find, that those who are serious, often seem cold or proud ; but those, who affect affability, too low and humble. You must join these two characters ; and avoid the inconvenience which sometimes arises from both. Whatever you would know with accuracy, which becomes the study of kings, endeavour to attain your design by experience and philosophy : philosophy will shew you the theory, and experience render you ready in public affairs. Contemplate often what happens to private persons and kings ; for if you remember what has passed,

passed, you will judge the better about futurity. Think it a shame to monarchy, that many private persons have willingly died to acquire praise; and that kings should not have resolution enough to live by such philosophic rules as would render them illustrious in their life-time, and admired by posterity. Chuse rather to leave monuments of your virtues, than of your body. Have all possible care of the security of yourself and city. If you are obliged to expose yourself to danger, chuse rather to die with honour than live in disgrace. In all your actions, remember you are a king, and take care you do nothing unworthy of so exalted a station. Suffer not your person at once to undergo a total dissolution; but since you have a mortal body, and an immortal mind, endeavour to leave an eternal remembrance of the latter. Discourse frequently of philosophic maxims, that you may accustom yourself to the like sentiments. Whatever seems best to your most diligent consideration, be sure to put it in practice. Imitate the actions of those men, whose glory you emulate. Follow yourself such counsels as you would give your own children. Benefit by what is said, or seek what is better. Think not those philosophers, who dispute subtilly about minute things; but such as speak eloquently and affectionately of the sublimest subjects: not such as promise to make others happy, while they themselves want all the conveniencies of life; but those who speak moderately of themselves, yet understand business and mankind, nor are ever at a loss, and puzzled at the changes of life; but know how to bear reasonably, and with moderation, both losses and prosperity.

And wonder not, if you already perfectly know many of these truths; for I am not ignorant of it. I know, that the number is great, both of private persons and princes, some of whom have spoken a part of these things, some have practised them, others have seen them practised, and others have taught them: but, in the precepts of life, we are not so much to seek after novelty; for,

for, in these, there ought to be nothing incredible, nothing contrary to the inward clear sentiments of mankind; and I judge that he is the best writer in this kind, who collects those approved maxims which are scattered here and there in others minds, and expresses them in the politest manner: for it is evident, that the most moral poems, and other writings, are judged by all the most useful; but yet are not read with the greatest pleasure; on the contrary, men are affected towards them as they are towards admonitors. Though it is customary to hear such men praised, yet their company is seldom sought after; and many chuse rather to converse with those who are guilty of gross faults, than such as will give them good advice. A proof of this may be drawn from the writings of Hesiod, Theogni, and Phocilides: for all allow, that these authors are the best counsellors for the direction of life; but tho' they grant this, yet they chuse rather to be conversant with others follies than their wise precepts. And should any one chuse out the select sentences of the most excellent poets, in the invention of which they exerted their whole genius, some men would be as little affected by them; for they would sooner hear the worst and most immodest comedy, than such admirable pieces of poetry. But why should I longer dwell on particulars? for, if we consider the nature of mankind, we shall find the greatest part neither pleased with the wholesomest meats, the best of instructions, nor the most virtuous actions; but, seeking pleasures destructive of true happiness, see them rather endeavour to appear lovers of industry and temperance, than practice real philosophy. Wherefore, how is it possible, by exhortation, science, or useful knowledge, to please such, who, for the above-mentioned reasons, envy the eloquent and wise, and think the most stupid and thoughtless worthy of esteem for their simplicity? Thus they fly from truth in their actions, and are ignorant of the nature of their own conduct; and grieve when they turn their minds inward upon themselves; but
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take a pleasure in discoursing of others actions. Nay, they would rather suffer inconveniencies in their bodies, than exert their minds, and provide by industry against the necessities of life. They frequently likewise abuse others, and are abused by them; and, when alone, employ no themselves in some useful business, but pass their time in idle wishes. I speak not this of all, but such as are guilty of the above-mentioned negligences and errors. It therefore is clear to me, that whoever would do, or write, what will please the multitude, must not chuse the most useful precepts, but amuse them with the most pleasing fables; for they take a pleasure in reading such empty fictions: but when they see the efforts of courage and virtue, they feel a pain in their minds. Wherefore Homer, and those who first invented tragedy, deserve just admiration; because, considering human nature, they intermixed both these characters of writings in their poetry: for the first invented the battles and wars of the demigods, and the latter represented to the eye passions, patience, and heroic actions; so that we become not only hearers but spectators. By these examples, therefore, it is demonstrable, that those who would charm the minds of the hearers, must abstain from admonition and counsel; on the contrary, they must write such things as please the crowd. I have mentioned so much, because I thought that you, who are the king of a numerous people, should not be like one of the vulgar, nor have a mind upon a level with the multitude, nor judge of the merit of actions, or men, as they are merely effective of pleasure; but make profit and good the standard of both: especially considering, that the philosophers themselves differ widely in their notions of the proper exercise of the mind, while some of them say, they should consist in controversial logical disputes; but others affirm, that we shall attain the most perfect wisdom, by frequenting the company of those who are more prudent and better than ourselves. However, this they all agree in, that a person who is thoroughly well educated;

cated, should be capable, by both these means, to give the
 solidest counsels. But, relinquishing controversy, we should
 take for proved what is confessed on both sides, and, in
 emergencies, always consult men of the best understand-
 ings, and never regard those who speak in general terms of
 affairs, and are unable to distinguish the decorum and pro-
 priety of actions : for it is certain, that he who cannot be-
 nefit himself by his knowledge, will never be able to benefit
 others, or render them prudent. But do you particularly
 esteem those who have a strong masculine reason, and can
 see more into affairs than others ; persuading yourself, that
 a prudent, virtuous, magnanimous counsellor is the most
 useful and noblest treasure of a great king. Finally, be-
 lieve that those will extend your kingdom the farthest, who
 render your mind the wiser and more sagacious. I have gi-
 ven you the best advice in my power, and have made you
 the most worthy present I was able. Let me add one hint
 here, of what I mentioned in the beginning, that you should
 not be desirous of those customary presents, which you pur-
 chase dearer from the givers than from the sellers, but of
 such, as though you frequently use them, nay, never omit
 a day to do so, you will render no worse, or ever wear out,
 but, on the contrary, make them of more worth, and va-
 luable to yourself,

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THE THIRD
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
IN THE
PERSON of NICOCLES:
SHEWING
The DUTY of a SUBJECT,
AND PROVING
MONARCHY the best Form of GOVERNMENT.



The S U B J E C T.

***T**HIS Oration is delivered in the person of NICOCLES, who speaks as a benevolent father to his subjects. Nothing can be imagined more humane than his sentiments: he requires no things of them, but as supposed wise men, and friends to his government, upon the principles of gratitude. Let NICOCLES have been what he would, this Oration shews ISOCRATES's sentiment of a good and truly gracious king; in fine, a hero full of philanthropy.*



THE THIRD

ORATION of ISOCRATES,

IN THE

PERSON of NICOCLES:

S H E W I N G

The DUTY of a SUBJECT, and proving MONARCHY the best Form of GOVERNMENT.

THERE are some who have an aversion to public orations, and blame those who apply their minds to the noble study of philosophy; and say, that philosophers compose their discourses for the sake of lucre, the favour of princes, and their own self-advantage. I would willingly have a reason given me by these men, why they shun the eloquent and learned, yet praise those who do glorious actions. If rewards offend them, far greater are the consequences of actions than words: besides, it is absurd to think, that we are either religious or just, or practise any other virtues, out of a view of being in a worse condition than others; but that we may render our lives as happy as possible: wherefore we are not to censure those actions, whereby we may virtuously better our condition, but such men only, who transgress against justice and reason in their actions, and deceive by their artful speaking and oratory. And I wonder why the men I blame condemn

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not the possession of riches, strength, and fortitude; for if, upon account of some hypocrites and deceivers, they have, I say, an aversion to eloquence, I see no reason why they are not disgusted with other things, which are allowed by all to be real goods, since there certainly are some, who are possessed of these, who are guilty of fraud and oppression. But it is not reasonable to blame strength, though some abuse it, and beat and wound those they meet with: nor, on account of murderers, to despise fortitude and bravery; nor indeed, universally speaking, attribute the vices of mankind to any other source than the depravity of their own wills. We should only condemn such, who pervert the goods of nature, and with those advantages by which they might benefit, do prejudice to their fellow-citizens: but many neglect to judge in this manner definitively of distinct things, and are averse indiscriminately to all reasonings, are even so blinded, that they do not perceive they are unjust to an excellency, which is the cause of all the greatest advantages of mankind. In other respects, we do not excel even the beasts, nay, are far surpassed by them in swiftness, strength, and many other faculties: but mutual language being naturally peculiar to us, and the power of declaring our thoughts about whatever we please, we have, by persuasion, not only left off a savage life, but assembling together, have built cities, made laws, found out arts, and have attained, by reason and eloquence, almost all the advantages we enjoy by the benefit of society and invention. It was true eloquence and persuasion, that first laid down the rules whereby we may judge what is just or unjust, honourable or infamous; without the knowledge of which, we could never live in community together. It is by the art of speaking that we convict the bad, and praise the good. By this we instruct the ignorant, and approve the wise and prudent; for, to speak as one should upon momentous occasions, is the greatest proof, in my opinion, of a good understanding: and certainly conversation full of truth, reason, and justice, is the best picture of a virtuous and sincere

cere mind. In fine, by the art of speaking, we maintain our cause against our adversaries, and we inquire into obscure truths; for, by the same arguments whereby we persuade others, we satisfy our own minds when we would take a wise resolution. We call rhetoricians those that are capable of speaking to, and persuading a multitude; but those, prudent persons, who reason best in their own minds about their own affairs; and, if I must give my judgment at once concerning this art, there is nothing which is acted prudently, both in respect of words and actions, but artful reasoning is the surest guide, and they that have it in the highest degree, have the most enlarged minds: wherefore we ought equally to detest those who speak contemptuously of wise teachers and true philosophers, as we do of those, who violate the temples of the gods. I, for my part, have a value for all discourses and writings, which are in any the least degree capable of doing good; but I think the noblest oration, the sublimest, and most worthy of a king, must be that, which lays down the best and wisest rules of government; and they are the compleatest philosophers, who teach both how princes should behave towards their subjects, and how their subjects should behave towards them; for, by a mutual well-regulated conduct, I see cities become greater and more flourishing than others.

THEREFORE you have heard the first oration, which was written by Isocrates, upon the true art of monarchical government; but I shall speak myself another, which teaches the duties of an obedient subject; not that I flatter myself with surpassing him, but because I judge it most becoming myself to declare my mind to you on this subject: for, should I not let you know what I require of you, and you act against my will, I could not justly be angry with you. Now, I judge, that I shall most effectually incline and excite you to the remembrance of what I shall have said, as well as to obedience, not by enumerating so many political precepts, and then concluding; but by first demonstrating, that you ought highly to esteem our present government,

and love it, not out of a servile necessity, or because this has been our constitution time out of mind, but because it certainly excels all other constitutions; and then proceeding to shew you, that I do not possess a crown unjustly, nor the property of another, but by legal sanction, justly, and by descent from my ancestors, to my father and myself; for, if these assertions are previously demonstrated, there can be no one amongst you will not think himself worthy of the severest penalty, if he be not obedient to my counsels and edicts.

IN regard of political governments (for there I proposed to begin) I think it granted by all, that it would be the greatest error and injustice possible, if the good and bad were treated alike; and that it is certainly consonant to reason and equity, that the balance of justice should be held even betwixt them, and that there should be a suitable difference made betwixt persons of such different merit, and that both should have rewards worthy of their actions. Now, aristocracies and republics have generally in view a kind of level among the citizens; and it is their design, that none surpass others in power or possessions, which oftentimes is favourable to the worst: but just monarchies confer their favours on the man of the greatest merit, and so downward in a just proportion; and if this happens not to be observed in all of them, yet the nature of the government is such. If we consider the tempers and judgments of mankind, as well as their actions, we shall find, that they naturally chuse monarchies rather than any other form of government: and indeed, who that is endued with good sense, would not rather wish to live under that form of government, in which, if he excels in virtue, he cannot be hidden, than be confounded with a multitude, who can never distinguish his merits; nay, we must judge in reason a wise monarchy the more mild and equitable, in the same proportion as it is more easy for a prudent person to please one clear-sighted superior, than humour the various inclinations and caprices of a whole people. Monarchy, therefore,

fore, is a milder, pleasanter, and more just government than any other. I could illustrate my affirmation at large; but what I have said may suffice. As for what remains to shew how far monarchies excel other governments in political counsels, and the execution of noble designs, we may best examine into this, if placing the greatest actions of both, as it were, parallel to one another, we endeavour to weigh them in a balance. These who have annual authority, become private persons, before they can form a perfect judgment of the city, and have sufficient experience: but those who have perpetual power, tho' they have an inferior genius, must, from their long experience, have superior abilities to other men. Besides, the former neglect many things, leaving them to others care; but kings have an eye to all, because they know that they are the spring-head of all the public felicity. Add to this, that, in aristocracies and republics, persons in public posts often, out of envy and ambition, make the public suffer. But monarchs, having no cause of envying any in the state, as much as it is possible, consult and put in practice what is best. We should reflect on this likewise, that annual magistrates are often impeded in the care of the public; for they are daily taken up by their own domestic affairs, and, when they meet together, they more frequently are at variance than they consult the public good: but kings, without any appointed assemblies, or times, studying night and day the advantages of the state, lose no opportunities; but do every thing in the opportune season. Besides, annual governors are mutual enemies and rivals, and wish secretly, that those both before and after them should administer as imprudently as possible the public affairs, that they may have the greater praise and glory: on the contrary, kings being always supreme masters, have the same constant well-regulated benevolence towards the public; but the greatest advantage of all is this, that kings attend to the public interest as to their own property; but annual magistrates regard them as things not belonging to them. The latter likewise

are apt to chuse for their sub-delegates the rashest and most turbulent; but the former the sedatest and most prudent. Republicans honour those, who, by delusive eloquence, govern the mobile; but monarchs, those who are the most capable of managing affairs. Nor does a monarchy surpass other governments only in ordinary and daily affairs, but has all imaginable advantages in war; for monarchies are more able, than any other form of government, to raise troops, to use them, to conceal or make shew of them; to persuade some neighbours, to force others; to buy off danger from some, and win the affections of others by obligations of a different kind: and this is equally evident from facts and words; for by this means we know, that the Persian empire is grown to that vast extent, not so much upon account of the superiority of genius in that nation, as because they, above all men, honour the royal dignity. It was this natural power of monarchy, which rendered Dionysius capable of not only restoring ruined Sicily, as well as his own besieged country, to freedom from danger, but of making it one of the most flourishing states of Greece. The Carthaginians and Lacedæmonians, who have the best governed cities, are subject in peace to a kind of aristocracy; but, in time of war, always obey one supreme general. We may observe likewise, that the city of Athens, which, above all others, has the greatest aversion for kings, whenever it commissioned several generals, it was always unsuccessful; but, when it trusted the safety of the state to one, was always prosperous in its undertakings. Now, can it be demonstrated plainer than by these examples, that monarchy is the most excellent form of government; for it is evident, that those cities, who have perpetual regents, and the greatest power, as well as aristocracies, or such cities as are governed by common counsels, always in the most critical and interesting affairs, either chuse a general, or commit the conduct of their armies to the king: and, let me add again, that those who have a natural hatred of kings, when they send in joint commission several captains, are

are sure almost of miscarriage in their designs. But, were it proper here to introduce antiquity, it is said, that the gods themselves are governed by a monarchy; and if this is true, it is hence evident, that even they prefer this kind of constitution above all others. But if no one knows the certainty in this case, and by conjecture only mankind have persuaded themselves of it, it is certain, that mankind, by a sort of instinct, have the highest value for a monarchy; for they never would have said, that the gods are governed by this form, if they had not thought it the most perfect of all others. To mention exactly the different forms of government in all cities, would be an endless undertaking; but I am of opinion, what I have said will abundantly suffice for my purpose.

I SHALL now make my discourse much shorter in regard to my just title to this precedency; for the proofs are more evident, and confessed by all: for who is so ignorant, as not to know, that Teucer, the head of my family, taking with him the ancestors of the other citizens, sailed hither, built this city, and divided amongst them the territory. My father Evagoras, when others had lost the crown, recovered it again by his virtues, after he had undergone the greatest dangers, and so changed the state for the better, that the Phœnicians no longer commanded Salamis; but we now again have the kingdom, whose it was originally. What now remains is, that I speak of myself, that you may understand you have such a king, as not only upon account of his ancestors, but even upon account of himself deserves a greater honour and government than this he now enjoys; for, I believe, all will easily allow, that the noblest virtues are temperance and justice. They do not only of themselves benefit individuals, but, if we consider the powers, the use, and nature of things, we shall find, that, when our actions are not regulated by them, they become the causes of the greatest calamities; and, when joined with moderation and justice, are the sources of all the variety of human happiness: and if some of former ages have been

rendered glorious by these virtues, I see no reason why I should not be judged worthy of the same glory. You may judge of my equity by this ; for, when I came to supreme power, I found the public treasure empty, and quite exhausted ; the state full of trouble, and standing in need of great care, strict watch, and much expence. Though I know, that many, on the like occasions, endeavouring to establish their own interests by any means whatever, have done many things contrary to honour and virtue, yet I was not depraved by such examples ; but I managed the public affairs with such diligence and integrity, that I omitted nothing that might encrease the glory, or add to the happiness, of our city ; for I conducted myself with such benevolence and mildness towards the citizens, that they no longer either feared banishment, death, the loss of money, or any the like calamity, under my reign. Though Greece was inaccessible upon account of war, and we were injured and plundered on all sides, yet I paid off most of the public debts ; to some I paid all ; to others a part ; of others I begged a delay of time ; with others I came to a composition about public injuries upon as good terms as I could bring them to allow. And though the inhabitants of the island were our enemies, and the Persian king was only in words a friend, but in his intention a watchful adversary, I remedied both these calamities, complying with the Persian out of prudence and necessity, and behaving myself to the other inhabitants of the island with the strictest justice ; for I am so far from having a desire of usurping the property of others, that though many, if they exceed never so little in power, are apt to seize something of their neighbours, and encrease their own riches and territory, yet I religiously refused a country offered to me ; and chose rather to possess my own with justice, than, with fraud, to acquire a much larger dominion. It would be superfluous to dwell upon particulars ; since I can safely and publicly affirm this of myself, that I never knowingly injured any man ; nay, I have been generous to many of my citizens, and even
other

other Græcians, and have given more kingly presents than all they who have gone before me. And it becomes those who glory in justice, and a mind superior to the temptations of money, to be able, with truth, to say the like of themselves. In regard of temperance, I can say still more; for knowing well, that all men particularly love their own wives and children, and are most provoked against such as injure them, and that indignities done them have been the spring of the most dreadful evils, and both private persons and governors have been ruined upon this account, I so cautiously avoided such dangerous injustices, that, since I came to the throne, I never was acquainted intimately with any woman, but my own wife; though I was not ignorant, that many have gained benevolence and glory from their citizens for general justice, though they indulged themselves in the pleasures that arise from female conversation: but designing to secure myself against any suspicions of this nature, I made my own practice an example for my citizens; for it is beyond doubt, that the populace naturally imitate the manners of their superiors. Besides, I thought kings should as far excel others in virtue, as they do in power and honour; and that it is folly and injustice to require probity from others, and neglect equity and temperance ourselves. I observed many to be masters of other affections; but that some of the best of men have failed in regard of a blind love for beauty: I therefore designed my citizens should see I was capable of governing myself in this respect, by which I should not only excel the vulgar, but even those who have gloried in popular virtues and magnanimity. I likewise condemned the injustice of those, who taking wives, and entering into the most absolute community of life and property, are not constant in their own voluntary contract; but, by their ungovernable affection for pleasure, grieve those whom they ought to love, and render as happy as possible; and, though they are just and equitable in regard of all other society, in respect of their conduct towards their wives, forget their own esteem of equity

equity and reason, which they ought more carefully to avoid, as their wives have a stricter relation with them than any others. They seem ignorant of what is obvious to common sense, that they sow the seeds of quarrels and dissensions in their own palaces ; but it certainly becomes wise kings, not only to keep their cities in peace and tranquillity, but their own house, and the place which they inhabit. This is the effect only of temperance and justice. Nor have I had the same sentiment in regard of children, which the generality of kings have ; nor did I think it proper to have some by women of low birth, and others by a woman of royal blood ; some legitimate, and others natural ; but I chused to have them equal by nature on the mother's as well as father's side. In respect of mortality, to be related to my father Evagoras ; in respect of demi-gods, to the *Æacidæ* ; in respect of the immortal gods, to Jupiter himself ; I purposed, that none of my children should be deprived of such a noble birth. Though many reasons persuaded me to continue in my resolution, this motive was not the least, that I saw even bad men distinguished often by courage and policy, as well as other qualities, which gain esteem and admiration ; but that none, except the exaltedly good, were possessed of true justice, temperance, and magnanimity. Now, I judged it highly glorious to practise these virtues, which are of too noble a nature to lodge in a vicious breast ; but, on the contrary, are the purest, the most sublime, and celestial properties of human nature. Upon this account, I studied with the greatest ardor, and practised temperance and justice. These virtues I preferred not only to sordid pleasures, but even those amusements that have a kind of honour attending them. All virtues are not to be judged of in the same manner ; for justice is tried by poverty, and temperance by supreme power ; but self-denial by the observance of all the duties of youth. Now, I believe, I have given in my own person proofs, upon all occasions, of all these virtues ; for having been left by my father in great want of money, I behaved myself with that equity,

equity, that I neither oppressed nor offended any of the citizens; for, though I succeeded to absolute power, I was more temperate and abstemious in my pleasures than private persons; and I practised both temperance and justice in an age, when most men are apt to fall into the opposite vices. I should, perhaps, be ashamed to speak this before strangers, not on account that I set light by glory, but because I should be apprehensive of not gaining credit to my words; but you are witnesses of the truth of all I say. Now, it is but just to praise and admire those, who love and practise virtue, and especially such who perfect the advantages of nature by art and reasoning; for they who are virtuous by chance, as it were, and not by principle, may, perhaps, change themselves: but such as, besides a happy disposition, have thoroughly persuaded themselves, that virtue is the greatest good, are sure to continue all their lives in one and the same uniform practice of what is laudable.

I HAVE made my discourse longer on the two topics of myself and what I said in the beginning, that I might leave you no pretence of not willingly and zealously obeying my orders and counsels; and I hope now, that every one of you, in his respective charge, will justly and diligently acquit himself of his duties; for, should you be negligent in either respect, it is impossible but that the public must suffer by it: therefore set not light by, nor despise any thing that I command you, judging, as you ought, that as the health of the whole body consists in the soundness and health of the parts, so you should each of you, as parts of the state, behave yourselves in the best and most vigilant manner: nor have a less zeal to see my affairs flourish than your own: and think not deserved popular honours an object unworthy of esteem and emulation; on the contrary, set a just value on them, as the rewards of merit and industry. Refrain from injustice to others, that you may possess your own in quiet and tranquillity; for you ought to behave in such a manner towards others, as you expect I should towards you. Aim not rather at being rich than good; being persuaded,
that

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that such among Barbarians, as well as the Greeks, who acquired the truest glory, have been possessed of the noblest privileges and advantages. Believe the acquisition of money, contrary to justice, to be the sure seed of dangers ; nor imagine to receive presents, gain ; or to part generously with money, loss ; for both depend upon particular circumstances ; but that either, as done in season, and with prudence, will benefit the agents. Be ready to acquiesce in all my mandates ; and be assured, that those among you, who best promote my affairs, will enrich the most their own houses. Think whatever any of you is conscious of to himself, I shall not be long with coming to the knowledge of it ; and though my body cannot be present in all places, that yet my care and providence will : for, if you have these sentiments, you will live with the greater decency and moderation. Conceal nothing from me of your possessions, of your actions, or designs ; and believe, that clandestine actions are the source of continual fears and alarms. Never think of mixing fraud and craft in the discharge of your offices ; but act with that simplicity of manners and integrity, that, if any should have a mind, they may not easily find against you a pretence for calumny. Examine your actions, and do not doubt, that such are bad which you would conceal from me ; but those good, by which, when I come to the knowledge of them, I shall judge you worthy of rewards and honours. Conceal it not, if you observe some persons unfaithful in the discharge of their duties under my government ; but accuse them for it ; for you ought to think those who conceal such practices as faulty as those who are guilty of them. Nor ever believe such happy, who hide infamous actions, but those who are truly innocent ; since the unjust always deserve themselves to suffer what they make others suffer by their vices and oppression : whereas the good have a title to all the happiness they are the cause of to others. Make no societies or confederacies without my knowledge : for such associations under other forms of government have more liberty ; but, in absolute governments, they expose men to danger. Abstain
not

not only from crimes, but the appearance of them, and such a behaviour as will bring you into suspicion. Think my friendship your greatest glory and security. Preserve with all loyalty the present establishment of government, and desire no change; for be assured, that, in such confusions, there is a necessity in nature, that cities must perish, and private houses be intirely ruined. Doubt not but that it is not only a natural disposition and innate mildness, which renders kings good or cruel, but the manners and conduct oftentimes of their subjects; for many have been obliged, by the disobedience of their subjects, to govern with a severer hand than they would have done by their own inclinations. Presume not so much on my mildness, as your own prudence and virtues. Think my safety your own securest bulwark; for, if my affairs are prosperous, you will find yourselves in the greatest security. You ought to shew humility in the willing obedience to my commands, and your adherence to your country's laws and institutes; and you should shew a zeal for my royal prerogative. Be splendid and magnificent in the discharge of all those offices. I trust you with, as well as my particular orders. Exhort the youth to emulate you in virtue, not only by words, but demonstrating to them by your actions, what it is to be good, and have a title to true honour and glory. Teach your children obedience to their king, and, by early instruction, accustom them to qualify themselves for my favour; for, if they once learn to obey a just ruler, they will be fitter one day to command others; and having practised sincerity and justice, they will be worthy of partaking of my favours and power; but if they become dissolute and rebellious to government, they will run the risk of losing all. Think, that by acquiring for them my benevolence, you leave your children the surest and greatest inheritance; but believe those the most miserable and wretched of all mankind, who are faithless to their patrons and superiors; for such must be continually full of fear and suspicion, and neither trust to friends or enemies. Do not emulate those
who

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who amass the greatest sums ; but those who have a clear, inoffensive conscience: for, with such a mind, every one must pass their lives the most agreeably that is possible. Never think that vice can ever gain the advantage of virtue, while it is justly always liable to contempt ; nay, as you find the unanimous consent of mankind gives names, believe that such are, from their own experience, the nature of things. Envy not my chosen and distinguished friends ; but endeavour, by merit and industry, to be equalled with them. Bring yourselves to love and esteem whom your king distinguishes by his judgment and favour, that you may obtain the same honours from him. What you would say before me, think in my absence. Shew your gratitude to me in actions, rather than in words. What you would be provoked at, did you suffer it, never do to others. Never do what you openly blame. Think your fortune will be such as you wish mine. Not only praise the good, but imitate them. Esteem my words so many laws : endeavour to put them in practice ; and be persuaded, that those who do this, shall enjoy all the conveniencies of life.

THE sum of all I have to say is, such as you would have those under you, endeavour diligently to make yourselves towards me ; and if you will do this, why should I draw out my discourse in mentioning the certain consequences ? for, if I behave myself as I have hitherto, and the public affairs be managed with the same prudence, you will soon see your own plenty encreased, and my kingdom enlarged, and your city rendered compleatly happy. It is certainly worthy of our best endeavours to omit nothing, but to embrace all labours and dangers for so noble an end. In your power it is, under my mild government, by justice and fidelity, to acquire all these great advantages.

T H E

THE THIRD
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
CALLED THE
PANEGYRIC,

As being addressed to

The universal Assembly of all Greece,

EXHORTING

The Græcians to concord, and the undertaking
jointly a war against the Persians.

The S U B J E C T.

THIS is that celebrated oration, which is esteemed one of the best in Isocrates. Some have said, that he employed ten, and others, fifteen years in the composition. He encourages the Greeks to undertake a general expedition against the Persians, and disputes with the Lacædemonians about the right of principality. He affirms, that all the general advantages of Greece originally came from Athens, and, upon that account, it had a just claim to precedency. Besides, that the Athenians had excelled all the Græcians in the demonstration they gave of their courage in different dangerous wars. Lastly, turning to the judges, he says, reflect candidly if I can be said to corrupt youth, who exhort them to the most heroic virtues, set before them the noble actions of their ancestors, and endeavour to enflame them with a love of their country. In fine, this oration is laboured with the utmost art, and exactness of the rules of eloquence.



THE FOURTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES,
CALLED THE
P A N E G Y R I C,

As being ADDRESSED to the
Universal ASSEMBLY of all GREECE :

EXHORTING THE
GRECIANS to Concord, and the undertaking
jointly a War against the PERSIANS.

I HAVE often wondered, that those who have made popular assemblies, and appointed public games, should have so greatly rewarded the excellency and good habit of the body, but paid no honours to such as, in a private capacity, consulted the happiness of the state, and so prepared their minds, that they became an universal benefit to their commonwealths : of whom, certainly, a far greater account ought to have been made by republics and kingdoms. For were combatants twice as strong in body as they are, no advantage would redound by it to others ; but if one man perfects his mind by philosophy, all that are willing may be benefited by his knowledge and prudence. Yet I was not discouraged by this common injustice and neglect ; but, judging that subsequent glory
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would be a sufficient reward of my labour, in composing this oration, I have ventured to give my advice about entering into a war with the Barbarians, and making a firm alliance among ourselves. Nor am I ignorant, that many, who professed wisdom and learning, have handled this subject before me ; But I hope so far to excel them, as to make what they have said appear little or nothing to the purpose. And I judge those discourses to be the noblest and most worthy of public attention, which have the most interesting subjects, declare most manifestly the ability of the speaker, and bring the greatest advantage to the hearers ; of which character is the present discourse. Besides, I judge likewise, that the favourable opportunities of time are not passed ; so that it is needless to speak of them : for I think, that orators should cease speaking, when either affairs are come to their natural conclusion and end, and when counsel about them would be fruitless, or that others had spoken so efficaciously, that they had left no possibility of surpassing their reasonings and sentiments. But while things continue in the like situation, and all published orations on this topic are very imperfect, why should I not attempt such an harangue, as, if completed once, and finished, will free us from mutual unnatural war, put an end to our present troubles and disorders, and secure us against the greatest calamities ? Besides, was it impossible to speak of public affairs and interests but in one single manner, and there were not different characters of eloquence, it might cause just suspicion, that it was superfluous, by imitating others, to give new trouble to the hearers. But as eloquence has the power to speak appositely and several times upon the same subject, can make what is great and arduous appear little and easy, can give magnificence, in some manner, to what is low and common, can even impart an appearance of novelty, by happy modes of expression, to thoughts and invention that are trite and old, and give the air of antiquity to what is modern and new ; I judged I ought not to be deterred from my enterprize. I acknowledge my subject is
not

not new; but I will endeavour to surpass, upon this topic, all the orators who have gone before me. Past actions are transmitted to posterity as equally common themes for all; but, to use them properly as examples and patterns, to think judiciously of them, and clothe our ideas in elegant expression, this is the property only of the wise and eloquent. And I think, that all other arts and sciences, as well as philosophic eloquence, would receive the highest improvement, if not those who first have written or spoken on a subject, be praised and admired; but such only as have finished, in the best manner, their writings or orations: not those, who endeavour to treat of what no one before has ever spoke of, but such as know how to express themselves with more grandeur and propriety than any others. Some blame orations which are above the common standard of the vulgar, and are laboured to a degree of absolute perfection. They are so greatly mistaken, as to measure them by such as are spoken on occasion of private contracts, and points of law; as if there was not a wide difference in these two kinds of oratory; one of which has in view cautionary pleadings, and the other, parade and ostentation; and as if it does not always follow, that he who can speak accurately, can also express himself in the plain language of men of business. It is very plain, that such men praise only those whom they judge themselves capable of imitating. But I address not my words to such who are easily contented, but to those who are difficult, and require, in my orations, something which they cannot find in the discourses of others. Nor will I enter on the subject of my discourse, till I have spoken concerning myself, perhaps, in a still higher strain of vanity. I have observed some, in the beginning of their discourses, endeavouring to win the favour of their hearers, and making apologies for their orations. Some I have heard affirm, that their performances were extemporaneous; others I have known to mention the difficulty of equalling, with eloquence, the dignity of their subject. But, on the contrary, if I do not worthily handle

my topic, and answer the hearers expectation, from my own capacity, and the time not only that I have employed in the composition, but that of my whole life: if I do not answer fully, I say, whatever is expected from me, in these respects, I will not refuse to be allowed no excuse, but be justly scorned and laughed at by all this assembly: for I shall certainly deserve this, if, having made such a general promise, I should, in nothing, excel the performances of others. And this is all I thought proper to premise concerning myself. Those who speak of public affairs in such an assembly as this, immediately in the beginning of their orations, inform their hearers, that, omitting all intestine quarrels, they ought, in alliance, to turn their arms against the Persians; and, to this end, number over the calamities which arise from mutual wars, and the great advantages which will accrue from an inroad into the enemy's country; they say indeed the truth, but do not lay the foundation of their discourse upon that solid basis, which would answer fully their intention: for some parts of Greece is dependent on us, and other parts of it on the Lacedæmonians. The different forms of government have, in this manner, distinguished them. Whoever thinks that the rest of Greece will unite in the common cause, before the principal cities are friends, shews great simplicity, and is quite ignorant of public affairs. But it becomes those who make not only pompous discourses, but are willing also to see some good effect produced by them, to seek for those reasons, which may persuade the two leading cities to be contented with equality, and divide the supreme command: in a word, to gain those advantages over the Barbarians, that they now endeavour to gain over the rest of Greece. It would be no difficulty to bring our city to a just composition; but it will be more difficult to persuade the Lacedæmonians: for they have entertained a false opinion, that the supremacy of Greece is their natural right and property. But should any one be able to convince their prejudice, that this honour belongs rather to our city than theirs, they would lay aside

aside jealous disputes, and concur in the common good. Others therefore ought to have begun here, and not have given advice about what was allowed by all before, but have reconciled these fatal differences. I shall, in this view, for the common good, employ the chief part of my discourse to this end, that I may gain this point, may promote the general interest, and, after I have healed our intestine quarrels, persuade us to a confederate war against tyranny, and the common enemy. But if this should be impracticable, that I may shew who are the impediment of so much good to Greece, and make it manifest to all, that, in former ages, our city governed by sea, and even now claims, without injustice, a national precedence. For this I shall make evident, that if it is just, that every one should most honoured in regard of what he has had the most experience of, and is the best qualified for, then indisputably, we have a right to the chief command, which we formerly enjoyed by common consent: for none will ever shew me a city which has so excelled in land-wars, as ours has done, in the greatest dangers by sea, for the common cause of Greece. But should this not appear a just reason to some, because, in the course of things, changes of power and titles must happen (no government continuing always in the same state); yet they will allow, at least, principality, or chief authority, like other honorary titles, to be either the property of the first possessors, or of those who have been eminently the distinguished benefactors of Greece, I persuade myself, that, in all these regards, we have the advantage: for the farther any one examines into this, the more visibly we shall leave our opponents behind us in their pretensions. It is acknowledged by all, that our city is the ancientest, the largest, and the most renowned of Greece. And though this is the noblest foundation for honour, we have still farther pretensions to it, for the following reasons: We possess, I affirm, this territory without the expulsion of others; we neither found it at first desert, nor were mixed of several collected nations, but, as

naturally as gloriously, had our origin from this very part of the earth which we now inhabit; and therefore may justly be called the lawful natives of the place from the first order of the primeval world: and we may reasonably give our city the dearest names of relation; for we alone, of all the Greeks, may call our country our nourisher, our native soil, and mother. Now it certainly becomes those, who, without a blush, can glory in their original, to put in a reasonable plea for chief authority, frequently boast of their paternal titles, as they are able to appeal to all history for the truth of such a noble beginning. The grandeur of our nation, I affirm it again, and the privileges of fortune, in the original of our state, give us no less cause, than I have mentioned, of just glory, and lofty sentiments.

BUT, to prove the glorious benefactions of our ancestors, we must examine into the periods of time from the beginning, and give the history of our political actions: for we shall, by this means, find our city the inventor of all the advantages and preparations of war, and almost the source of every art and science, by which our lives and states are rendered more happy and secure. But I shall not mention the lesser benefits received from our nation, which time (as being of less moment) has obscured; but such as, on account of their excellency, are mentioned in history, allowed and praised by all men. I assert it, that what both Greece and human kind stand chiefly in need of, was first known and made common by our city; and though this may seem fabulous, by its antiquity, yet it is proper to be mentioned here: for Ceres coming into our country, when she followed her ravished daughter, and being benevolently disposed towards our ancestors for their hospitality (but the particulars are unlawful to be told, except to the initiated) she gave them two gifts, which are of the noblest nature; the art of propagating corn, and covering the fields every year with rich harvests, which drew mankind from a savage life: she likewise taught them her sacred mysteries, which whoever are initiated in, have good hopes in regard of life, death,

death, and all futurity. Now our city was not only grateful to the gods, but such a lover of mankind, that, possessed of such superior happiness, it envied not this felicity to others, but made all partakers of its privileges; and even now we have of this an annual remembrance. I have acquainted you with the benefits, the advantages, and public goods, which have accrued from our ancestors; but if any one is yet dissident of what I have said, when I have added a few more circumstances, I dare say no one will be so unreasonable as to doubt of it: for, in the first place, if antiquity seems liable to uncertainty, we should the rather, on account of antient report, believe the actions to have happened; since that the more persons have heard and spoken of them, tho' they are not of modern date, we should judge them more credible for the number of attestators. But we are not compelled to have recourse only to antiquity for a proof; we may judge of this verity by a surer criterion: for most of the Grecian cities, as a remembrance of our former beneficence to them, send us annually the first-fruits of their harvests; and the Pythian Oracle, on account of some neglecting this duty, has ordered them to send in their proportions, and discharge themselves towards our city of an antient customary acknowledgment. Now what can gain credit with us, if the legality of a public right does not, which an Oracle confirms, and the greatest part of Greece allows; in respect of which, antient fame agrees with present fact, and the practice of several cities ratifies it by example? But, setting aside all that I have been saying, we shall find, by history, that the first of mankind did not enjoy all the present commodities of human life, but, by degrees, through industry and invention, procured themselves its present conveniencies. Now who are more likely, either gratuitously to have received them from the gods, or to have found them out of themselves? Shall we suppose any others, than those who are allowed by all; to have been the first, the most ingenious by nature, most religious and grateful towards the gods? What honours

then the authors of the fore-mentioned benefits deserve, I think it needless here to inform your equity and wisdom ; for certainly nothing can equal such great obligations. Ye therefore, I say, have these glorious proofs to give of the greatest, the first, and most universal of all human benefactions.

IN the same time, or near it, our city saw the Barbarians in possession of the largest territories, the Greeks inclosed in a narrow space, and, upon account of its narrowness, laying ambuscades for one another, raising armies, and either perishing by famine, or in battle. Upon this occasion, Athens did not neglect the public interest, but sent to neighbouring cities skilful leaders, who, collecting the most indigent, and becoming their generals, conquered the Barbarians in battle, and built several cities on both sides of the continent, peopled all the islands, and saved both those who followed them, and those who staid behind in their own country : for they left the latter sufficient land to cultivate, and they gained, for the first, more than they had been possessed of. In a word, they seized, by their courage and bravery, on all that compass of ground, which Greece now possesses ; so that to those who came after, and had a mind to imitate their example, they made the undertaking very easy : for they needed not to expose their lives for a new acquisition, but go and possess what lands were already freed from enemies. And who now can shew a precedency juster than this, which was established before many of the Grecian cities were built ; or more commonly beneficial, than what was the destruction of the Barbarians, and cause of liberty and plenty to the Grecians ? Nor, though our city excelled others by the glory of its actions, did it despise the rest of Greece ; but made the beginning of its beneficence, providing the necessaries of life, which must be the foundation of all the added pleasures and advantages of it. And judging mere necessaries not sufficient to make life eligible, our city took such care for the rest, that none of all the goods, which are not the gifts only of the gods, but the

the effects of society, have been acquired without our city, but the most, and greatest of them, by its industry and invention: for, finding the Greeks living without law, and scattered in the country, some of them oppressed by the nobles, and others ruined by anarchy, Athens freed them from these calamities, conquering tyrants, and proposing itself an example of a moderate government to all; for it was our city which first established laws, and settled an equitable commonwealth. This is evident hence: those who at first accused others of murder, and were willing that judgment should be given according to equity and justice, not determined by violence, sought a solution of these cases in our laws.

AND, indeed, in respect of those arts which are necessary for life, as well as those that were invented for the pleasure of it, you will find, that our city, either as the inventor or improver, communicated them to others. Its other oeconomy of government likewise was humane, hospitable, and equitable towards all; for it accommodated itself not only to such as were in necessity, but such likewise as would enjoy in freedom their acquired possessions; nor was it improper either for the happy or distressed to take refuge under, but made it eligible for both to live with us, either as seeking the security of their just pleasure, or an asylum in calamity. Besides, our city finding the country not plentiful enough in all fruits, but abounding in some, and deficient in others, and that there was need of exporting some, and importing others, she remedied also this evil; for she made the Pyræus, as it were, a common mart in the midst of all Greece, which had such variety of necessities and merchandize, that what was difficult to be found single in other places, it was easy to find here in the greatest abundance.

Now they certainly deserve praise, who have instituted public assemblies, because they have introduced a custom, whereby, as in common league, and laying aside all enmities, we might meet together in national amity and friendship;

ship; and thus offering common prayers and sacrifices, remember our mutual consanguinity, be more kindly disposed towards one another, renew our former hospitalities, contract new friendships, nor suffer this meeting to be unprofitable either to the lowest or highest class of citizens; but, in this universal conflux of Greece, let the rich and nobles have an opportunity of displaying their happiness and magnificence, and the lower rank, of seeing them contend for glory, and emulate each others virtues. Thus none are deprived of a share in the common pleasures, but some are delighted in seeing the combatants strive to gain their approbation, and the combatants pleased to see all assembled to behold their performances. Now such being the high privileges of universal assemblies in a nation, our city has not yielded to others in this regard; for it has instituted several most glorious and noble shews, some distinguished by splendor and expence, others by liberal arts and proofs of eloquence, and, finally, some by a mixture of both these advantages. The multitude, which, on those occasions, come to us, is so great, that whatever pleasure can be received from general company, is abundantly found in our city and country. Here we may meet with the firmest and most generous friendships, and all the variety of agreeable conversation; here we may see the noblest athletic games, and trials not only of strength or swiftness, but hear proofs of the most consummate reason and eloquence; in short, we may see all manly qualities, and proportioned rewards for them: for, besides her own gifts, Athens persuades other cities to join in generosity; and whatever she judges conducive to public good, receives praise and approbation from all mankind. Besides, I further add this, that the assemblies, made after long spaces of time by other cities, are scarce sooner met, than they are dissolved; but whoever comes to our city, finds in it, as it were, a perpetual successive assembly from all the parts of Greece.

Now, that genuine philosophy, which found out all these advantages, facilitated the means of acquiring them, taught
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us the rules of humanity, and rendered us sociable to one another, removed the calamities we suffer either from ignorance or necessity, and informed us how to shun the one, and bear wisely the other; that philosophy, I say, was certainly the invention of our city, which always cultivated that perfection of our reason, which all men desire, but too many envy in those who are possessed of it: for our city was not ignorant, that this is the noble faculty by which we are distinguished from beasts; and that, by our excellency in this, we have gained the advantage over them in all other things. She likewise observed, that, in regard of other actions, the effects were strangely impeded oftentimes, or disordered by fortune; so that frequently the wise are frustrated, and the imprudent and rash successful: but, on the contrary, that eloquence and philosophic discourses are not to be expected from the stupid and vitious, but from men of improved genius and refined virtue; and that those who are esteemed to excel in wisdom, are, by this faculty, the most distinguished from the grovelling-minded and the ignorant: that, likewise, those who are liberally educated, are not so much admired for their courage, riches, or any other such advantages, as they are rendered famous by the art of speaking, and the strength of their reason. This is the surest evidence of a man's education; and those who exceed others in eloquence and knowledge, are not only powerful in their respective cities, but likewise have great honour every-where. Now, our city has so far surpassed all the rest of mankind in political prudence, and artful persuasion, that those who were the disciples of our philosophers, have become masters to other people; nay, our city has been the occasion, that the name of a Grecian no longer seems to be the mark of a nation, but of good sense and understanding: those are called Greeks that have had the advantage of our education, rather than the natives of Greece.

BUT that I may not seem to dwell upon particulars, when I have promised to speak of the sum of affairs, nor praise
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our city from these topics, because I have not sufficient matter for doing so, on account of its glory and distinction in war, let this I have said suffice to those who admire the excellencies I have hitherto mentioned: I judge, notwithstanding, that our ancestors deserve no less honour and esteem for their heroic actions, and voluntary dangers for the public good in war, than on account of their general beneficence to all Greece; for they have not undergone either small, common, or ignoble hazards; on the contrary, great, noble, and dreadful conflicts, some for their own country, and some for the liberty of other states. They have ever communicated the happiness of their city to others, and revenged, at their own expence and danger, the insults and injuries done to the Grecians; insomuch that some have accused our city of imprudence, for patronizing the weaker, not perceiving that they highly praise us by this imputation: for it was not our ignorance of what advantages accrue from strong alliances, that made us act in this manner; but though we understood better than any men the consequences of superior power, yet we chose rather to assist the weak, even to our own detriment, than join with the strong, to promote injustice and oppression, though we might have been the gainers by such a conduct. Any one may know the manners and strength of our city: by the embassies and supplications which have been sent: but I shall pass over such as have been sent us lately, or upon small occasions.

BUT long before the Trojan times (for it is proper to begin from thence, in a dispute of this nature), the descendants of Hercules came to our city, and, a little while before them, Adrastus the son of Talaus, who was king of Argos. He, having met with adversity in the war at Thebes, and not able to carry off and bury those that lay slain under the Cadmian citadel, intreated our city to take part in the common distresses of human nature, nor neglect those who had fallen by the chance of war, or permit them to lie unburied, and thus let so antient, national,

tional, and religious a rite be broken through. As for the descendants of Hercules flying from the persecution of Eurystheus, and not regarding other cities, as incapable of assisting them, but judging our city alone strong and generous enough to shew her gratitude for those benefits whereby their father had obliged all mankind, they sued for the patronage of Athens alone against oppression and violence. From hence it is evident, that, even in that time, our city had a distinguished honour, and now puts not in its claim, without solid grounds, to precedence; for who would ever have recourse to weaker than themselves, or to such as were subjected to others, and pass by those who had the greatest authority and power? especially not coming about private affairs only, but a public interest, which it was not probable any would undertake to defend, but such as thought themselves worthy of being at the head of all Greece. Now, it is clear, they were not deceived in their expectations from our ancestors; for our city entering into a war on account of those who fell before Thebes, as well as for the protection of Hercules's children against Eurystheus, having attacked the first, they obliged them to give up the dead bodies, to be decently buried by their relations; and, upon the Peloponnesians making an inroad into Attica, with Eurystheus, they met and defeated them; by this means putting an end to the tyranny of Eurystheus over the family of Hercules. Though they were justly admired before for their noble actions, yet they became still more glorious by such generous patronage; for they performed so effectually what they had undertaken, that they cast such weight into the balance of fortune, that he who had implored our succour, having conquered his enemies, acquired whatever he had wished by our assistance. But Eurystheus, expecting to have been superior, being himself taken prisoner, was forced to become a suppliant to our government. And this is worthy of observation, that he who surpassed the dignity of human nature, who was begotten by Jupiter, and, while a mortal, had godlike strength, was

was yet oppressed and tyrannized over, during life, by Eurystheus : but no sooner had the tyrant trespassed against us, but he met with such a reverse of fortune, that, falling into the hands of Hercules's children, he finished his life with dishonour. Tho' I could mention many kindnesses and favours done to the Lacedæmonians by our countrymen, yet I have only spoke of this ; for the offspring of Hercules, the ancestors of those who now reign in Lacedæmon, taking opportunity from that protection which we had given them, returned to Peloponnesus, possessed themselves of Argos, Lacedæmon, and Mycenæ, became founders of Sparta, and the original and source of all the happiness the natives now enjoy ; which the Lacedæmonians ought never to have forgotten, or ever invaded this country, from which their ancestors kings, returning with succours, were established in such great happiness ; nor have exposed this city to danger, which had hazarded so much her own tranquillity for the sons of Hercules ; nor granted royalty to his descendants, and endeavoured to bring into servitude the authors of the whole family's flourishing condition and liberty. But if, setting aside generous benefactions, we return again to our first subject, and give the plainest and strongest reasons which make for my position, is it natural that foreigners should be honoured above the original inhabitants ? that those who have received favours, be preferred to their benefactors, and supplicants to their protectors ? I can give a still shorter demonstration of these truths. Of all the cities of Greece at that time, Argos, Thebes, and Lacedæmon, were the greatest, except ours, and now continue to be so. Now it is certain, that our ancestors so far excelled all the other Greeks, that they sent their express orders to the Thebans to desist from war, in the calamity of the Argives, tho' the Thebans were in the very height of their power : but, in respect of Hercules's children, after conquering the Argives, and other Peloponnesians in battle, our city both freed the citizens and founders of Sparta from the dangers which threatned them, on account of an
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haughty and insulting enemy : so that I cannot possibly perceive how any one can produce a better plea for the leading authority in Greece, than such public universal benefits conferred on all.

IT seems proper to me here, that I should now speak of those actions, which reflect glory upon our ancestors, for their brave resistance of the Barbarians ; especially since I have designed this discourse to be an exhortation to all Greece, by common consent, to make a confederate war against them. Should I here now enumerate all the difficulties and hazards of such a glorious enterprize, I should draw out my oration to an immoderate length. But I will endeavour, with the same brevity and clearness, to explain myself about what is most momentous, as I have lately done in regard of the topics I spoke of before. The nations, who have the most extended power, are the Scythians, Thracians, and the Persians. These are all of them our certain enemies ; and our city is constantly maligned and exposed to danger by them. Now what will be left to my opponents to pretend, if I prove that those Grecians, who could obtain equity from others by their own power, have always humbly sought for the assistance of our city ; and that the Barbarians never entertained a design of enslaving Greece, but they always attacked our country first. The most memorable war that has happened, was the Persian : and yet there are to be found, in antient history, no less proofs of what I assert ; for when Greece was as yet in a low and obscure condition, the Thracians, under their general Eumolpus, the son of Neptune, and the Scythians, with the Amazons, daughters of the god Mars, made an invasion on our country, not indeed at the same time ; but when each of them were absolute in Europe. Tho' they hated the whole Grecian nation, yet they found pretensions of a private quarrel with us, judging, that, by this means, they should have only to contend with one city, but thereby make themselves masters of all. They did not, however, succeed ; for though they fought only with our ancestors, yet they were as entirely defeated, as if they had contended with

with all mankind. This is clear from the calamities they suffered; for the history of those transactions would not have continued such a series of time, unless this war had far exceeded all before it. It is likewise said of the Amazons, that not one of them all returned back again; and that those who remained behind, upon account of the loss here, were deprived of their own kingdom. As for the Thracians, who, in that time, were our immediate neighbours, after this invasion, they left so much land behind them, that there are established, in their place, several and various nations, and many large and strong cities are built and inhabited. Now, such instances as these are glorious pretensions for those who put in a claim to distinguished honours and authority. But of a like nature with this bravery (as was fitting), were these heroes posterity's actions in the Persian war, raised by Darius and Xerxes: for this latter war being the greatest that has ever been mentioned in history, the most dreadful dangers, as it were a deluge rushing in on all sides, the enemy, at the same time, persuading themselves that they were invincible by their numbers, their allies likewise glorying in their strength; our ancestors attacked them courageously, and, getting the better of both, were judged worthy, by all Greece, of the highest honours, for their zeal and fortitude in the common cause. Soon after, they had deferred to them the sovereignty of the sea. This all Greece concurred in, even those who now endeavour to deprive us of it. But I would not here have any one think that I am ignorant, that the Lacedæmonians, at the same time, were authors of great advantages to Greece: yet, from hence, I judge our city deserving of the highest praise, that, though she had such noble antagonists, she still gained so far the superiority in public merit.

I SHALL insist something longer upon the merits of these two cities, and not lightly run them over, that both may put us in mind of our ancestors valour and virtue, as well as our hereditary hatred to the Barbarians. And let me say here, that I am not insensible, how difficult it is, for me, who speak of things which have been largely treated of before,

fore, and this by the most eloquent citizens, at public honorary burials, to express myself with suitable dignity; for the most distinguished actions of both, and worthy of praise, have been already celebrated by others, and a small opportunity only seems left to me of adding any more; yet still I ought not to omit what is left me, but willingly embrace every just occasion of doing such glorious rivals justice; since this will be conducive to the public good, and mutual emulation. Now, I believe it will be allowed by all, that those who have turned off the calamities of Greece by the opposition of their own bodies, have a title to the highest encomiums: nor is it proper here, to pass over in silence those who lived before the breaking out of this war, and governed in each city; for it was they who exercised their posterity in virtue, and inspired their citizens with such noble thoughts, as rendered them terrible antagonists to the Barbarians; for they did not neglect the public, nor enjoy its revenues as a property, while they looked on its interests as none of theirs; but they took care of them as their own, and abstained from making a prey of their cities treasures, as from what belonged to the commonwealth only: nor did they measure happiness by gold; but they thought the noblest and safest riches were the acquisition of public love, and general praise, and leaving them as an inheritance to their children; for they envied not one another's audaciousness, nor exercised mutual enmities; but they thought it a far greater evil to be dispraised by their citizens, than to lose, with glory, their life for their country; and they were even more ashamed then for any public disgraces, than we are now for our private infamies and vices. It was by such a principle, that they were as careful of the laws and rules which regard daily domestic duties, as of those which are calculated for the security of public contracts; for they knew, that such as were inspired with the love of virtue and integrity, would not stand in need of many writings, but, by a few simple formulas, would live in amity both in regard of private and public interests.

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And they were of that humane civil disposition, as to contend with one another, not for superiority by the ruin of rivals, but who should have the honour of most benefiting the city; and they made associations; not in view of private advantages, but of doing good to the populace. In the same noble design, they consulted the happiness of others, and never insulted or oppressed the rest of the Grecians. They thought it was their duty to conduct their armies, and not tyrannize over them; and they chose rather to be called their generals than lords, their preservers than destroyers; persuading the neighbouring cities by friendly actions, not subjecting them by force. They made their words be more respected and depended on, than in our age we do our most solemn oaths; and were as religious observers of their covenants and treaties, as if they were the laws of fate and necessity: nor did they pride themselves in power, but in living virtuously, and being distinguished by their modesty and temperance. They had the same disposition towards the weaker, as they would have wished the stronger should have towards them; and though they judged their own city their particular care and property, yet they thought all Greece their native common country. It was by these maxims, and accustoming the youth to such principles, that they rendered their sons such brave antagonists to the Asiatics, that no poets or orators could ever, by their praises, equal the glory of their heroic actions. And I think they deserve excuse; for it is as difficult to worthily praise those who have excelled all by their actions, as it would be to reasonably praise those who are void of all merit. In the latter, there is no subject for pænegyric, and the former, by their divine virtues, surpass all eloquence; for how can they even be compared with those (if we would not injure them) who fought before Troy? for these besieged one city, in a lingering war, ten years; but their posterity overthrew the collected forces of all Asia in a short time: nor only saved their own cities, but recovered the liberty of all Greece. What must we think their virtues

virtues and labours to have been, that they might be praised living, when they advanced with alacrity to certain death, that they might be honoured and esteemed in their graves? I believe, that some god stirred up this war, that he might have the pleasure of exercising and admiring such heroism and amazing valour; that men of such exalted natures should not be unknown, or lost in the obscurity of death, but be equalled to those who derived their blood from heaven, and were stiled demi-gods; for they likewise were subject, by their bodies, to common mortality, but left behind them an immortal fame, acquired by their deathless actions.

WHEREFORE, as I have said, our ancestors and the Lacedæmonians were always emulous of each other; and, at that time especially, they contended in the race of glory, not as enemies, but as noble-minded rivals; not flattering the Barbarians to bring Greece under a common slavery, but joining, in mutual bravery, to assert the safety and liberty of our native country. They disputed, indeed, for the prize of glory, and which of them should be the principal authors of the happiness of Greece; they shewed their distinguished courage, and our city, first of all, against the forces sent by Darius; for, they making a descent into Attica, we expected not succours; but, thinking the common war our own private danger, we met in battle the despisers of all Greece, having none but our own troops, and a few auxiliaries, against so great a multitude, as cheerfully as if all our hazard had been in mercenary forces. But the Lacedæmonians, indeed, no sooner knew of the invasion of Attica, than, omitting all other care, they hastened to our assistance, marching with such rapidity, as they would have done to save their own country from plunder and devastation. This is a token of the zeal and dispatch that was then exerted by our ancestors, as it is said of them, that, in the same day they heard of the Barbarians descent, they marched to protect the frontiers, and, giving battle, raised an immortal trophy by the ruin of the

prodigious Persian army : and the Lacedæmonians, in three days and nights, marched a thousand two hundred furlongs with their whole army, to shew their zeal and emulation in the pursuit of glory ; and our ancestors made the same speed to meet, alone, the common danger, before their allies could join them. After this, the war again breaking out under Xerxes, who, daring to leave his palace, and conduct his army as general, and gathering together the whole strength of Asia, came upon us with that deluge of an ocean-like power, as it is impossible for words to express. He was elated to that excess of pride, that he imagined it an easy enterprize to enslave all Greece ; and, designing to give a proof of more than mortal power, he ceased not till he effected a prodigy, that has been celebrated by all, to wit, to make his army sail on the continent, and march over the sea on foot, as on even firm ground ; for he made a bridge over the Hellespont, and dug through Mount Athos by the innumerable hands of his army. Against a king of such an enterprising mind, who had effected such wonders, we, and the Lacedæmonians, divided the danger. The Lacedæmonians chose out of their men a thousand foot, and a few allies, with the design of intercepting their passage at Thermopylæ ; but our forefathers filled, with warriors and sailors, sixty gallies at Artemisium. Nor did they shew such intrepidity out of contempt of the enemy, but rather out of an heroic emulation of each others courage and resolution. The Lacedæmonians emulated our glory in the plains of Marathon, and sought to equal it, fearing lest our city should again become the sole cause of the safety of all Greece. But our ancestors were desirous of preserving their acquired fame, and make it evident to all, that they did not conquer before by fortune, but by their bravery and valour. Besides this, they had in view to bring the Greeks to improve their maritime powers, and shew them, that conduct and bravery, in this respect, prevail over multitudes. Tho' both shewed equal bravery, yet they had not both the same success ; for the Lacedæmonians

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were slain: and tho' they conquered, by their virtue and courage, the power of death itself, they, notwithstanding, sunk under the multitude of their enemies; for it is not lawful to say of such undaunted heroes, that they were or could be vanquished: not one of them but scorned ignoble flight. Our ancestors, on the contrary, immediately conquered the first ships of the Persians: but when they heard, that the Barbarians had gained the passage, they sailed back, and so consulted the public good, that, after they had performed many noble exploits, they particularly excelled themselves in the extremity of danger; for all their allies being dispirited, and the Peloponnesians walling up the Isthmus, and seeking their own safety, nay, all the other cities being subjected by the Barbarians, and fighting on their side, except some that had been neglected on account of their inconsiderableness, our ancestors still retained the same independence and magnanimity; for twelve hundred ships, and an innumerable land-army, being ready to invade Attica, though they could promise themselves no security, deprived as they were of allies, and all probable hopes, yet still having it in their power to avoid danger, nay to receive distinguished favours which the king offered them, who judged, that if he once joined to his own their naval force, he should, without difficulty, make himself master of all Peloponnesus; notwithstanding this, I say, they rejected his proposals with a sublimity of mind worthy of patriots and true heroes. Nor did they indulge a blind resentment against other Grecians, by whom they had been deserted, and eagerly accept the terms proposed by the king; but they resolved alone to contend for liberty, pardoning and pitying those who chose subjection and slavery; for they thought, that humble and weak cities might consult their safety any ways; but that those who were emulous of the highest glory in Greece, could not be excused, if they shunned danger in the common cause of public good and liberty. And as it is eligible to brave and virtuously-minded men, rather to chuse death than an infamous life, so it is

more eligible to cities, that excel in glory, to be erased to the very foundations, than ever submit to servitude. It is certain our ancestors thought so; for, finding themselves not a match for the king's both sea and land-forces, taking all the citizens aboard their ships, they sailed with them to an adjoining island, that they might thus not expose themselves all at once to the chance of war. I may justly here cry out, how can we possibly imagine better men, or greater lovers of Greece, than such as had the courage (to save others from slavery) to look calmly upon their exhausted city, their plundered country, their spoiled temples, their burnt shrines, the whole war pouring in on all sides into Attica! But this did not suffice them; for they dared alone to fight against twelve hundred of the Barbarian ships. Indeed they were not suffered to do this by the rest, but they had the courage to have done it; for the Peloponnesians, blushing to see their virtues, and judging their own ruin must follow theirs, and, should they conquer unassisted, that they would disgrace all the other cities; the Peloponnesians, I say, were thus forced to come in to their assistance. I need not here, methinks, on this occasion, represent the tumult of action, the shouts and mutual exhortations of the soldiers and sailors, and all the horrors of such a dreadful conflict.

BUT what is peculiar and proper to precedency in honour, I think it my duty to take an opportunity of mentioning in this place; for such was the glory and superiority of our city, in its flourishing condition, that, after it was left and abandoned, yet its inhabitants furnished more gallies for the common cause than all the rest of Greece besides; for there is no one so unjust an adversary to us, as not to confess, that tho' all Greece conquered in this sea-battle, yet our city was the cause of so signal a victory. And, in a future expedition against the Barbarians, who, in equity, can we think should have the highest command? Should it not be they who excelled in the former war, who gained the greatest applause, often alone exposed their lives,
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and were universally judged worthy of the highest honours? Should it not be they, who left their own habitations for the public good, tho' they were antiently the possessors of the greatest number of cities, and preserved them by their valour from the dreadfullest calamities? Must it not be said, with reason, that we should suffer great injustice, if, after having borne the hardest labours in our national adversities, we should now be judged only deserving inferior honours? and tho' they originally took the place of all, they now should be forced down to a humbler rank? In the forementioned times, I know all will agree, that our city was the cause of the greatest public good, and consequently deserved the precedence.

BUT, after all this, some accuse us now of having been, when we had received the sovereignty of the seas, the cause also of many calamities to the Greeks; and they mention, on this occasion, the captivity of the Melii, and the total destruction of the Scioneans. But I think this is no proof that we ruled unjustly, if some, who dared to make war upon us, were severely punished: nay, I rather think, that this is a certain mark, that we had a great regard for the interests of our allies, since no cities, under our patronage, fell into the like miseries. Besides, if any other states used a milder government, they alone have a title to condemn us: but if this has not happened (nor is it possible to keep so many cities in obedience, without punishing the disobedient), how can it be otherwise than just to praise us, who, having shewed our resentment but against a few, were able to maintain our sovereignty so long? And none can doubt, methinks, that those are best patrons and protectors of the Grecians, under whose government the obedient have been in the most flourishing condition. Now, under our principality, we shall find, that both private families were in the happiest situation, and cities in the most improving and flourishing condition; for we envied not their increase, nor introduced troubles amongst them, or raised separate factions, that they might be divided, and each party

court our favour ; but, judging the concord of our allies a common good, we governed all cities by the same laws, treating them as friends do, not as lords ; directing, indeed, the universal affairs of all the state, but leaving every one free in his own cities ; always assisting the people, and humbling tyrants, thinking it unjust, that a multitude should be slaves to a few, and the poorer sort, though no ways in other respects inferior, be excluded from public posts ; and though our native soil be a common property ; that some should reign, others be only as sojourners, and though citizens by nature, yet be deprived of a share in the government. Having these just objections against oligarchies, and more than these, we established the same form of government amongst others, as we used ourselves ; which, I think, I need not praise more at large, as I can make the whole evident in few words ; for we have continued seventy years living under this form of government, secure against tyrants as well as Barbarians, without civil dissensions, and having peace with all mankind : which, certainly, all prudent persons ought rather to be glad of, than upbraid us on account of our colonies, which we have sent into desert places, for the defence of the countries, and not out of a prospect of our own advantage and emolument. This is a proof of it ; for, having a small territory in respect of the multitude of inhabitants, but a strong and united government, having double the number of galleys that all others had, and being capable of contending with double that number, and tho' Eubœa was adjacent to Attica, and by nature advantageously situated for the supremacy of the sea, and excelling all other islands in other respects, we did this island no injustice, and set an example of abstinence from oppression, when we had as much power over it, as we had over our own territories. Add this likewise, that tho' we well knew, how that those Greeks, as well as Barbarians, are most admired, who, entirely destroying their neighbours, procure themselves affluence, and the liberty of an unactive indolent life, yet nothing of this tempted our

our ancestors to act unjustly by this island; and we were contented with less affluence than others enjoyed, whom we had some plea of subjecting. Had we had avarice in view, would we not have retained Scione, and not voluntarily have given it away to the Platæans, who had fled to us for succour? But, I say, we parted with the possession of those lands, which would have enriched all our city. Now, after such an example of moderation, and such a proof of our equity, and abstinence from others rights, dare those accuse us, who have made themselves oppressive officers, rendered all former injustices done their commonwealth, comparatively small, and left no possibility to others of exceeding them in violence; but, professing themselves lovers of the Lacedæmonian interest, by their practices confute their own declarations; and, while they lament the fate of the Melians, refrain not from the most exorbitant oppressions of their own fellow-citizens. For, what injustices have they not done? and what infamies and cruelties have they not perpetrated? In short, what crimes, tho' never of so revolting a nature, have they abstained from? They have esteemed the rashest and most imprudent the faithfullest to them, and flattered traitors and betrayers of their country, as if they were its benefactors; and even subjected themselves to slaves, that they might tyrannize over their citizens; nay, have even honoured public murderers and assassins more than their very parents. These facts are too notorious to admit of any colouring. And they have inspired us all with that inhumanity, that tho', before this confusion of order on account of our then happiness, in the smallest disasters we were wont to have a number of condolers and sympathizers, yet, under their government, upon account of the variety of our domestic calamities, we have quite left off pitying one another; for they have allowed no one so much leisure as to commiserate his neighbour. Whom have they not violated? or who was so retired from public affairs, as not to share in the common misery, which was caused by their barbarity? Lastly,

Lastly, Are they not ashamed, who have so ill-governed their own cities, to accuse ours of injustice and mismanagement?

BUT, moreover, they dare to object to us the law-suits, and sentences of court, which happened in those times, tho' they put to death, without a legal condemnation, in three months, more than our city arraigned during all its government. But, as for the banishments caused by them, the seditions, and confusion of all laws, the changes in form of government, the insults done to youth, the violations of married women, and the plundering of private fortunes, what tongue or eloquence can enumerate, or ever paint them in full colours? But this I have to say in a few words, that all the injustice and oppression committed by us, might be rectified by one decree; but that it is an impossibility ever to redress the assassinations and crimes committed by them. On the contrary, who would, I will not say, accept of the present sort of precarious peace, but of that liberty, the idea of which is preserved only in writings and covenants, rather than that mild public oeconomy which was observed in our commonwealth? Who would desire such circumstances of public management, wherein pirates are masters of the sea, and armed soldiers seize the cities; when citizens, instead of fighting with unanimity against a common enemy, are in civil broils with one another, and more cities have been taken by force, and enslaved during their rule, than were before the peace? Now, on account of the frequent changes of government, and those banishments which are the consequents, all bravery and spirit seems extinguished every where, and the banished live more contented than they who are left behind; for the latter fear futurity, and the first hope a better turn of affairs: and, in general, all are so far from liberty, and the free enjoyment of their native laws, that some cities are subject to tyrants, some are governed by a sort of military despotic masters, and others ruined to the very foundations, while the Barbarians have possessed themselves of others. Those Barbarians, I say, whom, upon their daring to pass over

over into Europe, and conceive higher ideas of their power than they ought in wisdom, we so humbled, that they not only willingly desisted from invading us, but suffered their own coasts to be plundered. And though they came with twelve hundred ships, yet we brought them to that low state, that they dared not to draw down a long ship within Phaselis, but remained quiet, waited the opportunities of time, and distrusted their then condition and forces. And that all this was owing to us, the ensuing calamity of our city has sufficiently declared; for, from the time we were deprived of the sovereignty, all the misfortunes of Greece took their fatal origin. After our loss in the Hellespont, others being generals and admirals, the Barbarians conquered by sea, and became masters of it; they seized most of the islands, and made a descent upon the territory of the Lacedæmonians; they took Cythera by storm, and, plundering and distressing all Peloponnesus, they sailed safely away again. But we shall be best judges of the greatness of the public calamity, if we examine the present treaties, and those which were made under us, and transmitted down in writing; for then we gave laws, and prescribed bounds to the Persian monarch, ordering certain tributes, and forbidding him the freedom of the sea: but he now regulates the states of Greece, appoints what all shall do, and almost elects the magistrates of each respective city. Exclusive of this, what has he not obtained? Is he not the arbitrator of war? Has he not directed the terms of peace, and been moderator in all our public interests? Have we not, sailing to him as to a sovereign prince, mutually accused one another? Do we not stile him the great king, as if we were in fact his captives? Do we not, in our intestine wars, have recourse to him, place our hopes of safety and protection in him; in him, I say, who would willingly destroy us all?

THOSE who form a solid judgment of this, are displeased with the present state of things, desire again our management of the public good, and resent the conduct of the

the Lacedæmonians, who pretended, at the commencement of the war, the common liberty of Greece, but, in the conclusion, betrayed it to the Barbarians, made the Ionians desert the interest of our city, from which they came, and by which they had often been saved, and even delivered them into the hands of the common enemy; from us, I say, they withdrew them, from whom they formerly went to establish themselves there, where they possess the territory against the Persians will, with whom they scarce ever cease having war. The Lacedæmonians then repented, that we should pretend even legally to govern those we had a just authority over; but now that they are sunk into such a degree of slavery, the Lacedæmonians are totally unconcerned about them. Nor does it seem enough to the Persian, that they pay tribute, see their strong places possessed by the enemy's garrisons, but, besides their public calamities, they suffer more in their bodies than our very bought slaves; for no one of us treats so inhumanely his servants, as they do free persons. But the greatest of all miseries is, that they are forced to expose their lives in rivetting faster their own chains, to fight even against those who would restore them to their liberties, and run those dangers, wherein, should they fail of victory, they must die, but, coming off victorious, must render their servitude the more severe and inevitable for the future. Of all which whom can we accuse as authors, but the Lacedæmonians? who, though they have such great power, yet neglect their allies and friends under such deplorable circumstances, and look on with indifference, while the Barbarians strengthen their own empire with the blood and bravery of the Grecians. And formerly, indeed, they drove out tyrants, and assisted the people; but they are now so far changed, that they enter into war with republics, and help to establish monarchies. In the time of peace they ruined Mantinea, seized Cadmeia, the Theban fortress, and now they are at war with the Olynthians and Phliasiens: nay, they even are auxiliaries to Amyntas king of the Macedonians, Dionysius the tyrant

tyrant of Sicily, and the Barbarian who lords it over Asia; that they may have as great a power as possible. And what can possibly be more absurd, than for the chief of Greece to make one man the lawless despotic master of so many persons as surpass calculation? On the contrary, hinder the greatest free cities from using their own laws, force them to become slaves, or else to struggle with the greatest difficulties and losses? But what is the most astonishing of all is, to see those who have the leading power, fighting almost constantly against the Grecians, but making a perpetual confederacy of mutual succours with the Persian. Nor let any one think I speak this out of enmity, because I have explained this in strong terms, tho' I said I designed this discourse as a preliminary of common concord; for I have not spoken in this view, that I might publicly accuse the city of Lacedæmon, but that, as far as lies in oratory, I may dissuade the Lacedæmonians from entertaining any longer the same sentiments. And it is impossible to turn others from any crimes, or persuade them to the contrary virtues, unless we severely reprehend the guilty. We ought, indeed, to think those men accusers, who reproach us with the design of hurting us, but to esteem those men our monitors, who do it for our advantage; for we ought not to put the same interpretation upon the same words, if not spoken with the same intention: but we have justly to blame them for this likewise, that they force their neighbours to be slaves to their own city, yet procure nothing of a like nature for their allies. But would they once put an end to all contention with us, it will be in our joint power to make all the neighbouring Barbarians the slaves of Greece.

Now, it certainly becomes those, who are by nature, and not casually, of a noble mind, to attempt the forementioned great enterprize, and not grasp at tributes from the islanders; since the inhabitants of islands ought to be the objects of compassion, since they are obliged, by the scarcity of land, to plough the very mountains; but the inhabitants of the Asiatic

Asiatic continent, on account of its vast extent, leave the greatest part uncultivated: from which, notwithstanding, they receive such variety of fruits, as render them immensely rich and opulent. I really believe, that should some intelligent stranger come from a foreign country, and see the present management of our public affairs, he would condemn us of folly and frenzy, who run such hazards for small advantages, when we might with safety acquire such affluence; nay, destroy our own country, when we might engross the riches of Asia. Nor can any thing be more profitable to the Persian, than to furnish us with perpetual occasions of making war on one another: but we are so far from disturbing his prosperity and ease, that we endeavour to compose for him those troubles which accidentally arise in his dominions. We even suffer him to use one of the armies in Cyprus, and besiege the other, tho' both of them are composed of Grecians; which two armies are friendly disposed to us, and have put themselves under the patronage of the Lacedæmonians: and as for the forces under the command of Tiribazus, the most serviceable of his infantry has been raised in these parts, and the greatest number of seamen have sailed from the coasts of Ionia; all which troops would much more willingly plunder the continent of Asia, than fight with their own countrymen, for insignificant advantages. But we blindly make no account of this, contend with one another for the Cyclades, and leave such a number of galleys and strong powers in the hands of the enemy, that with them he possesses some places, will have others, and has designs upon more. Thus he justly despises us for our misconduct, and has effected what none of his ancestors ever could; for Asia is confessed, both by us and the Lacedæmonians, to be the king's right and property: and he has so lordly seized upon several Grecian cities, as to demolish some, build fortresses, and put garrisons into others; and all this has happened by our improvidence and folly, not his bravery and wisdom.

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SOME admire, indeed, the grandeur of the Persian's empire ; say, he is very difficult to conquer, and mention, on this occasion, the revolutions which he has caused in Greece. Now I think, that these very men are so far from discouraging, that they strongly exhort us to enter into a war with him ; for if, in the common union and friendship of us all, he should be hard to humble in the confusion of his state, ought we not doubly to fear such a time, when the affairs of the Barbarian shall be settled in tranquillity and concord, and we, as at present, divided, and bearing hostile dispositions ? Though they should be, as I have said, of the opinion mentioned, they do not judge rationally of the king's power ; but could they indeed shew us, that, in any time, he had prevailed over both our cities united, then we should have even now just cause to fear his superiority. If this they cannot do, but when we were at variance, that only then, by joining with one side, he seemed to gain a sort of glory, this, I say, is no proof of his strength at all ; for, in such circumstances we must be sensible, that a little change of balance causes great alterations. And I may say this in respect of the Chians, that with whichever of us they joined, that party was sure to have the command of the sea. But we are not to consider the king's power as in confederacy with either of us, but when he fought only with his own forces. And, first, in the revolt of Egypt, what did he effect against those who possessed themselves of it ? Did he not send thither the most renowned of the Persians, Acrocamas, Tithraustes, and Pharnabazus. These generals, after three years stay there, and suffering more distress than they caused to their adversaries, were at last forced to return so shamefully, as not only to leave the revolvers possessors of Egypt still, and not contented with liberty, but also attempting to make themselves lords of the bordering states. After this, he made war upon Evagoras, who is regent but of one city in the island of Cyprus, and abandoned by our treaties : and tho' Evagoras had a loss by sea, and only three hundred spear-

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men to defend his territory, yet the Persian has not been able to get the better of such small forces, but has already employed to no purpose six years struggle. And if we may conjecture of futurity by what has happened, it is more probable some others will revolt, before he can take Evagoras's city ; there are always such delay and procrastination in the conduct of the king's affairs. In the wars of Cnidos, he had the assistance of the Lacedæmonian allies, upon account of their too severe government, as well as ours ; and Conon marched to him with an army, who was a most vigilant general, faithful to the Grecian interest, and perfectly skilled in the art of war. Tho' the Persian had such a capable assistant, yet, for all this, he suffered all the naval forces of Asia to be blocked up, for three years successively, by only three hundred gallies ; and he wronged the soldiers of fifteen months pay : so that, as far as depended on him, they must have been disbanded ; and it was with difficulty at last, that he conquered, by means of the confederacy of the Grecians at Corinth, formed on the impending dangers.

THESE are the noblest and most royal actions of the Persian, which some are constantly mentioning, who are willing to extol the king's power : so that none can justly object to me any unfair dealing, or that I do not use proper examples, but dwell upon minure things, and omit things of far greater moment ; for, avoiding this accusation, I have only mentioned his most celebrated and splendid exploits. But I was not ignorant of the bravery of Dercylidas, who, having only a thousand armed men, possessed himself of Æolis ; or how Draco, having taken Aterneus, and getting together about three thousand shielded soldiers, plundered and spoiled the Mysian territory ; that Thymbron, having transported a something larger number, ravaged all Lydia ; Agesilaus, commanding the troops of Cyrus, seized upon almost all that space of land which lies within the river Halys. We need not therefore, I say, fear the king's power, or the bravery of the Persians ; for it was evident,

evident, by those who came with Cyrus, that the rest are no better soldiers than those who inhabit near the sea. I will omit other battles in which they were worsted, and suppose, that they were divided by sedition, and unwilling to do their utmost against the king's brother : but even after Cyrus's death, all the collected powers of Asia fought in such a shameful manner, that they left no opportunity, no room, for praising the Persian valour ; for having surprised about six thousand Grecians, who were not chosen men, but incapable of living in their own cities, on account of their disorders, and ignorant likewise of the country where they were ; I say, having surprised these men, unassisted by allies, betrayed by the Persians, deprived of their general ; yet, notwithstanding such disadvantages, the Persians were so inferior to them, that the king, distrusting the strength of his army, had recourse to fraud, treacherously seized the Grecian captains, and hoped, by this violation of laws, to spread terror in their small camp ; chusing rather thus to offend the gods, than hazard an open battle with our countrymen : but failing in his design, the soldiers continuing together, and bearing this unexpected loss, he sent after them in their march Tissaphernes, with the horse ; and though they were constantly molested by the Persians in their way, they held on their march as securely as if they had been escorted only ; and more feared the desertness of the country than the numbers of their enemies. The head of what I have said is, that they who fought not after booty, or seized upon some city, but marched directly against the king himself, returned with greater safety than those who went to him under the protection of the rights of embassy, and proposals of friendship : so that, I think, the Persians have given evident proofs, in all places, of their womanish effeminacy. Upon the coasts, likewise, they have been defeated in several battles ; and, having made a descent into Europe, they suffered for their rashness ; for some of them perished, and others more shamefully saved themselves ; and, finally, those who returned, became ridi-

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culous in their enervate king's pompous unmanly palace.

NOTHING of this happened without cause, but all according to the constant nature of things ; for it is not possible, that men so educated, so governed by a vicious tyrant, should be possessed either of bravery, or any other noble virtue. How can it be, that, in such a form of government, there should be a good soldier, much less a heroic, wise, just, brave general ? The greatest part of them are a disorderly, dissolute mob, unacquainted with the horrors of death, afraid of war, and more habituated to slavery than our most abject bought servants : nay, the noblest of them, as they are called, never lived upon equal, public, equitable terms in their kingdom, but oppressed some, while they were the meanest, most abandoned slaves to others ; and are men the most corrupted that is possible, by vice and servitude, in all nature. What grovelling wretches must such be, whose very education teaches them the lowest baseness, submission to usurping cowardice ! They have indeed luxurious wanton bodies by riches and intemperance, but abject dispirited minds by submission to despotism ; shewing the vilest worship and adoration in the palace, and learning thus, in the school of cowardice and injustice, all possible depravation of manly reason : adoring, I say, a mortal man, and calling him a god ; despising the truly immortal gods, while they speak, to the shame of mankind. Thus their nobles, who are sent to the sea-coasts, do not belye their good instructions, but practise what they have been accustomed to. Unfaithful to their friends, and cowards to their enemies ; living in the most abandoned low-mindedness towards a monarchical idol, and with pride towards their fellow-countrymen ; treating ill their allies, and crouching, like fawning dogs, to a bold adversary. They maintained, indeed, the army under Agesilaus eight months at their expence ; but, after it had hazarded a battle for them, they defrauded the Greeks of double that pay : they gave an hundred talents to those who took Chisthene, but
treated

treated those, who made a descent with them into Cyprus, worse than the very captives. To express myself in one word, whoever fought against them resolutely, was successful; but whoever was their subject, led and finished his life infamously. Did they not put Conon to death, who had fought for them, and ruined the Lacedæmonian state? On the contrary, did they not present Thucydides with the most splendid gifts, who entirely ruined their fleet? And who would then seek their friendship, who ruin their friends, and flatter their enemies? What state of Greece have they not injured? In what period of time have they not had insidious designs against us? Is not every custom of ours odious to them? Who even, in the former war, dared to plunder and burn the temples and shrines of our gods: and it is just to mention here the Ionians with honour, who prayed for vengeance on those that rebuilt them, and restored them to their former beauty, not out of inability of doing so, but designing the ruins to be a lasting monument, to future ages, of the irreligion of the Barbarians; that none of us might ever trust to those who dared, in such an outrageous manner, to violate the seats of the gods, but be always upon our guard against them, and ever be diffident of them, who not only violated our bodies, but the very monuments of our piety. I may justly here speak in praise of our countrymen, that, with whomsoever they had a war, no sooner were hostilities over, but they forgot all enmity, yet would never shew a friendly inclination to the Asiatics, though they courted their friendship with presents and great advantages. So just, so natural a resentment they have against them, that many of our forefathers have condemned persons to death, who, they thought, favoured the Medes power; and, in public assemblies, even now they imprecate curses upon those, who dare propose to the citizens peace with the Barbarians. The Eumolpidæ and heralds, upon this national hatred of the Persians, forbid other Barbarians entering to celebrate the religious ceremonies: just as they do known-murderers: nay, we have naturally

rally such a hostile mind towards them, that we take the most pleasure in those fables, which relate to the Trojan and Persian affairs; because we learn, by them, their calamities. Some have made, upon account of war with the Barbarians, hymns in honour of the gods; but, upon account of our intestine contentions, dirges and lamentations: the first are sung in festivals, but the latter mournfully repeated on public disasters. I really believe, Homer's divine poetry was more admired on account that he writes a description of battles with Barbarians; it was, in my judgment, this which disposed our ancestors to make his art honourable in the liberal exercises, and in the education of youth, that, by often hearing those poems, we might all of us imbibe a native detestation of the Barbarians; and, at the same time kindling with the noble emulation of those heroes who fought against Troy, might aspire one day to imitate their heroism.

WHEREFORE, as I have before said, numberless reasons exhort us to make war with the Persians; especially this present opportunity, which we ought not to omit, as none can be better: and it would certainly be a shame not to take advantage of it, but regret it when it is passed. What advantages can we desire in undertaking war with the king, which we do not now enjoy? Has not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from him? Phœnicia and Syria are ruined by the war; nay, Tyre, which he gloried in, is now possessed by his enemies: besides, most of the cities of Cilicia are in the hands of those who are in our interest, and it is not difficult for us to bring over the rest to our party; but no one of the Persians ever was master of Lycia: Hecatomnus, the satrape of Caria, has a long time ago, in reality, revolted from the eastern monarchy; he will declare himself whenever we please. From Cnidos as far as Sinope, Grecians possess the outskirts of Asia; whom we need not endeavour to persuade to make war, but only not hinder them from making it. Now such being the favourable circumstances, and such a conflagration ready to surround Asia on all sides,
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what difficulty is there of forming a conjecture of the event, or what need of enlarging upon our advantages? for if we see them far inferior to separate parts, how can they resist, if they contend with us all united? This is the fact. Should the Barbarian throw greater forces into those cities which are near the sea, than he has hitherto done, the islands adjoining to the continent must depend on the king's power; such are Rhodes, Samos, and Chios: but if we should seize them first, it will probably happen, that Lydia, Phrygia, and all the adjacent parts, must be in the power of those who prevent the others. Therefore we ought to lose no time, to make, in fine, no delay, lest we suffer what happened formerly to our fathers; for they, being less ready than the Barbarians, and having deserted some of their auxiliaries, were obliged, though a few, to fight against an innumerable multitude; at a time when, by a quick descent upon the continent with all the Grecian forces, they might have subdued, separately, every one of those nations: for it is evident, the policy of war requires, in the necessity of resisting, the collected forces of a vast empire, that we should not wait till they are all assembled and joined, but set upon them while they are divided and dispersed; therefore, though they committed an error at first, yet, by their undaunted courage in danger, and by their heroic actions, they remedied their error and indiscretion: but if we are wise, we shall take care in the beginning, and disappoint the enemy, by first forming a camp near Lydia and Ionia; for the king has not the inhabitants of the continent willing subjects, but enslaved only by a superior present power: and should we once transport better and stronger troops, which, if we please, we may easily do, we may then, I doubt it not, be masters of all Asia.

Now, certainly it is more for the honour of Greece, that he should fight for the defence of his own capital and palace, than dispute with us for universal monarchy: and, methinks, all should be animated to this expedition, that this generation, which has been sufferers by the Persians,

should indemnify, or rather reward themselves by their spoils, and not consume their lives passively in calamities and oppression. Let the past time suffice, in which what degree of misery and distress did we not suffer? And tho' human nature is subject to such a variety of evils, we even added to this inevitable calamity, and improved all by our unnatural wars and divisions: so that many perished in their native places by injustice, and others wandered in foreign parts with their wives and children; nay, several were forced, by their indigence, to enter into the service of the common enemy, and fell in battle fighting against their very friends and countrymen: for which public calamities none hitherto have shewn that suitable grief which they ought; though they will often burst into tears at a theatrical representation, or the fable of a poet; and, at the same time that they see the terrible devastations of war, they can look upon all unconcerned, and without the emotions of a just rational commiseration: nay, many take more pleasure in their countrymens misery, than their own tranquillity. What an amazing brutishness and insensibility is this!

AND, perhaps, some will even smile at my simplicity, that I lament private miseries, at a time when Italy is ruined, Sicily reduced to slavery, so many cities surrendered to the Barbarian, and all the remaining parts of Greece in the extremest danger. I wonder how those, who preside in cities, can pretend to courage and generosity, for mere self-convicting shame, since they have hitherto neither dared to speak or freely think of these things: certainly it became men of such station, if they are worthy of their honours, omitting all other concerns, to have been authors of a common war against the Barbarians, and given, to this end, their united counsels: perhaps they would have prevailed; but had they died before the effect, they would at least have left their harangues as so many oracles for posterity. Now, tho' they are clad with the greatest dignities and honours, yet they amuse themselves with the gratification of unworthy low passions, and have left to such as us,
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who are remote from public business, the deliberation and counsel about such a glorious, advantageous enterprize, if happily conducted, and brought, by virtue and bravery, to a good conclusion. The more pusillanimous, then, and abject-minded our ministers of state appear, we all of us ought so much the more emulously to endeavour to put an end to our wild, unnatural dissensions; for, till this is effectually done, we in vain would treat of peace; we do not extinguish, but delay our wars, and we wait the opportunity of doing one another some irretrievable evil: but we ought, with all care, to banish from amongst us these animosities, and undertake such designs and actions, whereby we may more safely inhabit our own cities, and may be more benevolently disposed among ourselves. The reasoning necessary to prove the utility of my last proposition, is very easy; for it is, I say, an impossibility to have a lasting peace, unless we fight, in a general alliance, against the Barbarians; nor ever be at union among ourselves, unless we contract friendships betwixt our states, and enter unanimously into war against the Persians. If we do this, and remedy our present distresses, which are of such a kind as naturally dissolve amities, and set even relations at variance; and disturb all mankind with wars and seditions; I say, if we once do this, it cannot be otherwise but that we must be united, and have a well-cemented friendship and concord amongst ourselves. To this end, we must, as soon as possible, transfer the war to the continent: and let us, at least, enjoy this advantage from our fatal experience of the miseries arising from intestine quarrels, that we all, as one man, turn our arms upon the eastern nations.

BUT some, perhaps, will object, that, upon account of treaties, we ought to be cautious, and not hasten the raising an army; since, on account of these treaties, the free cities look upon themselves obliged to the king, as being by him left to govern themselves by their own laws; and those which are surrendered up to the Barbarians, particularly accuse the Lacedæmonians, and others who have accepted

of the peace, as if they were by their means pushed into slavery. But let such tell me, why such a peace should not be dissolved, whereby an opinion prevails, that the Persian is the patron of Greece, and the guardian of its tranquillity ; and, on the contrary, that some of our own countrymen oppress and ruin their native country. But this is the most absurd of all, that we keep to the very conditions, which are the most iniquitous in these treaties ; for those agreements, whereby all the islands, as well as towns, situated in Europe, were declared free and independent, these have been long abrogated, and exist now in vain only upon pillars. As for those terms, which are an infamy to us, and have ruined many of our allies, they remain fixed, and are held sacred, which ought to be cancelled, and not suffered to continue in force a day. We ought to judge them impositions, and not free agreements ; for who is ignorant, that these only are conventions, which are made upon equal footing betwixt the two parties ? but that these terms are imperious commands, which oppress one party contrary to equity, while they exalt the other : wherefore we may justly blame those ambassadors, who, commissioned by the Greeks, made a peace so advantageous to the Barbarians ; for it became them, had they judged it right, that each should keep their own lands, and have the property of their captives, or should possess what each enjoyed in the time of the last peace ; it became them, I say, to have defined one or other of these things with impartiality, and made the treaties accordingly. Now, they have consulted neither the honour of ours, or the city of Lacedæmon ; but have constituted the Persian lord of all Asia, as if we had been fighting for his advantage, and as if the Persian empire had been founded of old, but we had only of late inhabited our cities ; and not according to truth, as if they had but lately acquired this honour, but we had, in every age, the precedency in Greece. I believe I shall demonstrate best, in the following manner, the indignity done us, and the encroachment of the Barbarians : The whole world being divided into two parts,

parts, the one Asia, and the other Europe, he has acquired, by convention, the half, as sharing the globe with Jupiter, and not having it allowed by the covenants of men: he has obliged us, after having engraved them on stone-pillars, to fix these infamous treaties in our public temples, a nobler trophy than is erected for a victory: such trophies are often raised for inconsiderable actions, or one event of war; but these monuments are so many public assertions of his superiority in the whole war, and over all Greece. Certainly we ought to resent such a glaring injury, meditate how we may take revenge, and prevent such abuses for the future; for it is a shame to have the Barbarians as slaves in our houses, and suffer so many friends and allies to be enslaved by them. Those who fought in the Trojan war, on account of the rape of one woman, were so inflamed with resentment, that they would not desist, till they had levelled the city of the ravisher with the dust, and left not a mark of its situation; but we are so far from such a noble courage, that though all Greece has been ignominiously injured, yet we have taken no public vengeance, though we might have such success in the enterprize, as we ourselves could wish in retaliation; for a war with the Persians is the only war more eligible than peace, and would be more like an agreeable spectacle than a military expedition: it would likewise be advantageous to both sorts of Grecians, both those who delight in peace, and those who love action and war; for the first might most securely, by this means, enjoy their possessions, and the latter amass riches and plenty by the spoil of the Barbarians.

If any one will make a serious reflection upon what I have said, and turn his thoughts on all sides, he will find such conduct the most beneficial for our country; for, in the first place, against whom would such make war, who are above injustice, and have nothing but reason and equity in their view? Would it not certainly be against those, who have frequently oppressed Greece, are now forming pernicious designs against it, and were always in the same dispo-

disposition? Again, Whom is it just for those who are not cowards, though they would make war with moderation, to envy, but such as assume to themselves more than human power and honours, though they are unworthy of an equal degree of happiness with our distressed countrymen? Against whom, I say, ought those to bear arms, who either regard religion and piety towards the gods, or utility and their own emolument and advantage? Is it not against such as are naturally enemies, the haters of our country and its laws, and, at the same time possess those enormous riches, which they dare not bravely to defend? Are they not, upon all these accounts, worthy of our utmost prosecution? Certainly they are. Nor shall we distress any of our cities, by raising forces in them, which was an odious undertaking, and justly, in our civil wars; for I think those will be fewer, who chuse to stay at home, than those who will be eager to join in the expedition. Who is too young, or too old, who would not be glad to have a share in an expedition, conducted by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for the liberty of all our countrymen and allies, while Greece is united to take revenge on the cruelties of the Barbarians? Now, what everlasting fame and glory must those who survive, or those that die, obtain, that behave with the greatest bravery in such a noble enterprise? For if these who took revenge on Paris, and overthrew one city, received such extraordinary praise, what encomiums may they hope for, who shall conquer all Asia? Is there a poet, or an orator, who will not labour, who will not do his utmost, by his eloquence and knowledge, to shew both his own exalted sentiments, and immortalize such heroic valour and virtue?

I own, I have not the same thought I had in the beginning of this oration: I imagined then, that I could speak worthily of my subject; but I am now sensible I cannot equal its dignity, and that many things have escaped me, that should have been mentioned. You therefore should consider, as well as I do, what great happiness we shall be possessed

possessed of, if we change our intestine wars into a noble war against the Asiatics, and transfer their riches and luxurious plenty into Europe: I say, we should believe this, nor, after hearing this oration, go away unconcerned; but whoever amongst us are capable, should do their utmost to reconcile Athens and Lacedæmon: and all orators should desist from other trifling harangues about the concerns of private life, and endeavour to enflame their countrymen with more heroic sentiments than I have in the present discourse, with which I have entertained this assembly; judging it beneath truly learned men, and affectionate to their country, to make such harangues, as will not better the state and lives of their hearers, but such whereby the present public distress will be remedied, and they become authors of the greatest national happiness.

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THE FIFTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
ADDRESSED TO
KING PHILIP.

* * * * *

T H E S U B J E C T.

THERE are two chief parts of this oration: the first, as in the Panegyric, has in view the reconciliation of the Grecian cities; the other, a common expedition against the Barbarians. The praise of Philip is but accessory, as inducive to interest him in such a glorious enterprize, being the properest person to cement all parties in amity, and conduct the united forces of Greece.



THE FIFTH
ORATION OF ISOCRATES,
ADDRESSED TO
KING PHILIP.

WONDER not, O Philip! that I draw not the exordium of this discourse from my present subject, and designed oration, but from that discourse which was written before, on account of Amphipolis. Let me premise a few words, that I may shew to you and others, how it was not out of imprudence, or a sickly fancy, occasioned by my ill state of health, that I have presumed to send you this oration; but for solid reasons, and after mature consideration: for having observed the war which happened betwixt you and our city, on account of Amphipolis, to have been the cause of many calamities, I endeavoured to speak in such a manner concerning this city, and the adjacent country, as none of your friends, or our orators, have done before me, but in as different a method as possible. They exhorted both to war, in compliance with your inclinations: I have not touched at all upon things less evident, and in dispute; but I have omitted none of those reasons which I thought the most conducive to peace, and a mutual good understanding betwixt both states, proving, that you both equally mistake your real interests; that you are fighting for our advantage, and
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we to encrease your power. It is indeed your advantage to have an authority in the neighbouring region, but not prudence in us to take this city by force : and, methinks, I have so handled these topics, that none will so much praise this oration, upon account of the purity and accuracy of the stile, as some have been accustomed to do my other orations ; but they will more esteem the solid reasons and matters of fact inserted in it, whereby I make it evident, that there is no possibility of putting an end to our unhappy contentions, unless you yourself become convinced, that the friendship of our city is of more value than any revenues which can arise to you from the possession of Amphipolis ; and unless our city be once persuaded, that they ought not to be desirous of making such colonies, where the inhabitants have three or four times successively been ruined ; but pitch upon those places, which are removed from all such as may oppress them, but near to such as are accustomed to slavery. In such a place the Lacedæmonians established a colony at Cyrenæ. Now, I hope, I shall not fail of my present design, if you are persuaded, that tho' in words you surrender the city to us, yet you will still, in fact, be master of it, and gain our perpetual friendship besides ; for you will have as many hostages of our friendship, as we shall send persons from hence into the neighbourhood of your kingdom. I will endeavour to persuade our multitude to believe, as they should, that if we take Amphipolis, we shall still be as much obliged to keep up a good understanding with you, and favour all your designs, upon account of our citizens there, as we were obliged to maintain a correspondence with Medocus in old times, upon account of our husbandmen in the Chersonesus. Such being the reasons I proposed to my fellow-citizens, towards an amicable accommodation, all that heard them hoped, that, should my discourse be dispersed, we should compose our present differences, and, with emulation, consult some common good. Wherefore, whether they judged prudently thus or not, I think it is but just they should be responsible themselves for me.

me. While I had my thoughts employed about this design, you both prevented me, before I had finished my discourse, by concluding a peace with great and laudable prudence; for, upon any terms, peace was better for both, than those calamities which both were distressed with by so destructive a war. Being on this occasion filled with joy, for the ratification of a wished-for peace, and judging it would not only be beneficial to us, but to all Greece, I could not desist entirely from my first design; but I resolved to consider the method of making our happiness lasting, and thereby prevent our city from breathing but a small time, in order to re-commence again the same scenes of confusion. Reflecting, as I said, upon such a method, I found it would be in vain to hope Athens would long continue quiet, unless the chief cities of Greece, being united, and forgetting all enmity, should transfer the war into Asia, and there endeavour to gain by valour all those rewards of bravery, which they have so long cruelly sought for in their own country. And though I have treated of the same subject in my oration called the Panegyric, yet, judging I could never find out a nobler hypothesis, nor more recommended by novelty, or conducive to public, universal good, I have resolved to attempt the same topic once more; tho' I am not ignorant of my own circumstances, and that such an oration does not so well suit with a person of my advanced age, but rather requires a person in the very blossom and vigour of life, and who surpasses others in the excellency of his genius. Add to this, I am thoroughly sensible of the difficulty of writing twice upon the same subject; especially when my former published discourse has been so diligently laboured, that my very rivals, though they envy, imitate it, and, in fact, admire it more than those who bestow on it the most exaggerated praises: but, taking courage under all these disadvantages, I am so inflamed, in my old age, with the love of glory, as to entertain the hope of making it clear both to those who speak with you, and those who converse with me as disciples, that to be noisy in public assemblies, and ha-

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range a gathered multitude, is at best but talking to the wind : for such orations are just as vain as those idle laws and forms of government, which have been invented by dreaming sophists and philosophers. But it becomes those, who would not trifle to no purpose, but effect some good, and benefit the public, to let others make popular harangues, while they pitch upon some person capable of putting in practice their advice, who can enforce it by their eloquence and actions ; I say, they ought to chuse out such a one, if they can find any possessed of this exalted excellence : which I being sensible of, chose to direct my discourse to you ; not seeking to model it with a view of gaining your favour, which, notwithstanding I own, I should set a just and high value on ; but my true reason was, because I saw many of great capacity living in such republics, and under such severe laws, that they could act nothing, but by orders ; besides, I saw them unequal to the task of such an arduous undertaking, as I shall mention ; while I perceived you invested with an absolute power of sending embassadors to whom you pleased, and admitting them with the same freedom, as well as declaring, without the least restraint, your wisest sentiments. Besides, I am conscious, that you surpass all the Grecians in power and riches, which superiority is particularly proper for persuasion or compulsion ; and I am equally convinced, that what I shall say, will need both, before it can be executed : for it is my purpose to exhort you to reconcile the Greeks, and head them, as general, against the Barbarians. To persuade you to head the common army, is certainly to defer to you the highest honours, and to engage my country in a war with Asia, is evidently to consult the public good. The whole scope of my oration, then, is these two points.

I SHALL not here conceal from you, that some of my friends have given me some trouble upon this subject ; and I think it will not be foreign to my purpose. I no sooner told them, that I designed to send you an oration, that would not be a mere display of eloquence, or an encomium
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of your past wars (for others will be forward enough to do this), but an exhortation to nobler and more glorious actions, and worthier of, as well as more beneficial to you, than those you are now engaged in, but they were so amazed, that they gave me openly to understand, that they were afraid lest I was become delirious by age; and, what they had never done before, began to reproach me for undertaking a rash, thoughtless enterprize, to give my private advice to Philip; who, should he formerly have imagined some other pruder than himself, must certainly, after such great successful actions, believe none now so capable of a solid judgment, in public affairs, as himself. Besides, continued they, there are constantly with him the wisest Macedonians, who, tho' they should not be so experienced in some things, yet must surely be allowed to know better than you what is most conducive to his interest and glory. There are likewise, at his court, many Grecians of distinguished abilities, by communicating his sentiments with whom, he has not lessened his kingdom, but enlarged it in a manner worthy of his wishes. What has he failed of? Has he not so humbled and brought over to his interest the Thessalians, who formerly ruled over the Macedonians, that they have more confidence in him than their own countrymen? As for the neighbouring cities, has he not made some of them his auxiliaries, by his kind actions and generosity, and erased others, who obstinately opposed him? Has he not conquered the Magnesians, the Perrebei, and the Pæonians, and taken them under his protection and obedience? Is he not become lord and master of all the Illyrians, except those who inhabit the Adriatic coast? Has he not constituted governors in Thrace, whom he pleased? Will not such a potentate, who has performed such wonders, condemn the folly of that person, who will send him a pamphlet, and think he neither knows the power of eloquence, or of his own genius? What my surprize was, when I first heard this, and what my answers, when I had a little recollected myself, I shall omit here, lest

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I should seem to seek my own praise ; for having confuted them with civility ; having made them thoroughly sensible of their mistake (for so I judged), who had at first blamed me, I promised them, that I would shew my oration to them alone of all our citizens, and would do nothing in this respect, but by their advice. Having heard this answer, they left me, I know not with what real sentiments ; but, in a few days, they came to me again, and I having finished the discourse, shewed it to them. On a sudden they were so changed, that they seemed ashamed of their former reasoning and reprehension of my design : they acknowledged, that they had never been so mistaken in a thing of such consequence ; and, upon this, exhorted me to send you as soon as possible this oration. They added, that they hoped, that you and our city would have a sense of gratitude to me ; nor only you, but all Greece, for such a noble intention. For this reason, I have said so much by way of preface to you, that, if any thing in the beginning should appear either not credible, impossible, or unworthy of your undertaking, you might not be averted from reading the rest, nor indulge the same precipitancy as my acquaintance, but wait the conclusion with an equitable attention ; for I hope to say what becomes me, and will be advantageous to you, as well as glorious. But I am not ignorant, how far a discourse, that is read, falls short of one that is heard, in the efficacy of persuasion ; yet it is by no means true, what some pretend, that the latter sort of discourses have in view some generous and urgent actions, but the first have only ostentation, and a prospect of reward. The disadvantage tho' of a read discourse is certainly great ; for when an oration is deprived of the authority of the speaker, of his voice, the frequent popular emotions on these occasions, likewise of the crisis of time, and the public zeal for the undertaking, while nothing is assisting or strengthening the argument ; when an oration, I say, is stripped of all these circumstances, and only read with an even voice, without affection, and the distinction of the writer's zeal and character ;

rather; I say, in this case, it is no wonder, if a well-written discourse appears flat, and no ways interesting to the hearers. Which prejudice must affect my present oration, and render it of less weight and authority. Nor have I ornamented it so much as usual with figurative diction and numbers, which I used in my youth, and shewed others, by example, how they might, at the same time, make their discourses both more agreeable and persuasive; which, by reason of my age, I cannot now effect. But it will be sufficient, perhaps, if I explain my reasons with perspicuity: and I judge indeed, that it becomes you to neglect all the rest, and only attend, in a harangue, to the solidity of the motives; for, by this means, you will best judge of the utility of our discourses, if you stop not at the difficulties in the writings of sophists, and the disadvantages of a reader, but, upon a thorough knowledge, weigh the truth and reasons of a discourse, and not do so slightly, or with a weak attention, but with the justest prudence and logical philosophy, which, they say, you are well acquainted with; for, examining our writings in this manner, you will judge better of them than by popular opinion. I here conclude all I have to say by way of preface, and now I shall proceed to the facts, and subject of my discourse.

I SAY, you ought to neglect neither your own interests or glory, but endeavour to reconcile, as a common friend, the cities of Argos, Lacedæmon, Thebes, and Athens; for if you once effect this, I believe, you will have little difficulty of bringing the rest to a good understanding: for all are dependent on these, and have recourse to some one of them for succours, when they are afraid, or distressed; so that if you happily reconcile four cities only, you free all the rest from dreadful calamities. You will find, that you ought to despise none of them, if you consider their actions towards your ancestors; for you will perceive, in each of them, a great friendship for your house, and a great many benefits previous to any obligations: for Argos is your country, which you ought, in justice, to make the same

account of as of your own parents. The Thebans honour the head of your family with revenues and sacrifices above all the other gods; and the Lacedæmonians have committed their kingdom and government to his posterity, for all successive generations. Now they say, that our city (if we will believe antient history) was the cause of Hercules's immortalization (which you must have heard of, but it is not a place here for me to prove its truth), and the safety of his children; for Athens alone, hazarding the greatest dangers against the forces of Eurystheus, put a stop to his injustice, and freed Hercules's descendents from a perpetual succession of dangers: for which preservation there was certainly a just gratitude due to us not only from those who were in that time saved, but from those now living; for it is by us they live, and enjoy all their prosperity: and, had not their ancestors been saved by us, they themselves could never have had an existence. And since all the cities have been such towards you, you ought carefully always to have avoided every difference with them: but it is too natural for us all to commit errors, oftner than do perfectly just and wise actions. What has happened before, we ought not to impute to any particular, but take the utmost care that nothing of a like nature happen for the future. And it becomes you to consider by what generous actions done those cities, you may seem to behave towards them worthily of yourself, and their deserts in your regard. You have now the opportunity; for if you shew your gratitude, all will think (upon account of the long intervening time), that you confer on them unmerited favour; and it is glorious to be judged the benefactor of great cities, and, at the same time, no ways prejudice yourself, but do yourself an equal good. Besides other advantages, you will likewise gain this, that, if you have ever given any of them umbrage, you will, by this means, the most efficaciously dissipate it: for present generous actions will easily induce an oblivion of our former mutual offences: and, besides, it is certain, that all men have the liveliest memory of those good deeds, which

which are done them in any great adversity. You see clearly what they have suffered by war, and in how near a case they were to those of private, fighting persons; for such, when their mutual resentments are high, it is out of the power of any one to reconcile: but when they have disabled each other, tho' no one intervenes to compose the quarrels, they themselves put an end to their broils; which, I believe, will be the case of these cities, if you take them not under your consideration. Perhaps some persons will reprehend my assertions, and affirm, that I advise you to undertake impossibilities; that, in fact, neither the Argives can ever become sincere friends to the Lacedæmonians, nor the Lacedæmonians to the Thebans, nor any of those who have always been accustomed to encroach upon their neighbours, be content with an equality with their countrymen. I own, when our city had the pre-eminency, and afterwards the Lacedæmonians, I own, I did not think any thing of this nature could be executed; for either of them would have easily disappointed the best concerted counsels: but I have not the same sentiments of our public affairs now; for I perceive all are equalled by their misfortunes: so that I judge they will be ready to embrace a common good from concord, rather than the advantages of injustice from actions of a like nature with their former. I readily also acknowledge, that no other but you can reconcile these cities, but that this task is not difficult for you; on the contrary, it is very easy: for I see, that you have effected many things, which most men thought impossible; so that it is not improbable, but that you can bring this enterprize to a happy conclusion. Now, it certainly becomes those who excel, and have exalted ideas, to undertake such designs, which the lower class of mankind are not capable of, but such as exceed the abilities of others, who have neither your genius nor power. I wonder that any will assert, that this undertaking is impracticable; they must be very ignorant, if they neither know this, nor have heard it from others, that, when any calamitous wars have happened, those, who

mutually put an end to them, were the causes of inexpressible good to all parties. What can be imagined greater than the hatred all Greece had of Xerxes? and yet, afterwards, both we and the Lacedæmonians shewed him more affection than we did to those very persons who helped to establish both our republics. But I need not, methinks, mention antient transactions, or such as relate to the Barbarians; for if we cast an eye back, and consider all the variety of public disasters, none of them will be found to have happened to us, comparable to those caused by the Thebans and Lacedæmonians: but, nevertheless, when the Lacedæmonians raised an army against the Thebans, with a design of desolating Bœotia, and ruining its cities, by our interposition they were frustrated of their designs; and when again circumstances were so changed, that the Thebans and all the Peloponnesians conspired to ruin Sparta, we alone, of all Greece, assisting them, were the cause of its preservation. Now, a person must be very imprudent, if, after considering such variety of accidents, and that our cities have set light by hatred, violation of oaths, &c. nor regarded any thing else but what they imagine conducive to their private views; I say, a person must be very imprudent to think they do not continue in the same sentiments now; but that, if you will interpose by your mediation, they will easily listen to a general reconciliation; especially since their present calamities almost oblige them to such an accommodation: I judge therefore, that such circumstances concurring, this design may be easily effected. Now, I likewise imagine, that you may best acquaint yourself with the peaceful or contrary disposition of the Grecian cities, if we examine not lightly, nor yet too accurately, the condition of their respective states, but the most important of the present circumstances.

LET us first consider the Lacedæmonian state: It is not long since they, who governed all Greece, met with such an unexpected change, after their defeat at Leuctræ, that they entirely lost the principality of Greece: they were then
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deprived of such noble-minded citizens, as rather chose to die than survive the loss of power, and be subject to those they had governed. Add to this, that, tho' they were accustomed to see the Peloponnesians always aggressing others along with them, they now saw them making, with the Thebans, an incursion into their own lands; whom they were obliged to fight with, not on account of their fruits, but of their very city and palace, and in defence of their very wives and children; and, had they been worsted there, they must have entirely perished: and tho' they conquered, yet they were not freed from misery; but are now attacked, by their very borderers: they are distrusted by all the Peloponnesians; they are hated by the generality of Greece, and they are plundered and robbed night and day by their own slaves: nor have they any intermission, but are either levying forces, or fighting against some neighbour, or else assisting their own countrymen, that daily perish. And what is the dreadfulest calamity is, that they are always in fear lest the Thebans, making a composition with the Phocienses, should return again into their country, and do them more damage than they even did at their first invasion. And how can we imagine, but that persons, in this miserable situation, will eagerly embrace the authority of a person, who is capable of commanding a peace, and putting an end to these present calamitous wars. You may likewise perceive the Argives to be in very near the same circumstances as the Lacedæmonians, and, in some respects, in a worse situation; for ever since they have inhabited their city, they have continual wars and contentions with their neighbours: but there is this remarkable difference to be noted, that the Lacedæmonians commonly fought against their inferiors, but the Argives had to struggle with their superiors; which must be allowed by all to be the most miserable of all calamities. Add, that they are so unfortunate, as to see almost annually their country laid waste and plundered of its products: and what is an aggravation of their miseries is, that, when the enemy retires and leaves them,

them, they persecute one another, and destroy the richest and most distinguished amongst them; and when they have done this, they rejoice as much as others, when they have vanquished their enemies. Now, nothing is the cause of their confusion, but war; which if you put an end to, your not only recover them from this gulf of miseries, but render them capable of a better regulation in all other respects. As for the Theban affairs, you are perfectly acquainted with them; for tho' they gained a glorious victory, and acquired a high reputation, yet, upon account of the misuse of their advantages, they are in no better a condition than the conquered and unsuccessful; for they had no sooner conquered their enemies, but, neglecting all things, they disturbed the cities of Peloponnesus, dared even to enslave Thessaly, and threatened the Megarenses their neighbours: they deprived our city of a part of its territory, and laid waste all Euboea; nay, they sent galleys to Byzantium, as if they designed to rule both by sea and land. Lastly, they made war upon the Phocenses, expecting soon to possess themselves of all the cities and neighbouring country; and surpass the money repositied at Delphi in their private expences; nothing of which did they bring to a conclusion: but, before they could take the Phocensian cities, they lost their own; and, making an incursion upon their enemy's soil, they suffered more distress, before they got back again, than they caused to their opponents. In Phocis they killed; indeed, a few mercenaries, who ought to chuse death rather than life; but, retreating, they lost the bravest and most resolute of all their troops, which dared to die in their country's cause: and, in fine, their conduct has concluded in this, that, after hoping to have rendered themselves masters of Greece, now they place all their confidence of safety in your protection; so that I no ways doubt but they will most readily follow your orders:

It would now remain for me to speak of our city; but, being early wiser than others, it has already made peace. I likewise no ways call in question, but it will readily second your

your designs in the public cause; especially if it sees, that you establish a general concord, before you make war on the Barbarians: wherefore, that it is not impossible for you to unite these cities by alliance, I think, is evident by what I have already mentioned.

Now, that you may easily effect this, I do not doubt but I can make clear by incontestable precedents and examples; for if it is certain, that several of our ancestors undertook neither more glorious or just actions, than those which I have advised you to, and overcame greater obstacles and difficulties than are in your way, what can my adversaries have to say, that you should not sooner effect what is easier, than they did more arduous and unpromising enterprises? Let us, if you please, first consider the actions of Alcibiades; for he, falling into disgrace with our citizens, and perceiving, that those before him, who met with the like misfortune, was, as it were, thunder-struck with the power of the city, resolved not to sink under the same despair, but thought it became him to attempt his return by force, and he chose, rather than submit, to make war against it. To mention every transaction of that time, and descend to particulars, would perhaps exceed any one's ability; or, could it be done, would be irksome: in a word, he caused incredible disorder in our city, and great distress and misery to the Lacedæmonians, and the rest of Greece. As for our city, all know what we suffered; and the rest of Greece had such a share of calamities, that, I believe, the dreadful consequences of that public and universal shock are not yet obliterated. As for the Lacedæmonians, who then flourished, and had great authority, they, by his means, fell into their present misfortunes; for, by his persuasion to affect the sovereignty at sea, they lost even their leading power upon land: so that whoever affirms, that they may justly date all their losses from that time, when they assumed authority upon the sea, will be found to speak nothing contrary to truth and experience. Alcibiades, therefore, having been the cause of such public calamities,

mities, returned to Athens, praised indeed by some excessively, but not so by all. Conon, not many years after, did what was similar to this; for, meeting with a defeat in a sea-fight at the Hellespont, not by his own mismanagement, but on account of the joint-commissioned officers, he was ashamed to return home: but, sailing into Cyprus, he continued there some time to settle his private affairs, and understanding that Agesilaus was gone into Asia with great forces, and wasted the country, he entertained this elevated hope, that, tho' he had nothing to depend upon but himself, and his great genius, he still believed he might humble the Lacedæmonians, who then governed the Grecians both by sea and land. He sent his proposals to the Persian generals, and promised to effect the Lacedæmonians overthrow. I need not say more here; for he got together, by this means, a fleet near Cnidos, conquered in a sea-battle, deposed the Lacedæmonians, destroyed their usurped authority, and freed the states of Greece: nor did he only rebuild the walls of his native city, but he restored it to its former splendor, and renewed its antient magnificence and liberty. Who would have imagined, that, by this man, once in so low a condition, all the face of affairs should be entirely changed throughout all Greece; that some of the cities should be ignominiously reduced, and others raised and exalted in power and dignity? And Dionysius (for I would persuade you by many examples) proves, that what I advise you to, is not difficult for you; for tho' he was no ways distinguished in Syracuse by his family, honours, or other circumstances, yet, upon his aspiring rashly to monarchy, and daring to undertake and execute every thing he thought conducive to this purpose, he seized Syracuse, and overthrew all the Grecian cities that were in Sicily. He, at last, acquired such horse and foot-forces, as none that went before him there had ever done. Let me here mention the Barbarians: did not Cyrus, tho' exposed by his mother, and taken up by a Persian woman, cause such an alteration, that he became absolute lord of all Asia? Now, if Alcibiades,

biades, who was a fugitive, Conon unfortunate, Dionysius not noble, and the birth of Cyrus so calamitous to him; I say, notwithstanding all these persons were in such inferior circumstances to you, if they yet performed such unexpected wonders, how can you imagine, but that you, who are descended from such ancestors, king likewise of Macedonia, lord besides of many territories, but that you, I say, will easily reduce to practice my counsel?

JUDGE now yourself, how worthy it is of your pre-eminency, to equal the glory of the greatest heroes: but, should you miscarry, you will gain, however, the universal benevolence of all Greece; which is a far nobler acquisition than the taking, by force of arms, many cities; for such actions, tho' successful, draw after them envy, disaffection, and many reproaches: but there is no apprehension of any such consequences in this case. And would any god give you an option of the manner in which you would pass your life, I judge none more worthy of you than the continual endeavour of putting in execution such a glorious project; for you will not only deserve the emulation of others, but must necessarily believe yourself happy. What accession can be made to such a felicity? when the most considerable men will come from the most flourishing cities into your dominions, and you, along with them, will consult the public good; you, who excel others in prudence, and must certainly see Greece prosper under your direction. None of the Greeks will despise your conduct; but some zealously enquire about your designs; others pray perpetually to heaven for your success; and others, in fine, be apprehensive of your mortality, before you can finish such exalted enterprizes. How can you do otherwise than, in the very design, have the most heroic ideas, and live the most happy life in the execution, by the consciousness of such grand actions? What person, who is but moderately endued with reason, would not encourage you to the undertaking of such actions, as are capable of causing you both these effects, as subsequent fruits, superlative, noble pleasure,

sure, and distinguished glory. I now judge I have said enough, had I not omitted a part, not out of oblivion, but timidity, which I here purpose to supply; for I think it is proper you should be acquainted with my thoughts, and that I should speak with that modest freedom, which is customary to me in my orations.

FOR I perceive you are calumniated by those who envy you, who are accustomed to throw their own cities into convulsions, and have a greater love of wars and confusion than peace; who neglect the oeconomy of their own national affairs, and are continually haranguing against your power, as if all your actions tended to nothing else but your sole encrease; and that, for a considerable time, you have been in a kind of ambush against all Greece; that you pretend indeed to assist the Messenians, if you once settle your affairs with the Phocenses; but that, in reality, you design to reduce all Peloponnesus under your power; that the Thessalians, the Thebans, and all the Amphictyones, are ready to follow you; that the Argives, the Messenians, and Megalopolitans, and many others, assist your designs, and ruin the Lacedæmonians: and, in fine, that, if you effect your present views, you will then easily subject all Greece. While they wantonly, out of impotency of tongue, assert this as known truth, they spread such reports every-where, and persuade a great many, who are as desirous of the same confusion as themselves; they likewise influence such as have no care of the republic, but, favouring their own indolence, esteem themselves obliged to those who pretend to be full of fear and solicitude for their good: lastly, they have prevalency with such also, as think not the design of despotism beneath you, but worthy of a great mind; who are so far from a just notion of things, that they perceive not, how, with the same suppositions, we may highly injure one, and praise another person, as happens in this case. For example; should any orator say of the Asiatic king, that he has a hostile mind against Greece, and is raising an army to that purpose, he

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would

would say nothing disgraceful of him, but would suppose him more valiant, and of greater moment than he is : but should any one say the same of a descendent of Hercules, who was a benefactor to all Greece, he would cover him with dishonour ; for who would not grieve, who would not be filled with indignation, if such an exalted person should attempt a thing of such a nature ? He, whose ancestor exposed himself to such dangers for Greece, while, by such contrary behaviour, his descendent would quit that generosity of soul, which he left as an example to his posterity, and, forgetting his true glory, affect infamous and base actions. Wherefore, it concerns you to stifle such insinuations, as your enemies industriously endeavour to spread of your intentions, tho' you have not a friend but will readily contradict such unjust assertions ; and you may clearly distinguish what is for your real interests, by their different sentiments. Perhaps you will imagine, that it shews pusillanimity to regard trifling calumniators, and such as listen to them, especially while you are conscious of no ungenerous thought or proceeding ; but you ought not to despise the multitude, nor set light by universal esteem and approbation : but, then, judge you have ascended the highest point of human happiness and glory, such as is becoming yourself and ancestors, when, by your actions, you have so disposed all Greece towards you, as you see the Lacedæmonians towards their kings, and your own friends towards yourself. It is not difficult to attain this felicity, if you will be an impartial mediator, and cease favouring some cities, while you are severe to others : in a word, if you do every thing, whereby you may gain the confidence of the Grecians, and strike a terror into the Barbarians.

AND do not wonder, that I wrote to Dionysius the tyrant, and now write to you, who am neither a general, a public orator, or, in other respects, a powerful person ; wonder not, that I speak to you more freely than perhaps others dare, or I would do, did I not know your noble qualities ; for I never had a sufficient voice or resolution
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to face the multitude, and be bespattered with opprobrious language by mercenary lawyers and state orators : but, as for the study of wisdom and prudence, though some may think what I am going to say, vanity, I will dare to assert it, that I am not inferior in such qualities, but may rank myself amongst the most industrious and eminent ; wherefore I undertake to give counsel, in this manner, according to my talents, to my city, the other Grecians, and the most distinguished of mankind. What relates to myself, and what I judge proper for you, in your high station, to do in regard of other Grecians, you have almost heard sufficiently ; but, concerning the alliance against Persia, I think it then a proper time to advise the cities, which I wished united, when I see them made friends by mutual concord : but I will now address my words to you, though not with the same sentiments as when I treated of this subject before. I then gave the audience leave to explode and despise me, if I did not speak worthily of such an arduous theme, and of all the time I might have employed in the acquisition of eloquence ; but now I am afraid, lest I speak much inferior to even what I have said upon the same topic : for the Panegyric, which taught those who study philosophy a more diffuse and copious way of writing, caused me no small difficulty in the execution ; nor would I willingly now say again the same things, nor can I easily invent other arguments : but yet I ought not to desist, but mention what presents itself still to me on this important subject, and seems likely to persuade you to undertake this great design ; though I should not be able to equal what I have written before, yet it is my duty, for the public good, to draw the outlines, to be finished and compleated by such as are more capable.

I THINK, I have made that beginning of my discourse, which it becomes those who would persuade to a noble, general conspiracy against the tyranny of Asia ; for, certainly, it is not prudence to undertake any thing of this nature, until the leader has either all Greece assisting him, or, at least,

least, wishing prosperity to his undertaking; which Age-
 laus, who was thought the wisest of the Lacedæmonians,
 neglected, not indeed out of a malevolent view, but out of
 the love of honour; for he had two ambitions, both in-
 deed noble, but such as could not be gratified together: he
 was desirous of making war against the Persian, to intro-
 duce, by arms, his friends into his cities, and make them
 masters of the country. Now, it happened, by reason of
 this separate affection for his friends, that the affairs of
 Greece were thrown into disorder and convulsion; for, by
 the tumult which arose at home, he could not be at liberty
 to fight against the Barbarians: so that it is evident, from
 the unhappy ignorance of that time, that it ought to be the
 first and chief care of him, who would successfully attack
 the eastern monarch, to reconcile the Greeks, and cure
 them of their popular frenzy; which is the scope and intent
 of my advice to you. Now, I am persuaded, that no one,
 who loves his country, will blame me; I am more afraid by
 far, that I have hitherto spoken unworthily, and not in
 such an animated manner, as I ought of my subject: I judge,
 that whoever have spoken on this topic, and exhorted
 Greece to a war with the Barbarians, have hitherto only
 mentioned these reasons, that, by such an enterprize, they
 would all become of obscure, universally known and glo-
 rious; of poor and indigent, masters of many provinces
 and cities; and, in a word, abound with all affluence. But
 I shall not use those arguments, in order to persuade you,
 but even introduce examples of such as seem to have been
 unfortunate; I mean those who fought under Cyrus and
 Clearchus. It is allowed by all, that they overthrew in
 battle all the king's forces, with as much ease as if they had
 encountered so many women; and when fortune seemed
 entirely in their hands, were ruined by the rashness and
 precipitancy of Cyrus: for, being elate with joy, and pur-
 suing eagerly before the rest, he fell, surrounded suddenly
 by the enemies: but, after such a calamity, the king was so
 diffident of his troops, and had such a settled contempt of
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them, that, inviting Clearchus, and the other captains, to a parley, he promised them extraordinary gifts, and all the soldiers their full pay, before their departure. Having thus deluded them by his promises, and whatever security Clearchus required, he, at unawares, seized upon, and cruelly murdered them, to satiate his revenge: and in this daring, impious manner, he chose to offend all the gods, rather than attack such half-destitute soldiers, who were deprived of their captains. Now, what stronger, or more glorious persuasive for you can there be imagined than this? For those Grecians would have made themselves masters of the kingdom, if it had not been for the rashness of Cyrus: but it will be easy for an experienced general, like you, to guard against a like deception, and raise a far better chosen army than that which then conquered the Persians. Excelling, I say, in both these advantages, who can doubt but it will be an easy thing for you to compleat such a glorious enterprise? I am conscious I have expressed many things in the same manner as before; for if I had chosen to have diversified my subject more by diction, I could easily have done it; and, had I written for pomp and ostentation, have set it off with all the oratorical ornaments: but, when I wrote to you, I must have been egregiously imprudent, had I laid a greater stress upon the politeness of expression, than the weight and importance of facts: and seeing others using my reasonings, I thought it too great a scrupulosity, if I entirely abstained from my own inventions. It is no just wonder then, that if there was a necessity, and it was becoming my character, that I made free with my former writings, but abstained from others property in this kind, as I have always hitherto religiously done.

I HOPE this will suffice, by way of apology: it now seems proper I should speak of the preparations you have, and those forces which they are masters of. What is one of the greatest advantages is, that you will have all the Greeks conspire in common friendship, if you will endea-

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your to effect the public good, which I have mentioned ; but as averse as possible to the Persian king, on account of the Lacedæmonian tyrannical government, during their alliance with Asia : for they all judged, had Cyrus and Clearchus prospered, they must have been reduced to a still harder slavery ; but, by the conquest of the king, be freed from oppression ; which indeed happened. You likewise will have as many ready soldiers as you please ; for now the circumstances of Greece are such, that it is more easy to raise a numerous army of those who have no fixed habitation, than of such as dwell in cities : but, in those times, there were no foreigners ; so that they were obliged to raise troops in other Grecian cities, and employed, on those occasions, as much money in presents, as they did in pay to the soldiers : and, now, if we consider well our advantages, that you will lead the army, and have the care of all, and not Clearchus, who was then at the head of affairs, we shall have an additional hope of success : we shall perceive, that Clearchus had neither commanded land or sea-forces, nor was any-ways distinguished before his bravery and calamity in Asia ; but you have performed such noble, such glorious actions, that (did I now address my discourse to another) would afford me a spacious field of rhetoric and eloquence ; but, should I enumerate to yourself your actions, I should justly incur the censure of being a trifling, luxuriant writer ; yet, methinks, it is not foreign to my purpose, if I mention here the potentates, whom I counsel you to make war against, and him whom Clearchus had to fight with ; for, by this means, you will best acquaint yourself with their qualities and powers. The father of the present king overthrew both ours and the Lacedæmonian city ; but the present Persian monarch never conquered these enemies, who dared to invade his own territories : again, the former had the right of all Asia confirmed to him by our public treaties ; but the present possessor of the throne is so far from commanding Greece, that he cannot keep the cities which have been surrendered to him : wherefore it may be justly doubted,

whether he has abandoned them out of cowardice, or that they despised the Barbarian's power. Now, if we consider the situation and circumstances at present of the country, you must necessarily be still more incited to this war. The Egyptians, indeed, revolted at that time; but they were afraid lest the Persian, collecting a great army, might conquer the difficulties of the river's passage, and get the better of their forces: but this prince has freed them from their fears; for having raised innumerable troops, as many as he was able, he marched against them, but returned not only vanquished, but even baffled, and made ridiculous, and appearing to all neither worthy of being general, or wearing a crown. As for Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Cilicia, at that time, they furnished the king with fleets, and fought on his side: but some parts now have revolted, and others are so distressed by wars, that they can be of no use to the Persian, yet will certainly assist you, if you resolve on a war with him. Besides, Idrieus, who is the most opulent satrape upon the continent, must certainly favour you more than the eastern monarch, or he must be egregiously infatuated, if he desires not the dissolution of an empire, which so barbarously treated his brother, made war upon himself, perpetually lays snares for him, and has designs both against his liberty and treasures. By fear of this, he is now compelled annually to flatter him, and send him large sums of money; but should you make a descent upon the continent, he will readily receive you, as the protector of his person and liberty; nay, you will infallibly draw over to your party many other satrapes, if you promise them liberty, and spread this fame over Asia, which being credited by Greece, dissolved both ours and the Lacedæmonians power. Now, should I add here, by what method you may most easily conquer the king's forces, I am apprehensive lest some would blame me, if, having no experience of war, I dared to counsel you about its management, who have certainly had the greatest success and experience of any in our age; wherefore, upon this topic, I think I should say no more.

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As for the rest, I judge, that your father, he who acquired the kingdom of Macedon, and the first head of your family, abundantly suffice for your example and imitation; for, could they now speak to you, I do not doubt, but they would give you the same counsels as I. I guess this, from what they actually did; for your father always conducted himself as a friend towards those cities, which I advise you to contract alliance with; and he who first acquired the crown, who thought in a higher order than his fellow-citizens, and aimed at monarchy, did not follow the same political principles, as usually those do, who have undertaken such an enterprize: for most of such made, in their respective cities, tumults, massacres, and many troubles, before they obtained the ends of their ambition; but he left the rest of Greece in entire freedom, and established monarchy only in Macedonia: for he too well knew, that the generality of the Grecians were not accustomed to monarchy or despotism; but that other people were not capable of keeping a regular form under any other government. This he knew from his general knowledge of mankind, and the nature of them and monarchy; and, by not endeavouring to enslave and oppress his countrymen, he shunned those dangers which arise frequently from the first acquisition of monarchy; for if we read history, we shall find, that all others, who had attempted a thing of this nature before over the rest of the Grecians, were not only ruined themselves, but their very families destroyed and blotted out from the race of mankind; but he passed his whole life in great peace, tranquillity, and happiness, and left his crown and kingdom to his posterity. All men, indeed, praise the courage and valour of Hercules, and number up his conflicts and battles; but, in respect of the more humane and intimate virtues of the mind, I remember neither any poet or rhetorician, who has made mention of them. But this is, I think, a proper occasion for my own doing so; for, though this topic has been hitherto relinquished, it is neither unworthy of eloquence or new, but affording an infinite subject

of praise, and such glorious actions, as require the most accomplished rhetoric and finished oratory. Were I now in my youth, I could easily demonstrate, that the author of your race excelled all that went before him, as much in prudence, virtue, philosophy, and justice, as he did in the strength and excellency of his body. But now having him for object, and perceiving the variety of such a subject, I despair of my present ability, and am sensible, did I launch out into such a field of panegyric, I must double the length of my present oration: I therefore shall omit all the rest of his merits, and shall only touch upon one action, which seems to me particularly adapted to what I have said before, and will only take up a convenient space of time for my present intention; for he observing, that Greece was full of divisions, wars, and other calamities, by putting an end to them, and mutually reconciling the disunited cities, shewed to posterity with what alliance, and against whom, we ought to make a common war; for, not indulging inactivity, he raised an army, made an expedition into Asia, and besieged Troy, which, at that time, was the powerfullest city of that country: in which war he so far distinguished himself, in conduct, from those in the following war, that his successors completed only in ten years, with difficulty, the destruction of that place, which he effected in a short time; nay, in a fewer days than they years; and, with a far less number of men, he took it by assault, and afterwards slew all the kings of those nations, which inhabit both the shores of the continent; whom he certainly could not have thus destroyed, had he not first subdued their powers. After this, he raised the trophy called Hercules's pillars, as a monument of his victories over the Barbarians, and a witness of his valour and dangers, as well as a limit of the Grecian dominion. I have mentioned this, that you may perceive I counsel you to the same glorious enterprizes, which your ancestors have the most happily of all mankind executed. Now, it certainly becomes the noblest-minded to propose to themselves the most arduous actions, and endeavour to put them in execution;

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in a word, to set before their eyes the greatest examples, and emulate the noblest heroes. This is particularly your case; for, without foreign inducements, or any others than domestic examples, how can you be otherwise than excited to an imitation, nay, a desire of equalling your paternal glories? I say not, that you can imitate all the actions and exploits of Hercules; for some of the gods could not do this: but you may indubitably imitate his philosophy, his philanthropy, his benevolence towards all Greece, and his designs of its glory. It is, I say, easier for you (if I can but persuade you by this discourse) to acquire, in your present circumstances, whatever glory you please, than to have made a progress to your present point of power, from the first beginning of your government. You see, I do not counsel you to make war in concert with Barbarians, against whom you are forbidden by the ties of nature; but, with Grecians, against those whom it becomes the descendants of Hercules to conquer.

AND do not wonder, that I so earnestly admonish you to use generosity towards the Grecians, and practise, in regard of them, all mildness and philanthropy; for I have observed, that harshness and violence are not only uneasy to the breasts which indulge them, but to all that have any commerce with us; that the above-mentioned virtues are not only loved in other creatures as well as men, but that those gods, who are esteemed the greatest benefactors of mankind, are, for that very reason, by eminency, called celestial; and that those deities, who are supposed agents in the punishments and calamities of mankind, have a less agreeable appellation: both private persons and cities erect temples and altars to the former; but the latter are not so much as mentioned either in prayers or sacrifices, but we seem to have a kind of abomination for them: wherefore it becomes you, by such considerations, to encrease in all, the present universal opinion of your humanity; for it becomes those, who propose to themselves a higher pitch of glory than other men, to have constantly in view actions that

are practicable indeed, but which have more of the mere possibility of wishes, than the probability of execution; and undertake them when the circumstances of time and power seem most favourable. You may be convinced of of this truth by many reasons, and especially by what happened to Jason; for tho' he had never atchieved what you have done, yet he acquired the highest glory; not so much for what he did, as for what he said; for he only discoursed, as if he designed to pass over to the continent, and war against the Persian. Now, if Jason rendered himself so popular by such a declaration, what sentiments must the Grecians have of you, if you put this in practice, and endeavour to conquer the Persian empire? or, not effecting this, to separate from them as many cities as possible, and divide Asia, which some describe as extended from Cilicia to Sinope? Add to this, if you will build cities in those places, and give habitations to such as are now unsettled, and, by the urging necessities of poverty, invade and destroy their neighbours; whom if we, by such a method, do not provide for, giving them a sufficient maintenance, they will clandestinely associate in such numbers, that they will become no less formidable to the Greeks than to the Barbarians: of all which we take no prudent care, but are, or seem ignorant of such a growing evil and danger. Now, it becomes a wise man, and a lover of Greece, one who sees farther into futurity than others, to use those men in a war against the common enemy, and, cutting off such a part of the country, as I spoke of before, to free the above-mentioned mercenaries from the calamities they struggle with, and cause to others; to compose, I say, cities and colonies of them, and, by such garrisons, secure Greece, while they will be so many strong forts on the frontiers: if you do this, you will not only render them happy, but will secure us all. And should you even fail of this, you will certainly recover the freedom of the Grecian Asiatic cities. Whichsoever of these glorious points you gain, or even only undertake, you will certainly acquire more glory than any other; and this justly,

justly, if you begin such an enterprize, and encourage others to join in it. But who would not at present wonder at what has happened, and despise us, since there have risen men amongst the Barbarians, whom we esteem effeminate and unwarlike, who have imagined they could sub-
 ject all Greece : but no Grecian hitherto (excepting Hercules) has had so much wisdom or courage, as to attempt to make us masters of Asia ; nay, we are so far inferior to them in this regard, that they have not been afraid to commence enmity against us : and shall not we have the resolution to take a just revenge of such aggressors ? But tho' they confess, that they have neither good soldiers nor generals, nor any other preparations against dangers, granting likewise, that they are forced to purchase them from us, yet we have such a mad inclination to hurt one another, that, tho' we may easily possess ourselves of their states, we will fight with one another for trifles ; nay, we destroy the persons who revolt from the king, and, out of mutual hatred, ruin those related to us in blood, rather than the Barbarians. Now, I think it worthy of you, while others are in this supine condition, to be leader in a war against them. It becomes both the descendants of Hercules, and all in posts of public power, to love those cities which they live in ; but you, as a deliverer, should consult the good of all Greece, as did your great progenitor, and run the utmost hazards of war for the universal prosperity and happiness of Greece.

PERHAPS some will blame me, in this manner, having nothing else to say, that I have exhorted you particularly to this war, and the care of all Greece, while I omit my own city. Had I addressed such a discourse to others first, before my own country, which has three times delivered Greece, twice from the Barbarians, and once from the Lacedæmonians ; had I done this, I acknowledge, I should have deserved just reprehension. But I shall appear now to any equitable person, only to exhort him who is most capable and willing, to such a glorious undertaking ; for I
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perceived my own country less regarded what I proposed, than the mad reveries of her venal orators ; and therefore I despaired of my first design, but not of my whole intention : wherefore all ought deservedly to praise me, that, by this faculty I am possessed of, I have always made war against the Barbarians, and accused others of imprudence, who were not of my sentiment ; and, in this view, I always endeavoured to persuade those, chiefly, who were most capable of doing the Grecians good, and deprive the Barbarians of their present affluence and superfluity. On this account I address this oration to you ; tho' I am not ignorant, that many will envy me for this freedom, but all, I am sure, will delight in the execution of my proposal. As for my oration, none will think they have a share in it ; but all will think themselves partakers of your successful glorious actions against the Persians. Consider here what a shame it would be to you, to suffer Asia to be in greater prosperity than Europe, and Barbarians happier than the Grecians ; that those who are descended from Cyrus, whom his mother exposed, should be called the great kings, and those whom Hercules begot, whom, for his immortal virtues, his father advanced to the rank of the gods, should be contented with inferior appellations ; which certainly should never be suffered, but such a disorder be remedied, and things in this regard changed according to natural merit. You know, I am persuaded, I would not counsel you to this, if I foresaw nothing would accrue to you but power and treasures ; for I am sensible, you have sufficiently already, and I am equally so, that he must be blindly avaricious, who exposes himself to dangers, and will either acquire superfluities, or lose his life. But I composed not this oration with a view to such acquisitions ; but, on the contrary, because I judged, that, from this enterprize, the greatest honour and glory will redound to you. Reflect seriously, that we all of us have a mortal body ; but that just praise and esteem, which are the consequence of great actions, make us partake of immortality, which we ought to

desire above all other objects. You may observe likewise, that the most virtuous private persons are not willing to part with life on any other score; but readily lay it down in battle for fame and honour: in a word, that those, who grasp at boundless glory, are ever praised by all; but that those, who confine their thoughts to such vulgar objects as are commonly pursued, are reputed grovelling, and worthy of oblivion. Besides, enemies may possess themselves of riches or kingdoms; but none, except those who have been begotten by us, can be heir to our country's love and admiration for such virtues as I have mentioned; so that I should be ashamed did I not counsel you, in this view, to make the alliance of all Greece, unite its forces, and run the hazards of war for universal good. You will take the prudentest advice upon this important subject, if you think, that not only I exhort you, but your ancestors fame and glory, as well as all the distinguished heroes of antiquity, who were esteemed, and made demi-gods, for their military actions against the Asiatics. But, lastly, you cannot doubt what resolution you ought to take, if you consider the opportunity arising from your present power, which is certainly superior to any in Europe; and, at the same time, how that the Persian monarch, who now reigns, is the most universally hated and despised of all his predecessors. I wish I could collect together all the writings, which I have composed on this topic; for, I believe, my discourse would appear still more full and compleat: but you must supply this by your extensive mind, in considering all the motives which may persuade and exhort you to the war with Persia. I am not ignorant, that many of the Grecians think the king's power invincible: now, it seems to me a paradox, that they should imagine a state, that is governed by a person so ill-educated, and whose principles tend to slavery, might not be dissolved by a man of the most consummate prudence in war, and whose politics design universal liberty and peace. Besides, they cannot, sure, be insensible of this, that kingdoms difficultly are established, but easily dissolved. Consider likewise,

wife, that all mankind most admire those who are capable of both excellencies, a wise management in peace, and conduct in war. But if you see those, who govern in one only city, when possessed of those faculties, universally praised, what must you imagine will be mankind's admiration of your virtues, when you have benefited all Greece by your wisdom, and have conquered the Barbarians by your martial conduct? I hope this will be effected; nor can a more universally beneficial action be performed, than your reconciling the different cities of Greece; nor ever a like power be cemented by the Barbarians, if you overthrow their present armies: and should any one in posterity excel all others in the dignity and perfection of his nature, he will never have a like opportunity. And we may justly say, you have excelled the actions of the antients both nobly and heroically; for you have subjected as many nations as others have conquered cities: and can the inequality then be doubted of betwixt you and them in glory? But I decline the comparison, for two reasons; the first, because some have done this imprudently; and, secondly, because I would not seem to degrade those who are esteemed demi-gods and divine heroes. Reflect likewise (to hint something here of antiquity), that neither orator or poet can either praise the riches of Tantalus, the power of Eurystheus, or the empire of Pelops; but must postpone them to Hercules's glory, to Theseus's virtues, and the merits of those, and such like them, who fought at Troy: and yet the most famous and renowned of those heroes governed only in small cities and inconsiderable islands, tho' they left behind them a glory that was thought divine, and deserving eternal memory; for none love those, who acquire to themselves the greatest power, but those who are the authors of the greatest happiness to Greece. Nor will you see this verified in the examples only which I have mentioned, but constantly in all that take the same method: so none will praise our city, that it had the command at sea, or acquired such sums of money from its confederates, to repose in the citadel;

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nor, indeed, because it was master of so many cities, so as to raise some, to encrease others, and, in fine, manage the affairs of not a few. It could indeed effect this; but what happened from it? It was severely reproached by many. But, in regard of the battle of Marathon, the sea-fight at Salamis, and the abandoning its houses for the public good, all mankind praises them. The same judgment is passed upon the Lacedæmonians; for men more admire and praise their defeat at Thermopylæ, than all their other victories; and look upon the trophy, which the proud Barbarians raised for their overthrow, with love and veneration; but those trophies they raised themselves for the conquest of other Grecians, with regret and displeasure: for they esteem the former a monument of their valour and virtue, but the latter, of their avarice and oppression.

HAVING therefore considered these differences, and explained them to you, if I have spoken any thing less worthy of my subject, you ought to have an eye to my age, which, I believe, you will think worthy of allowances; for if my present discourse is equal to my former writings, it ought not to be so much supposed my age was capable of it, as that some god suggested these thoughts, not for the love of me, but rather of all Greece, out of a desire of freeing it from its present calamities, and encreasing your glory even beyond what you have hitherto acquired. I do not imagine you ignorant of the superintendency and providence of the gods; for they are not visible authors of our happiness or misery, but they give us such sentiments and inclinations as are productive of them; and now, to this end, have probably suggested to me this exhortation, and reserved for you the glory of the execution of so great a design, as being most worthy and capable of it; but, perhaps, made my discourse not disagreeable to the hearers. I judge likewise, that you could never have effected those noble actions which you have done, if some god had not directed you; not with a view only that you should destroy the Barbarians that have settled themselves in Europe, but that

that, first, being thus exercised and experienced, known for the hero you are, you may finally aim at that glorious conclusion which I propose. It is certainly an infamy, when fortune seems to lead in the path of glory, to be left behind, and not dare to advance where she points out the way to honour and everlasting fame. I think you ought to value all such as speak well of your actions; but, methinks, those praise you most, who believe you worthy and capable of the greatest actions; and not only those who speak agreeably to your ear at present, but such as will make posterity admire your actions beyond those of any of your predecessors; and though I would say many more things to this purpose, I am not capable for that reason, which I have mentioned but too often already. It now remains, that I should recapitulate what I have said, that you may see in one point what I have proposed to your wisdom; I say, you ought to do good to all Greece, rule over the Macedonians as a father, and extend your power as far as possible among the Barbarians; for if you do this, all will think themselves obliged to you, the Grecians, upon account of the advantages which they reap; the Macedonians, for your royal, not tyrannical protection; and all mankind, if you free them from the arbitrary government of the Barbarians, while they are protected by the mildness of Grecian government. Whether this oration has been written in a proper juncture, and with care, I leave to the audience; but I am persuaded, no one can advise you to what is more laudable, and worthy of your distinguished high character.

THE

THE SIXTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
CALLED,
ARCHIDAMUS:
ADDRESSED TO THE
LACEDÆMONIAN SENATE.

The S U B J E C T.

AFTER the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans made incursions into the country of the Lacedæmonians, and caused them a variety of calamities: so that the Lacedæmonian women, meeting their husbands in their flight, asked them, if they thought it possible to take refuge in their wombs. By this reproach they took courage, and, being bravely assisted by the Athenian horse, got the victory at Mantinea. After the affair at Mantinea, they desired peace of the Thebans by their ambassadors; who answered, they would give it, on condition they would rebuild Messena, and let it be free. When others would have agreed to these terms, Archidamus the younger opposes them. There are some who suppose, that Archidamus had this oration written for him by Isocrates; others rather think it composed by Isocrates for his own exercise, and that he might shew what he thought worthy of Archidamus to say in open senate. It is in the deliberative kind, and particularly insists upon the topic of utility.



THE SIXTH

ORATION OF ISOCRATES,

CALLED

ARCHIDAMUS:

ADDRESSED TO THE

LACEDÆMONIAN SENATE.

PERHAPS some of you may wonder, that I, who always so exactly kept the decorum of the laws, as none that I know of my equals have done, seem now so changed, that I dare to give public counsel, young as I am, about what my elders have a difficulty to explain themselves upon. Had any of those, who were accustomed to speak here, expressed themselves worthily of our city, I would have held my tongue; but seeing some acquiescing to what the enemy proposes, and others not strenuously resisting such meanness, others quite silent, I have ventured to rise up, and declare my sentiments upon this occasion: for I judge it a shame for him, who conducts his own life with honour, if he permits the city to neglect its reputation. I likewise think, that, if it becomes others to speak of other subjects, it certainly becomes those to speak of peace or war, who must run the greatest hazards; especially supposing them capable of knowing what most concerns the public. Was it a certain truth, that old men

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always understood what was best in every affair, and young men were excluded from prudence, it would be just that youth should be banished from public counsels; but since the number of years does not make the distinction in degrees of wisdom, but nature and diligence, why should you not hear the reasonings of both ages, that from thence you may conclude on what is the most convenient? I wonder, we should be judged worthy of commanding fleets, and conducting armies; which trusts did we not answer by our wise conduct, we must inevitably plunge the city into a variety of calamities; and yet not to be permitted to explain our minds, of what you yourselves are constituted finally the determining judges; and in which regard, did we happen to shew prudence, we must necessarily benefit the whole state; and, failing of our intention, appear in a disadvantageous light ourselves, but no ways prejudice the public. I reason not in this manner, out of a love of popularity, or of any other form of government; but with a view to persuade you not to reject any age, but see, if any stage of life, in the present situation of our affairs, can find out what will be publicly beneficial.

FROM its first establishment, there never was a war, or danger, so great as this, which now threatens our city, and about which I have ventured to give you counsel. In former times, we contended to govern others; but, now, the question put is, whether we shall obey foreign orders, in which our very liberty is concerned? for which, it behoves us to suffer the greatest hardships, as well as all others, that are not quite effeminate, or retain the least spark of virtue. As for me (to speak now of myself), I would chuse to die at present, rather than submit to the prescription of the Thebans, tho' I might protract my life by doing so: for I should be ashamed, if, being the descendant of Hercules, my father a king, and I myself having a like prospect, I should be careless, while I saw those hands, which our ancestors had left us, in the possession of our slaves. I wish you would entertain the same sentiments

sentiments as I. Hitherto we shall seem only unfortunate in our war with the Thebans, and be overcome, in our bodies, by the defect and ill-conduct of our generals; but still have our souls free and invincible: if you part meanly with our indisputed property, you will encrease the Theban pride, and raise a more glorious trophy for them, than that of Leuctra over ourselves; that of Leuctra will be thought the monument of our misfortune; but the other, a witness of our own abjectness. Let none, therefore, persuade you to disgrace the city with such infamy. But our allies have advised us to abandon Messena, and make peace; whose behaviour you ought to have a greater resentment of, than of theirs who deserted us in the beginning: for the latter, abandoning our friendship, ruined their own cities, throwing their citizens into divisions, slaughters, and a tyrannical, disordered œconomy of government; but these design deliberately your ruin: they would persuade you cowardly to throw away that glory in a short time, which your ancestors had been at incredible pains and industry in acquiring, during the space of seven hundred years. Nothing can be more dishonourable or afflictive to Lacedæmon; nor could they have shewn their malice and jealousy more effectually. They have that grasping ambition, and such contempt of our courage, that, tho' they have so often desired our bravery and generosity to assist them, they now tell us, that we ought not to expose ourselves for Messena; and, that they may enjoy their happiness in peace, they endeavour to persuade us, that we ought to yield to our enemies, and threaten, that if we follow not advice, they will make a separate accommodation. I judge not, that this danger will be more hazardous than glorious for us without them; I would say, more splendid, and admired by all mankind. To endeavour our own freedom, and conquer our enemies, by ourselves, is agreeable to the other noble actions of our city. I formerly, indeed, loved not studied discourses, but thought such as employed themselves in harangues, were indolent in respect of ac-

tion ; but now should esteem no faculty more, than the power of fully explaining the important subject which I have in view : for could I effect this, I believe, I should thereby be author of the greatest possible good to our city.

IN the first place, I think you ought to remember in what manner we acquired Messena, and for what reason now inhabit Peloponnesus, who were Doreans before. For this cause, I will assume my discourse the higher, that you may the better understand why they would have you deprived of this region, which you have as just a title to as Lacedæmon itself. After that Hercules had changed this life for immortality, and of a man became a god, his children, upon account of the envy of their enemies, were driven to different banishments ; but, when Eurystheus was dead, they dwelt amongst the Doreans. About the third descent, they came to Delphi, to consult the oracle there ; but the god, whom they consulted, did not give them a clear answer, and only said, they must return to their native country. Upon considering the oracle, they found Argos nearly related to them (for Eurystheus being dead, they alone were left of the Perfidæ) ; Lacedæmon they found enslaved, which place Tindarus gave to Hercules for restoring him after he had been deposed (Castor and Pollux being dead before), both on account of such a benefit, and his consanguinity with his sons. As for Messena, it had been gained by the right of war ; for Hercules, having been robbed of his oxen (which he had brought from Erythea) by Neleus and his sons (exclusive of Nestor) after he had taken it by force, slew all those who had injured him ; but entrusted the city to Nestor, thinking him possessed of prudence ; because, though the youngest, he had not joined in his family's injustice. Judging this to be the meaning of the oracle, and associating your ancestors, they raised an army, and, having distributed their land to their fellow-soldiers, they retained the royalty to themselves ; and, upon these terms, they undertook a common expedition.

tion. But I need not mention here, methinks, the dangers and actions of that enterprize, as being foreign to my purpose. They conquered, in this war, those who inhabited the above-mentioned places, and divided their kingdoms in three-fold order. You continue, to this day, constant in the agreement which you made with our ancestors; and for this, in former time, you flourished more, and enjoyed more prosperity than others: and it is to be hoped, being of this disposition, you will, in your enterprizes, be attended with greater success than you are at present. But the Messenians arrived at that pitch of impiety, that they slew Cresphontes, the builder of the city, the lord of the territory, the descendent of Hercules, and their own general: his children escaping, became suppliants to this city; begged we would revenge their father, and gave up to us the country: wherefore, after consulting the oracle, and having been counselled by the god to accept of what was offered, you punished injustice, besieged Messina, and possessed yourselves of the place.

Now, I am sensible, I have not spoken accurately of our right from the beginning (for the present time does not permit me to rummage into antiquity); but it was necessary I should speak of some things briefly, rather than with diffuse perspicuity: and I persuade myself, it is manifest to all, that we did not at first acquire even this country, which is allowed by all to be our property, more justly than this controverted one. We inhabit this, because it was given us by the Heraclidæ, a god commanded, and we expelled, by war, those who then held it; and, in the same manner, we received the other city, and by the direction of the same oracle. But if we are of such a mind, that we will refuse our enemies nothing, even tho' they did command us to surrender Sparta, it is vain to concern ourselves about Messina; but if there is not a man of you, who would not chuse to die before he would do this, you ought to be of the same sentiments in regard of both; for we have the same right, and the same reasons, for either resolution.

Besides, you cannot be ignorant, that all men judge those possessions, which they have held a long time, as their undoubted property. Now, we took Messena before the Persians possessed themselves of the kingdom, and subdued the continent; or even before some Grecian cities were founded. And tho' you have this to plead, these very Thebans granted Asia, as his patrimony, to the Barbarians, who has not held that kingdom as yet two hundred years compleat; yet would take from us Messena, who have held it above double that space of time already. They lately destroyed Plateæ and Thespæ; and now they are for rebuilding this after three hundred years: they do both these things contrary to their oaths and covenants. Had they endeavoured to have restored the true Messenians, they had acted unjustly, but they would thereby have been guilty of a less injustice towards us. Now, they would have our own servants our next independent neighbours; so that it will not be our greatest hardship to be deprived of the territory contrary to equity, but to see our servants lords and masters of it.

By what follows, you will more clearly understand, that we suffer great oppression, and that we have a just title to Messena. When the circumstances of war were far more detrimental to us than our enemies, we were forced to conclude a peace: but, even in this time, when the treaty was on such terms, that we could expect no advantage, the dispute arose about other subjects. Neither the Persian king, nor the Theban commonwealth, objected to us, that we were possessed of Messena unjustly. Now, what greater or more evident proof can we find of our claim than this, that it was acknowledged even by our enemies in our adversity. As for the oracle, which is confessed by all the antientest, as well as most universally equitable, it did not only declare Messena to be ours, because, upon the gift of it to us by Cresphontes's children, it had ordered us to accept the city, and assist the oppressed; but, even long after the commencement of the war, when each had sent to Delphi, they

they imploring safety and protection, and we the methods of most expeditiously making ourselves masters of the place; to the Messenians the oracle answered nothing, as to persons who made an unjust petition; but revealed to us the sacrifices we ought to make, and the alliances we were to seek after. Now, once more, let me ask, what greater proof than this can be given? for it is certain, that we first received this city voluntarily from the right owners (and it is not improper briefly to mention this); afterwards we possessed ourselves of it by war, by which means, in those times, most possessions had their beginning: add to this, that we drove away the enemies of Hercules's children, who should have been exterminated from the face of the universe: finally, by the length of time, the judgment of our enemies, and the declaration of a god, we were allowed to have acquired it justly. Each of these proofs and titles is sufficient to overthrow all the false pretences of our adversaries, should they say, that we either now make war out of avarice, or did at first, out of an unjust principle, make war on the Messenians. I could say more for our just claim to Messena; but, I believe, this may suffice.

THOSE, who would counsel us to make a peace, alledge, that it does not become the unfortunate and happy to reason in the same manner; but, in the present conjuncture, take prudent advice, obey necessity, and not attempt things beyond our power; nor have so much equity tenaciously in view, as utility. In other regards, I agree with these men; but that utility should ever be preferred to justice, is what they can never persuade me to by any arguments: for, in this sentiment, I see all laws were first enacted, that good and wise men judged noble actions deserving of honour; that the best governed cities ever observed this rule, and struggled to conclude wars by the merits of justice and equity; in fine, that the whole race of mankind are preserved by justice, but destroyed and dissolved by injustice and cowardice: wherefore they ought never to despond, who fight on the side of justice, but rather the oppressors,

and such as know not how to bear prosperity and power with moderation. We should likewise consider this, that all are agreed about our right, but we dispute about the utility. Now, two goods being proposed, the one evident, the other uncertain, is it not folly to refuse what is confessedly a good, and pursue a doubtful one? the difference likewise in the option betwixt them being so great. My discourse exhorts you to quit nothing of your right, nor make the city obnoxious to disgrace and infamy; but bravely to face danger, in hope we shall have better success in the cause of justice, than our enemies in the design of oppression. Others advise you to abandon Messina; and if you commit an injustice against yourselves, perhaps you will be deprived of imaginary utility, as well as your right, and whatever else you may expect; for it does not appear, that though we should comply with what is commanded, that we shall have a sure lasting peace. You are not ignorant, I judge, that all men reason with those who remonstrate against injustice; but are apt, when they find ready compliance, to impose further and more hard commands than they at first designed: so that it commonly happens, such obtain a more reasonable peace, who make a brave resistance, than such as too weakly submit to impositions.

BUT, to the end I may not dwell too long upon this subject, I will now use the simplest arguments. If there was no instance that the unfortunate had ever recovered themselves, or got the better of their enemies, I should not encourage you to hope for what had never happened: but if it has often fallen out, that the stronger has been conquered by the weaker, and the besiegers been destroyed by the besieged, why should not our present circumstances admit a change? I have indeed no examples to produce of this kind in our city; for, in former times, none ever made an incursion into this territory, who were powerfuller than we. In regard of other cities, many examples may be drawn from them; and especially from the city of Athens;
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for we shall find, that, after they assumed authority over others, they were obnoxious to the censure of the rest of Greece; but that whenever they punished oppressive aggressors, they were ever applauded by all men. Should I mention here the antient hazards they have run against the Amazons, the Thracians, and Peloponnesians, who, with Eurystheus, made an incursion into their country, I should not unjustly, perhaps, be thought to speak of transactions that are at an immoderate distance of time. But who is ignorant out of what calamities they recovered themselves in the Persian war, and to what a height of glory they arrived? for they alone, of all who inhabit out of Peloponnesus, observing the power of the Barbarians like an irresistible torrent, did not think they ought once to reason about any commands; but they immediately resolved to desert their city, rather than see it enslaved. Thus they left their own soil, judging liberty their better country; and, sharing with us the common danger, they met with such a happy change of affairs, that, having been but a few days deprived of their city, they were, for a long time, lords of others. Nor can we only bring proofs from this city, that courage against an enemy is salutary; but even the tyrant Dionysius may prove it, who being blocked up by the Carthaginians, nor having any hope of safety, but surrounded by war, and hated by his citizens, had thoughts of escaping by his shipping: in this circumstance, one of his boldest friends said to him, that royalty was a glorious grave. Of which advice and reproach he was so sensible, that, resolving on the continuance of war, he slew many thousands of the Carthaginians, made himself more absolute master of his citizens, encreased greatly his former power, finished his life as king, and left his son in the same honour and authority he had lived himself. Amyntas, the king of Macedonia, had also a like success in his enterprizes; for being worsted by the neighbouring Barbarians in battle, and deprived of Macedonia, he at first thought of quitting the country, and saving his own life; but hearing a person

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praise what had been said to Dionysius, and changing, like him, his sentiment, after he had seized a small fortified place, and sent round for succours, in less than three months he recovered all Macedonia; and reigning afterwards a long time, he finished his life by the necessity of old age. I should weary you; if I examined into the variety of ancient history of this kind; nay, if we reflect upon what has happened in the Theban war, though we grieve for some events, yet we may even thence conceive better hopes for the future: for, after they dared to meet us in our incursions, nor dreaded our threats, their affairs took such a prosperous turn, that, tho' they formerly were subject to us, they now think it just to rule over us. Whoever considers such changes of fortune, must be very void of reason, if he thinks fortune will only shew herself constant in our calamities. We ought therefore, I say, to take courage, have good hope in regard of futurity, knowing that such misfortunes are redressed by good policy, and experience in war. As for the science of war, I believe no one will dispute our precedency in that; and as for our government, I think, it will be allowed by all the perfectest. This, methinks, is sufficient proof, that it cannot be but that we must have better success than such as never made great account of these advantages.

BUT many have an abhorrence of war, and mention, on this occasion, its vicissitudes; using, for examples, the calamities which have befallen us; and they wonder, if any will rely upon what is so inconstant in its nature. I have known many to have gained great happiness by war, and others to have been deprived of the possession by peace; for nothing is absolutely good or evil; but just as men use things and opportunities, there is a necessity that events should be answerable. It becomes, indeed, the prosperous to desire peace; for, by that means, they probably may enjoy longer a present happiness; but the unfortunate should turn their thoughts to war: by struggle, activity, and resolution, they may most easily obtain a happy change in their circumstances.

eumstances. But I am afraid, lest we appear acting otherwise: when we had it in our power to enjoy our pleasures, we often were too much inclined to war; but since we are fallen under a necessity of facing dangers, we desire quiet, and consult coldly about our safety. It concerns those, who love liberty, to avoid such agreements as are imposed, as having a near relation with servitude; and then make a treaty, when they are either superior to their enemies, or at least equal to them in power: for all men have just such a peace, as they make a conclusion of a war. Wherefore, being persuaded of this, we should not hastily make a composition, that will be attended with infamy, nor seem to have less courageous sentiments for our own city's glory and safety, than we have had for the good of others. You certainly remember, that, in former times, if only one Lacedæmonian assisted any of our allied cities, all adjudged the safety of that city to him. The greatest number of such mens names any one may hear from our oldest citizens; but I can number up the most famous: Pædaretus going in a ship to Chios, delivered the city; Brasidas entered Amphipolis, and drawing up a few troops of the besieged, he defeated, at their head, numerous troops of the enemy; Gylippus assisting the Syracusians, not only preserved them, but made those forces, by sea and land, which had been superior to them, all prisoners. And what a shame is it, that your ancestors, singly, should formerly have been capable of defending other cities, and all of us together not attempt now to save our own? that they should fill, I say, both Asia and Europe with their trophies, in the defence of others, and we now have fought no memorable battle, to repel such open insults of our country? that other cities should have suffered the sharpest sieges for our government, and we not suffer the least distress, to avoid the compulsion of bearing the most manifest injustice? In fine, though we still nourish horses for pomp and pleasure, that we should turn all our thoughts to a dishonourable peace, as if we wanted the daily necessaries of life? But the most infamous circum-

circumstance of all is, that we, who were thought the most patient of hardships of all the Grecians, should act in this effeminate manner. Why need I make further mention of the threats of such neighbours? we only once have been worsted, and yet have hitherto cowardly submitted to every peremptory order of our enemies; for how should such in adversity bear up long against it? Yet, who will not blame us, if, tho' the Messenians suffered a siege of twenty years, we should, by a treaty, so easily quit it, nor once reflect upon our ancestors glory; but abandon, for words, what they acquired with such labours and difficulty? This some are so far from regarding, that, despising all shame, they counsel such actions as must overwhelm their country with indelible infamy; and they so eagerly advise us to give up Messena, that, on this occasion, they dare to mention our weakness, and the power of the enemy; and challenge those, who oppose them, to tell from what side we may expect such auxiliaries, that we dare to exhort you to the protraction of the war. But, I think, the greatest and surest alliance is, to act justly; for the gods will favour such, if we may conjecture by the past of futurity. Add to this, that, by resolution, a wiser œconomy of government, and a determination of dying for our country, we shall recover our courage and vigour: and, lastly, we shall regain an honest shame of public disgrace, which certainly concerns us more than other men. In this circumstance of public bravery, I would certainly rather fight along with Lacedæmonians, than assisted by an innumerable multitude; for I know, that our ancestors mastered this country, not by being superior in number to others, but in those virtues which I have above mentioned. Wherefore we ought not to fear the enemy for their numbers, but rather conceive good hopes, if we more manfully bear our misfortunes than all others, and continue stedfast and resolute in our city's laws and customs from its beginning. You see them incapable of bearing prosperity; nay, so far from it, that they are full
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of disorder. You may see some of them, with their allies, destroying cities; some of them resisting such barbarity; some of them struggling with their neighbours about frontiers, rather than fight against us. Now, what greater encouragement can these men expect, than the mismanagement of our enemies. This certainly ought to be an encouragement to us; this will greatly assist us. But if it is necessary to speak about foreign aid, I think many will be ready to give their best assistance. First, the Athenians, tho' they are not our absolute friends, yet will do their utmost in our cause for their own safety: I doubt not also, but that several other cities will consult our present good like their own. Besides, Dionysius the Sicilian monarch, the Egyptian, and all the Asiatic powers, as far as in them lies, will readily assist us in this condition, if we behave bravely. Lastly, the richest of the Greeks, the highest in honour, and such as have the most exalted, noble ideas, tho' they have not hitherto shewed themselves, are our allies already by benevolence. With all these advantages, ought we not to hope well in regard of our future success in? I also think, all the Peloponnesians, and even those who were not before, will now be our zealous friends; for they have gained none of those advantages from their defection from us, which they expected; but, instead of liberty, the contrary has befallen them: for, having lost the best of their citizens, they are subject to the worst; and, instead of living free by their laws, they are now plunged into a most dreadful anarchy: and having been accustomed to attack, along with us, other powers, they now see foreign powers invade themselves; those popular dissensions, which they formerly only heard of amongst others, they now daily experience themselves: and add to this, that they are so overwhelmed by miseries, that they cannot distinguish who is most calamitous amongst them. Nor is there any of those cities in such a flourishing state, which has not neighbours who will molest them; so that their territories have been plundered, cities erased, private families ruined, all politic government.

vernment overthrown, and those laws dissolved, which while they lived by, they were the most happy of the Grecians: in short, they are reduced to that misery of diffidence amongst themselves, that they more hate their fellow-citizens than their declared enemies. Instead of that affluence which they enjoyed under us with protection and benevolence, they are involved in such confusion, that those who have substance amongst them, would rather cast their riches into the sea, than impart them to the needy; and those who are in lower circumstances, would, sooner than acquire riches honestly, wrest them from the present possessors; nay, neglecting common sacrifices, they assassinate one another at the altar; and more now, from one city, go into banishment than there formerly did from all Peloponnesus. Tho' I have mentioned such a number of calamities, yet those, which I have omitted, far exceed the catalogue; for there is nothing of misery and distress, which they have not suffered. Some are already wearied; others shortly will be so, and seek out some redress of such a deplorable condition. Never think they will be contented with their shattered, oppressive governments; for how should those, who desponded in prosperity, in adversity have constancy and patience? So that we not only may attain victory by fighting, but, if we continue quiet, we shall see them changed, and thinking our safety their best protection: so wide, so just a field have we of good hopes.

BUT I am so far from inclining to obey the Thebans commands, that, should nothing of what I have said happen, should we meet with no assistance from any side, but some of the Greeks would do us injustice, others neglect us, I would not even alter my mind, or repent of my counsel; but would face all the dangers of war, rather than make such a shameful treaty: for I should be ashamed, in both cases, if we either seemed to condemn our ancestors of injustice, as if they had not equitably possessed themselves of Messena; or, if this be allowed by all, that we should weakly grant our adversaries any thing, in this respect, out of
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towardice and dastardlinefs. But let us do neither of thefe unworthy actions : let us rather confider, how we may run the hazard of war worthy of ourfelves ; nor ever make thofe, who have written panegyrics on our city, feem to have done it with flattery ; nay, rather let us act fo, that all their praifes may fall fhort of our real valour. I cannot believe any thing of a more calamitous nature can befall us, than what we now fuffer ; and our enemies will reafon and act in fuch a manner, as will give us an opportunity of recovering our condition : but fhould we be deceived in our hopes, be diftreffed on all fides, and not able to defend our own city, I own it is harfh what I am going to fay ; but I will not fpare your ears, or act unworthily of my own freedom : I fhall, by fo doing, fpeak what is more proper for all the Grecians to hear, and fuitable to our characters, than what fome others advife you to. I fay then, we ought to fend our parents, our children, our wives, and the lefs ufeful citizens, to Sicily or Italy, fome to Cyrene, and fome to the continent ; thefe places will receive them willingly, furnifh them with lands, and all other neceffaries ; part of them out of gratitude, for the good they have received from us, and others in expectation of reward for their having firft obliged us. I would have us, therefore, who are willing to ftay behind, and are proper for the fatigues of war, to quit the city, and all thofe other poffeffions which we cannot carry off ; and, after we have feized upon a place the beft fortified, and capable of maintaining a defence, to fpoil and rob our enemies both on fea and land, until they defift from difputing with us our rights. If we have courage to dare this, you will fee thofe, who pretend to command us now, defcending to entreaties, defiring us to accept of Meflena, and conclude a peace. For what city in the Peloponnefus can fupport fo dreadful a war as will be kindled, if you are refolute and courageous ? Who, I fay, will not be afraid and terrified, to meet fuch an army united, which has done fuch wonderful things, is enflamed juftly againft the authors of our prefent

sent calamities, make no account of their own lives, and, omitting all other employment, attend only to war, and watch the opportunities of a just revenge. Add this, so distinguished by courage and military discipline, that no nation on earth can compare with them. Lastly, who will not be confined to one city, but who will be accustomed to live in tents, to march every-where at full freedom, and become neighbours to whom they please; nay, think every place their home, which is proper for carrying on the war. I judge, if this report was only once spread over Greece, our enemies would be in great apprehension; and more so, if we should at last be forced to put this counsel in execution: for what will be their condition, do you think, when they will suffer, and not be in a capacity to retaliate? In fine, when they will see their own cities besieged, and ours no longer subject to that calamity? when they will perceive our subsistence, both from our present stores, and the daily acquisitions of war, while their own will be clogged with many difficulties; because there is a great difference betwixt maintaining such a brave resolute army in open field, and a numerous populace at home. What still will most grievously afflict them is, if they perceive our servants are distinguished by their dexterity and plenty, while their own are deprived of daily necessities, nor in a power of remedying their condition; but tho' they till their lands, lose the harvests, and, should they neglect, be continually wasted with famine.

BUT it may be objected, that, gathering their joint forces, and making a common army, they will pursue us, and prevent our designs. Now, what can we desire more, than to see them approach us, to labour under the same patience of war with ourselves, a body of men that will be disorderly and ill-disciplined, and under the command of different generals: we should, in this case, avoid a great deal of trouble, and might force them to fight us upon our own conditions, and not at their option.

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THE remainder of my time would be all spent, if I endeavoured at large to explain all our advantages: however, this is evident to all, that we have not been distinguished from other Grecians by the extent of our city, nor the number of citizens; but by our government, which was modelled like a well-disciplined army, that is obedient to the commanders. Now, if we reduce to real practice what we have hitherto emulated and had in view, I do not doubt, but we shall overcome our adversaries. We likewise know, that the antient possessors of this city entered Peloponnesus with few troops, and performed by them glorious actions, and downright wonders. It certainly is noble to imitate our ancestors to recover our power and government, since we have met lately with disasters, and endeavour to re-ascend in glory as high as ever. But the greatest disgrace of all will be, if, being conscious how the Athenians abandoned their city for the common cause of liberty, we dare not quit ours, tho' it be for the safety of our very lives and fortunes, with whatever is dear and valuable to us. Methinks, we ought rather to set an example of this kind to others, than imitate their actions. Add, that it will deserve most sarcastic reproach, if the Phocenses, on the great king's invading their territories, abandoned Asia, and betook themselves to Massilia, and we shew such pusillanimity, that we will bear their dictatorship, whom we were accustomed to govern and prescribe to. We ought not now to paint, in our imagination, that day when we must be separated from our dearest friends and relations, but fix our eye upon those times when we shall have conquered our enemies, restored our city to its splendor, and receive again our fellow-citizens; when we shall have shewn to all, that we were undeservedly unfortunate, and were, in former times, superior in dignity to others. But I have not spoken this, that I think we should immediately put my advice in practice, or that there is no possibility of safety without it: no, it is to prepare your minds, and persuade you, that such, and greater distresses, ought to be undergone by us, rather

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than submit to our enemies dishonourable conditions, and give up tamely Messina.

YET I would not so earnestly exhort you to war, if I did not see, that, by this method, you will have a firm and lasting peace; but, by following others counsel, an infamous one, and such as will soon be dissolved: for if we are to be neighbours to this city after it is encreased, who is so ignorant as not to perceive we must pass our whole lives in tumults and dangers? Wherefore these warm counsellors of peace perceive not, that, for a short time's respite, they will engage us in a perpetual war and confusion. I would willingly ask of them, for what objects they themselves think we should resolve to conquer, or to die? Should it not be, when our enemies would impose unjust commands on us, take away a part of our territory, free our slaves, and introduce them into those lands which our ancestors had left us, and not only deprive us of our just possessions, but would plunge us in the lowest disgrace and infamy? Now, I think, to avoid this, you ought not only to undergo a war, but, was it necessary, banishment or death itself; for it is better to die surrounded with glory, than to live disgraced, and humbly accepting others commands. Finally, if I must clearly speak my whole soul, it is better our city should be erased, than we inhabit it with the name of slaves and cowards; for it becomes those, who have been the first in glory amongst the Greeks, that they should chuse one of these two objects, either to lead the rest in Greece, or not to be at all, lying down, after all their toils, in the bed of honour and immortal fame. Having these heroic ideas constantly in view, we ought not fondly to love life, or tamely obey their dictates, whom we used to command; but employ our thoughts about what most becomes the glory of our country, and not others advantages. All men should not reason in the same manner, but make the memory of their former actions the foundation of their resolutions. None will ever blame the Epidaurians, the Phliasians, or the Corinthians, if they consult nothing but their own ease and security:

security: but the Lacedæmonians will not be pardoned by posterity, if they seek their safety by every method of avoiding war. If we cannot save ourselves with honour, we had certainly far better to nobly perish. They, who glory in courage and virtue, should endeavour at nothing more than acting worthily of their character. Degenerate counsels shew the depravity of a city, as much as fear in battle declares cowardice: nay, what happens in battle, is often the caprice of fortune, but, in a senate, each determination is an index of the mind; so that you here should take as great care of what is decreed in this assembly, concerning peace, as of what may happen from war. I wonder at those men, who are willing to die for a private property, and are not disposed to do so for the public good, for which a brave and good man would dare any danger, nor disgrace his city, or neglect it, when it is ready to quit the high rank in which his ancestors had left it. But let whatever difficulties and dangers surround us, we ought to take care, that we do nothing unmanly, nor allow our enemies an unjust precedence over us. It is, certainly, one of the last disgraces, that those, who have been at the head of Greece, should ever be known to obey others commands, and to be so inferior to their ancestors, that tho' they dared to die that they might command others, not dare to do so much themselves to avoid slavery. We ought likewise to revere the Olympic and other general assemblies, in which our countrymen have been more intrepid, and deserving admiration, than any others that have gained prizes. Into which of them, do you imagine, they will dare to come, despised instead of honoured, admired before for valour, and now contemned by all for cowardice? Add to this, seeing their servants bringing greater sacrifices and presents than they, from those lands which their ancestors had left them, and hearing from them such base reproaches, as is probable, from men who were once in such a servile condition, and now upon equal terms with their masters. These indignities we must suffer, which no words can properly

express. We should now consult about this, and not therein vainly grieve when it is too late. Let us now provide against such an event. It is a great infamy, not to have formerly suffered even free persons to use an equality of stile, but now suffer the audacious language of our very slaves. We shall seem, in foregoing time, to have been vain boasters, but, in fact, no braver than others; and to have made our advantage of a fictitious, and not a real grandeur and gravity. Let us therefore give no handle to those who are wont to reproach us, but endeavour to confute their malice by actions worthy of our ancestors. Remember your ancestors conflicts with the Arcadians, who, tho' few in number, and but one thick in rank, conquered many thousands. Remember those three hundred, who, at Thyreæ, conquered all the Argives in a set battle. Remember those thousand men, who met the common enemy at Thermopylæ, and, joining battle with eight hundred thousand Persians, did not fly, or were conquered, but lost their lives upon the spot, where they were placed by their country's orders; who so bravely behaved themselves, that those orators, who are accustomed to write panegyrics, cannot equal their just praises. Remembring, I say, such men, let us boldly enter upon the war, and not expect, as it were, till some others should apply a remedy: but since these calamities have befallen in our times, let us endeavour to put an end to them ourselves; for it becomes the brave to shew themselves, in an extraordinary manner, on such occasions. Prosperity hides baseness even in cowards; but adversity manifestly declares what every man is. In this circumstance, we ought to evidence to all, that we have been better educated and instructed than others. We ought not to despair, but that some good may follow from our present condition; for, I judge, all of you know very well, that many things of a like nature have happened to others, which all at first looked upon as calamities, and consoled with them, but perceived afterwards, that these reverses of fortune proved the sources of the greatest happiness. But
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why need I mention distant examples? We shall find even the chief cities, I mean Athens and Thebes, never to have flourished and encreased much in time of peace, but from those misfortunes which they suffered in war, and recovered themselves from. By this means, one gained the lead in Greece, and the other is now so aggrandized, as no one once thought it ever would be; for glory and distinction arises not from quiet, but from action and peril, which you ought to emulate, and neither spare your bodies, your lives, or any other possession; for if we can recover ourselves, and restore our city to its first state, from which it is fallen, we shall even be extolled beyond our ancestors, and leave no addition to our glory; but even make those, who are willing, doubtful how they shall praise us worthily. You likewise should not be ignorant of this, that all will have their thoughts intent upon the determinations of this assembly. Let every one therefore be assured, that, as if he were in an universal assembly, he will have the eyes of all Greece upon him. Now, it will be easy to consult as we ought: if we take the resolution of dying in our own just cause, we shall not only gain lasting glory, but we shall live ever after in ease and safety; but, if we fear danger, we shall involve ourselves in irretrievable confusion. Wherefore, exhorting one another, let us requite our country for our education, nor be indifferent in her disgrace and injuries, nor disappoint the hopes of our well-wishers. Let us not so highly, I say, esteem life, as to betray that glory, for which we have been so justly celebrated; but believe it truly noble, and more worthy of ourselves, to purchase, at the expence of a mortal body, immortal fame, and acquire, by the quitting of life, that honour and reputation, which will be transmitted down to our latest posterity. It is better to purchase everlasting glory in this manner, than, for the gain of a short, momentary space of time, plunge ourselves into perpetual disgrace and infamy. You will, methinks, be the most efficaciously roused up to this war, if you place, as it were,

before your eyes, both your ancestors and children ; the former, as exhorting you not to disgrace the Spartan name, nor their trophies ; and the latter, requiring of you those lands their forefathers had left, as well as that authority in Greece, and that principality which was your inheritance ; whom, I am afraid, we can give no just answer to.

I KNOW, long discourses are always superfluous ; let me but add this, that tho' our city has been engaged in many wars and dangers, yet no enemy gained an advantage over us, while your armies were conducted by one of Hercules's family. It is certainly now the part of prudent persons to listen chiefly to those in counsel, who have always been successful in the management of their country's wars and contentions.

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THE SEVENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES.

The S U B J E C T.

THE intent of this oration is to teach national decency and moderation. He advises the Athenians to a prudent change, or new model of government ; a thing which none of the public orators dared to meddle with. Isocrates, like a wise man, saw, that regular discipline and obedience were so lost in a corrupted state, that there was an universal contempt of magistrates, with an unbounded licence and audacity in the populace ; in short, that all order was dissolved : he therefore endeavours to persuade them to restore the form of government instituted by Solon, their wise legislator ; who made the happiness of the state to consist in the practice of virtue, and just obedience to superiors.



THE SEVENTH

ORATION of ISOCRATES.

I DOUBT not but many will wonder, what can be my thoughts, that I should make, in this convention, my discourse upon the topic of public safety; as if the city was in danger, or its circumstances precarious, tho' it has at present no less in pay than two hundred galleys: add to this, that it has peace all round, and keeps the titular sovereignty of the seas; besides, has many allies, some of them ready to assist us, and others, in greater number, paying taxes, and obedient on command. This being so, some, doubtless, would say, that you ought to be in full courage, as if all danger were at a remote distance; and that our enemies ought rather to fear, and consult about their safety. I know, that you, reasoning thus, must despise my oration, and hope all Greece may be subjected to your arms: but I am apprehensive, for these very reasons; for I perceive, that many cities, which seem the most prosperous, consult most negligently the common good, and those, which were the most elate, to have fallen into the greatest dangers. The reason is, that unmixed good or bad is not the lot of human nature; but imprudence follows close upon riches and power, as well as its attendant, luxury; whereas, wisdom and moderation are the companions of want and poverty; so that it is worthy doubt, which of the two a discreet man would wish to leave his children: for we may often see, that, from what might appear a worse state, extraordinary good has followed; but that, from prosperity, as it might seem, human affairs are wont to degenerate

nerate into misery. Examples of this nature may be collected in abundance from private stations (for changes most frequently happen in them); but if any require more celebrated proofs, they need only reflect upon what has happened to us and the Lacedæmonians: for tho' our city had been evacuated out of fear of the Barbarians, yet, by caution, and attending to affairs, we set ourselves at the head of all Greece: but when we thought we were arrived at insuperable power, we had like to have been reduced to a state of captivity. As for the Lacedæmonians, tho', at first, they came from inconsiderable and small cities, yet, by military conduct and strict temperance, they made themselves absolute masters of Peloponnesus: after this, assuming a greater authority than became them, and usurping the power both of sea and land, they fell into the same calamities with us. Whoever, therefore, is conscious of such changes, and that such confirmed powers have been dissolved, yet will confide in our present circumstances, must be imprudent, especially since our city is not in a similar case to what it was then in formerly: besides, the hatred of the Greeks, as well as the Persians, is renewed against us, which formerly overthrew our prosperity.

I AM indeed doubtful, whether I should think that you are solicitous for the public good, or, if you are so, are struck with such a lethargy, that you are ignorant into what disorders our city is plunged. We have lost all the cities in Thrace, spent above a thousand talents upon strangers, yet we are suspected by Greece, and become enemies to the Persian. Add to this, that we have been forced to save the Thebans friends, tho' we have ruined our own allies; and, for such preposterous conduct, we have twice offered thanksgiving sacrifices. Even still we consult more negligently about our affairs, than those who are successful in all their undertakings: now, we act thus, and necessarily suffer accordingly; for it cannot be expected, that success should attend those, who consult not wisely about the sum of all their
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administration: but tho' they prove prosperous in some actions, either by accident, or some man's distinguished virtue, upon a new error, they soon fall into the same distresses. This is evident by what has befallen us; for tho' all Greece was brought under our power, by the sea-fight when Conon was admiral, and wise management of our land-forces under Timotheus, notwithstanding we could not, for any time, preserve such prosperity, but we soon lost, and, as it were, squandered away such happiness; for we have not such a wise government, as to use events to advantage, nor do we desire to live under such a one. Now, we all know, that prosperity is not secured by strong fortifications, or the greatest crowds of men assembled together, but by magistrates and obedient subjects, who make the state flourish by the prudentest oeconomy. The very soul of a city is nothing else but a policy having the same efficacy in the public, as prudence has in the body; for it is prudence which consults about, and directs all, which preserves happiness, and avoids calamity. To this wise oeconomy should be subjected laws; orators, and private persons, nor deviate from its maxims and directions. But our government being quite depraved, we take no proper care, nor consider how we may restore it to its first plan and excellency. Indeed, in courts of justice, we accuse one another, and say; that we never were governed worse under a democracy; but, in our private thoughts and sentiments, we love our present form of administration better than that left us by our ancestors: concerning which I am going to make this following oration, as I have declared before.

I FIND this the only method that can avert future misfortunes from us, as well as remedy our present calamities, if we, with unanimity, restore that form of democratical government, which was established by Solon. Cleisthenes, who drove out our tyrants, and restored the popular power, recalled Solon's commonwealth to its first vigour. Now, we shall never find any form more calculated than this for the people's just power, or more conducive to our city's interest.

interest. This is the strongest proof: they, who lived under this form, did noble and glorious actions, gained the approbation of all, and had deferred to them the supreme authority of Greece by free consent; but those, who are so desirous of our present state, are hated of all, have fallen into great difficulties, and were upon the very verge of the greatest calamities. Now, how can any one justly praise or love such a policy, which has formerly been the occasion of so many evils, and now annually becomes worse, and more disordered? How can any help fearing, lest, by additional depravity, it may conclude by more calamitous events than formerly we were exposed to? But, that you may not only hear generals, but understand particulars, and make an accurate judgment of them, it becomes you to be attentive to what I am going to say; for I will express myself as briefly, but as much to the purpose, as I am possibly able. Our ancestors constituted a republic, not in tide only the mildest and most popular, but appearing by fact, and upon experience, so: nor did they so govern their citizens, as to make them believe, luxury and licence were a democracy; and a contempt of all law, perfect freedom; insolence, an equality in equity; or the power of acting in this loose manner, happiness: on the contrary, they judged, they hated, and punished such disorders, and, by vigilance, rendered all their fellow-citizens better and wiser. What highly conferred to their wise œconomy was, that they knew perfectly, that there were two supposed equalities; the first, when all had an equal share in all things; and the second, when each had according to his just merit. Now, they were not ignorant of which was the preferable; for they disapproved of that government, which levelled the good and bad indiscriminately, as being inconsistent with justice; but chose that form, which rewarded and punished according to merit. It was in this sort that they steered the helm of public œconomy, and did not chuse magistrates promiscuously, but exalted to power those who were the best and most fit for public stations; for they judged the
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mobile would be such as were their governors : besides, they judged this distribution of authority wiser than by fortuitous lots. Fortune, they thought, presided in such chances, and those were often put in power, who desired an oligarchy ; but, by a considerate election of the most worthy, the body of the people might chuse out such as most sincerely loved the good of their country. The happy principle, which reigned at that time, was, not to be ambitious of posts, because each was determined to do their utmost for the common good, and spare the public treasures, and not be extravagant in particular, and plunder others ; not establish their own affairs by their country's robbery, but from their own private well-managed revenues assist the public on just and emergent occasions ; in short, not examine more into the states taxes than their own annual income : so that it was more difficult to find, in those times, those who courted popular promotion, than it is now, such as desire no more, but are contented with their own fortunes ; for they did not think the care of public affairs of the nature of a market, but a trust which required the greatest vigilance and honour : nor did they so quick-sightedly look about them, where their predecessors had left some stock ; but rather, if they had left unfinished some noble work, which required a last hand to it : in a word, they were sensible, that the people, like an absolute lord, ought to constitute the magistrates, punish the offenders, and put an end to contestations ; but that the affluent, and those who depended not on necessary business, should take care of the public interests, as their own, out of a principle of generosity, and love that applause which is given to sincere merit : on the contrary, if they acted ill, be exposed to the just resentment of the public. How is it possible, may I here exclaim, to find out a stronger or more equitable commonwealth than that which placed, in posts of power, the most capable of affairs, but constituted the assembled body of the people disposers of them ?

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THIS was the œconomy of their state. It is easy, from this short sketch, to imagine, that they must have governed with great wisdom and prudence; for it must be, that those, who consult wisely about the whole of affairs, must manage, with discretion, arising incidents. And, in the first place, as to what related to the immortal gods (for certainly they ought to take the first place), they neither sacrificed to them, nor celebrated their feasts in an unlawful or disorderly manner, nor sent, out of a capricious humour at times, three hundred oxen to a famous temple; but, when their country festivals occurred, neglected the yearly rituals: nor did they shew magnificence upon occasional feasts, and, in the most sacred solemnities, shewed a meanness, and sacrificed bought cattle; but they were particularly solicitous of this alone, neither to infringe their country's customs, or add to them. They did not think piety consisted in expence, but in altering nothing of the traditions of their ancestors: wherefore, their solemnities did not return upon sudden dangers and disorders, but regularly, and with decorum; when they began to cultivate their lands, or get in their harvests. In the same manner they governed their own affairs; for they had not only unity among themselves, but, even in common life, they took such care of one another, as it becomes the prudent, and such as inhabit the same country. And so far were the poorer sort from envying the affluent, that they were as anxious for the prosperity of great houses as their own; thinking the flourishing condition of such their own happiness. Those, on the contrary, who were possessed of substance, were so far from despising the indigent, that they thought the poverty of any of their fellow-citizens a disgrace. They let out their lands at easy rents; some they assisted in merchandize, and some in different manufactures. They were not of such grovelling tempers, as to fear either of these two cases; that they might expend in public good their all, or, thus engaging themselves for others, might diminish their treasures: but they had as good hopes from their liberalities, as what was
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in their chests; for they saw the citizens, who then had the supreme power, did not abuse these favours, but were grateful, and submissive to the laws. So far were they from assisting others in any injustice done the great, that they were enflamed against such criminals more than had it been done to themselves; and believed, that the poorer sort were more injured by the knavish behaviour of particulars, than even the rich, who might suffer by it; that the rich, indeed, by being deprived of some gain, were only slightly incommoded in their revenues; but that, should the poorer be deprived of their assistance, they must all be reduced to the last extremity. For this reason, no one concealed his money, nor was unwilling to confer favours on others; but were more pleased to see those who took their money on interest, than those who came to make full payment. But this conduct succeeded as wise men would wish; for they both benefited the public, and employed profitably their own substance. But the chief of all was, that they conversed together on the terms of amity; for all possessions were secure to those who possessed them justly, and the use of them was equitably open to all citizens.

PERHAPS some will find fault with what I have said, because I praise the actions which were done in those times, but do not mention the causes why they were so happy in public and private. Tho', I think, I have hinted something of this, yet I shall endeavour to speak more distinctly upon this subject. They had not a variety of teachers, as we have now, and, as soon as they became men, were left to their full liberty; but, in the bloom of their life, had more care bestowed upon them than before: for our progenitors laid the interests of virtue so to heart, that they appointed the Areopagus to inspect the decency of people's manners; which dignity none could arrive at, but those who had been honourably born, had shewn distinguished virtue and moderation, as became those who were to sit in the supreme place of judicature of all Greece.

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WE may judge of the truth of what I have asserted, by those who presided then, and those who sit there now; for we may see all those, who participate of this honour, tho' they are insufferable in other regards, as soon as they enter the Areopagus, resisting their own natures, and rather obeying the laws there, than their own perverse dispositions: such a horror our ancestors left in that sacred place of all crimes, and such a remembrance of virtue and temperance! They therefore, as I said, made this senate the guardian of good manners: they judged, like wise men, that those were deceived, who thought the best men were formed where there was the greatest accuracy of laws; for there is no difficulty in having them alike over all Greece, by the easy communication of letters. But virtue does not arise from such theory, but from habit and daily practice; for, by regular manners, a great number must become alike, in respect of what they have been instructed in: whereas, multitude and exactness of laws is a proof, that the city is not wisely governed; for when there are necessary bulwarks, as it were, against vice, many laws must be the consequence: but prudent states ought not to have their piazzas filled with edicts, but the minds of the citizens with solid justice; for virtuous conduct, and not public decrees, renders a nation happy: in a word, the vicious and ill-educated will dare to transgress against the best of laws; but those improved by good education, will put in practice what the justest rules of their country require. They had not so much in view the severe punishments of the bad, as so to form their own minds, as to be worthy of no penalty; for they judged this their own business: on the contrary, they thought it became enemies to think of others torments. They were solicitous for all the citizens, but especially the youngest; they saw those liable to the violentest passions and disorders, and their minds requiring the best instruction, to be incited to the love of honourable actions, and such labours as procure reputation, true pleasure, and glory; for those only continue in the practice of these virtues, who
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were well educated, and accustomed to noble thoughts. Now, it was not possible, that all should live exactly by the same institutes, since they were in very different stations of life ; but, as far as was consistent with their different fortunes, they required it of every one : for they brought up to merchandize and husbandry such as were of the poorer sort ; knowing, that indigence is the attendant upon laziness, but wicked actions come from poverty. By removing the causes, they thought they destroyed the very roots of evil : but those who had a competency, they exercised in horsemanship, in gymnastic games, and philosophy ; for they perceived by this economy, that some arrived at the greatest excellency, and others abstained from the greatest part of evils. And tho' they ratified these rules by laws, they were not negligent of the remainder of their lives ; for, dividing the city into wards, and the country into tribes, they inspected the lives of all, and brought the disobedient and irregular before justice. This court admonished some, threatened others, and punished, as it was convenient, the obstinate. They well knew there were two dispositions, the one inclining to injustice, and the other to integrity : for in those cities, wherein there is neither a prison, nor punishment of disorders, nor accurate sentences in law, even the good become depraved by example : but where injustice can never be concealed, nor, when it is known, go unpunished, all vices, by degrees, were banished in such well-governed cities. It was by a conviction of this, that they restrained their citizens from vices, both by punishment and vigilance ; for transgressors of the laws were so far from being hid to them, that they even perceived before-hand when the esteemed honest were going to commit disgraceful actions. Wherefore, the youth did not pass whole days in gaming, hearing players on wind-instruments, or in such assemblies as they now trifle away their time in ; but they were studious of those instructions which were appointed them, admiring and seeking the conversation of such as excelled in them : and they so shunned the public forum, that,

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if they were occasionally forced to pass through it, they did so with great retinute and modesty. They likewise thought it then a greater disgrace to contradict or reproach their elders, than it is thought now to insult parents ; for not even a modest servant would be seen to eat or drink in a public-house. They studied gravity, and not a saucy, audacious contumely ; and they then thought low scoundrels those who love indecent jests and sarcasms, and are now esteemed wits for it. But let me not be thought morose against our youth : no, I do not judge them authors of our present circumstances. I know, that most of them take no pleasure in the management, if it may be called so, of our public affairs, tho' it gives them the liberty of abandoning themselves to all luxury : so that it would be unjust to impute our unhappiness to them, but, more reasonably, to such as governed our city a while ago ; it was they who reduced our state to this contemptible condition, and dissolved all the power of our former good government ; during the time of which wise oeconomy, neither law-suits, or exactions, nor poverty, or wars, oppressed our cities ; but we were in concord among ourselves, and at peace with our neighbours : for our ancestors behaved themselves with fidelity towards the Greeks, and with courage towards the Barbarians ; they saved the first, and afflicted the others with such losses, that they were glad to remain still, if they might escape suffering the like. Wherefore, our ancestors lived with that security, that they had finer and better furnished houses upon their own lands, than in the city : so that many of the citizens did not chuse to come even at the public feasts, but chose to pass them at their houses, rather than partake of the public pomp and munificence. Nor did they, in their public spectacles, which their countrymen came to, behave in a luxurious or proud, but a wise and rational manner ; for they did not judge of happiness by pomps, by public dancings, or such shewy pride, but by living temperately, employing well every day, and by none of the citizens wanting what was necessary. By this wise oeconomy we
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may best judge of a well-governed state, and not by a proud, oppressive management. Now, who is there possessed of a degree of wisdom, who is not afflicted to see the present condition of our affairs ; while some of the citizens, whether they have a competent qualification by estate and education, or not, stand candidates for public employments, govern and manage the Grecian fleets, dance publicly in embroidered vests, and pass the winter-season in such diversions, as I am ashamed to mention, with other inconsistencies innumerable in our republic, which are the cause of great infamy to the city ? nothing of which happened during our former wise senate ; for it freed the poor from their distresses by beneficence, and the concurrent assistances of the rich, and the youth from vices, by care and diligent instructions ; but kept within bounds the avaricious magistrate, by punishment, and inspection into all injustice. The elders were pushed on to vigilance by various honours, and the reverence of youth. Now, what form of government could be more valuable than this, which took such diligent care of all ? We have mentioned, I believe, most of the happy circumstances of that time ; but what has been omitted, it is an easy matter to guess at by what has been said already.

SOME have heard me explain these truths before, have praised me superlatively, and admired our ancestors, because they governed our city in such a manner, but did not think I should ever persuade you to follow the example ; on the contrary, that you knowingly would continue, by the force of custom, in the same difficulties, rather than, by returning to so wise a form, lead a more virtuous and rational life. They said, I incurred the danger, by advising what was best, of becoming odious to you, and be thought to design an oligarchy. If I had not spoken of evident facts, but of unexperienced novelties, and had counselled you to model the government accordingly, by an election of scribes and counsellors, by whom formerly the people's authority was overthrown, I justly should undergo such a censure. But

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I have said nothing of this nature, but have reasoned from an œconomy well known, and clear by history to all; which, all are persuaded, was your paternal government, and the cause of the greatest felicities to our city, and all Greece. Add to this, a government instituted by those men, whom all will acknowledge to have been the justest and wisest of our citizens in any age. Wherefore, may the greatest of calamities befall me, if, while I only propose this wise government, I have an intention of any innovation! But from hence my design is evident; for, in most of my discourses, I shall appear to condemn oligarchies and oppressions, but continually to praise democracies: not all indeed, but such as are well instituted; not by chance, but upon the principles of justice and reason. I know perfectly, that your ancestors, by this œconomy, excelled others; and that the Lacedæmonians have flourished particularly on account of their singular adherence to popular interest and authority. In the choice of magistrates, and their daily life, as well as other institutes, we may see, that an equality and similitude of condition prevails among them; which oligarchies are averse to; but those, who live in a popular state, constantly encourage it.

Now, we shall find, upon reflection, that democracies, more than oligarchies, have made the splendidest and most flourishing cities: so that even your present republic, which all find fault with, if compared with your former, may yet seem divinely instituted, in comparison of our state under the thirty tyrants. I am resolved, that tho' I should be thought to speak foreign to my purpose, I will manifest and declare how much our government differs from that of our ancestors, that no one may imagine, I design to aggravate the faults of the populace; and, if they have done any thing in a grave and decent manner, pass it by. Now, this part of my discourse will neither be long, or useless to my hearers. After we had lost our ships at the Hellespont, and our city was involved in those calamities, which you all know, who did not perceive, that those of the elders, who were most affectionate

affectionate of the people, were ready to suffer any thing, rather than obey foreign command? for they judged it an infamy, should they see that city, which had been at the head of Greece, subject to those who were wont to be dependent: on the contrary, those who are desirous of an oligarchy, were ready to demolish their walls, and accept of slavery; besides, when the people were masters of the state, we had our garisons in others towns; but when the thirty tyrannized, the enemy was possessed of several of ours, and, after that time, the Lacedæmonians became your masters: yet no sooner the banished being returned, dared to fight, and Conon got the better in a sea-engagement, but ambassadors were immediately sent to us, and we were offered the command at sea. This every one of our cotemporaries is sensible of; for our antient democracy so decorated the city with temples, and stated sacrifices, that, at this very day, strangers, who visit it, think it not only worthy of being at the head of Greece, but of all other nations: but the thirty neglected some sacrifices, plundered some temples, and sold the building-docks for three talents, which had cost the city at the least a thousand. But neither can I praise their mildness and clemency more than what the democracy had shewed; for tho' they received their power by election, yet they murdered thirteen hundred of their fellow-citizens, without the form of law, and forced above five thousand to fly into the Pyræum: but these getting a glorious victory, and returning by force of arms, slew the authors of those calamities, and managed all things among the citizens with that equity and justice, that those who had joined with the tyrants, had equal liberty and property with those who had recovered their rights by victory. But this is the noblest and most glorious proof of the people's moderation; for those who had continued in the city, having borrowed a hundred talents to carry on the siege against these who had possessed themselves of the Pyræum, a general assembly being called about the payment of that money, and some saying it was but just, that the besiegers, and

not the besieged, should pay this sum to their allies, the people still decreed the payment should be common. By this conduct, they caused such an union, and so far recovered the ruined state of the city, that the Lacedæmonians, who were very near giving absolute law to our city during the oligarchy, came in a suppliant manner to our democracy, begging of our city not to suffer them to be oppressed by the Thebans. Now, this is the summary of the different sentiments of our two parties : the oligarchic party endeavoured to enslave their citizens, but serve their enemies ; the democratic chose to govern others, and preserve equality among the citizens.

I HAVE hitherto explained myself thus, for two reasons : the first, to shew myself not an abettor of oligarchies, or oppression, but of a just and wise management of state ; the second, that an ill-constituted republic is productive of less inconveniency than an oligarchy ; but that well-governed ones are transcendently preferable, by being grounded on juster principles, and more easy and pleasant to the subjects. Now, perhaps, it may be wondered at by some, why I persuade you to another form, when such generous, glorious actions have been performed by our present constitution ; and why I have just now so highly extolled the democracy, but, when I happen to change my language, I inveigh so heavily against our present management. I am even accustomed to condemn private men, when they do but a few reasonable actions, and commit many extravagant ones ; and I think them more negligent, and less worthy, than they ought to be. In the same manner, I dispraise such children, as born of noble-minded, virtuous parents, yet become little better than such as are infamous by their vices, and far beneath their forefathers excellencies ; and I certainly would counsel them to desist from continuing so. Now, having the same sentiments about public as private affairs, I do not think we ought to be proud, or admire ourselves, if we are more regular and just than men who suffer variety of calamities by their madness and folly, but
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rather grieve and be sorry, if we have degenerated from our ancestors ; for we ought to emulate their virtues, and not imitate the shocking vices and tyranny of the thirty : besides, it becomes us to excel all mankind. I have not expressed my thoughts only in this manner at present, but many times, and to many persons before ; for I am sensible, that, in many places, the natures of fruits, trees, and animals, are different according to the various climates, nay, very different from one another. But this I know likewise, that our country is capable of producing men, not only ingenious in respect of arts and mechanics, but distinguished by their valour and humanity. A proof of this is, their exploits against the Amazons, the Thracians, and all the Peloponnesians, as well as those dangers which they ran in the wars with the Persians ; in which wars, both alone, and with the Peloponnesians, by land and by sea, they conquered the Barbarians, and deserved the highest praise for magnanimity : which could never have been done, had they not excelled in nature. But let not any imagine this a panegyric, or encomium of our present state : such orations are just praises of those who equal their ancestors virtues, but a satire upon such as disgrace themselves by falling short of them, which we do. I will speak freely the truth : tho' we were possessed of this excellency in nature, we have not preserved it, but we are fallen into ignorance and confusion, and the love of sordid pleasures. But I am afraid, should I expatiate and enlarge my discourse upon our misconduct, I should wander too far from my first purpose : concerning this I have spoke before, and shall speak again, if I do not prevail on you to correct your present behaviour.

AFTER I have spoken briefly about what I proposed in the beginning, I will give place to any who will give their judgment of our present circumstances. If we continue to live as we do, it must necessarily follow, that we have endless disputes, frequent wars, and act and suffer as we have done in the late past times ; but, if we change our œconomy, we may reasonably expect, that our affairs will take as

happy a turn as in our forefathers time; for it is consequent, that, from the like institutions and manners, the same or the like successes and actions must follow. Now, comparing ours and our ancestors actions together, we ought to determine which we would chuse. And, first, let us consider, how the Grecians and Barbarians were affected by the antient form of government: such consideration of the differences must contribute to our happiness. Now, the Grecians had such confidence in the managers of our public affairs then, that most of them put themselves spontaneously under the patronage of our city; and the Barbarians were so far from interfering in the Grecian affairs, that they approached not Phaselis with their long ships, nor came down with their armies within the river Halys, but kept themselves in profound tranquillity; but things are now so changed, that the Greeks hate our city, and the others despise it. In regard of the Grecian hatred, you have had a proof of it from their generals; and the Persian monarch, by the letters he has sent us, sufficiently declares his disposition. Let me here add, that the citizens of those times remained in peace at home; such lovers were they of peace and humanity! but always conquered such as dared to invade their territory. We do the contrary; we never cease afflicting one another daily; but have so far neglected military art, that we dare not bring things to an examination, but by the dint of money. In their time, no citizens were in want of necessaries, nor did one beggar disgrace the city; now, the indigent exceed the easy. Methinks, the poor ought to be excused from soliciting themselves about the public, and confine themselves to their own daily cares. I have a firm belief, that, if we imitate our ancestors, we shall both free ourselves from the present calamities, and become preservers of all Greece. In this view, I have ventured to appear in public, and pronounce this oration. Now, I desire, that, upon a mature consideration of the reasons I have proposed for a change, you will determine what you judge best for our city.

T H E

THE EIGHTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES.

The S U B J E C T.

THIS oration has two parts : the first is, to persuade the Athenians to grant the Chians, and their other allies, their liberty ; and the second, to abstain from the sovereignty at sea. Against this last point, Aristides is said to have published an oration, which opposes that of Isocrates. This oration is in the deliberative kind ; for it advises peace. The chief argument is drawn from utility. There is a great beauty in the exordium, and indeed throughout the whole oration.



THE EIGHTH

ORATION of ISOCRATES.

THOSE who come hither, are used to say, that those things which they are going to speak of, are of the noblest nature, and worthy the city's utmost attention: but if there ever was a time when this might be said of any affairs, methinks that I shall now handle, deserves such an exordium. We are assembled to deliberate about peace and war, which are of the highest importance in human life, and those who consult maturely, are more successful than others. The importance, therefore, of our present subject is of this high nature. Now, I have frequently observed, that you make a great difference betwixt orators, and are attentive to some, but cannot suffer the voice of others. This, in reality, is no just wonder; for, in former times, you used to reject all such as did not flatter your inclinations; which, I think, deserves an impartial blame; for tho' you know many private houses have been entirely ruined by flatteries, and detest such persons, that, in their private affairs, conduct themselves in this manner, yet are not disposed yourselves in the same manner, in regard of the public management; for finding fault with the sincere, and taking pleasure in flatterers, you seem to put more confidence in such than in other citizens: for you yourselves have been the cause, that the orators study and meditate not so much what will be beneficial to the city, as what will please your hope and expectation; for which a crowd of them is now flocked together: for it is evident to all, that you take
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more pleasure in those who exhort you to war, than such as give you more peaceable counsels. The first give you hopes, that you shall recover your possessions in the lost cities, and establish yourselves again in the same which you had before. The second promise nothing of this nature, but counsel you to be quiet, and not affect great matters contrary to justice, but be content with your present circumstances; which is the most difficult of all things to the generality of mankind: for we so lose ourselves in airy hopes, and avariciously stretch after imaginary gain, that the very persons, who are possessed of the greatest accumulated riches, are not satisfied with them; but always desiring more, hazard even their present possessions. I am afraid we are instigated with a like phrenzy at present; for I see some inflamed with a love of war, not as if vulgar persons counselled them, but as if they heard so many oracles of the gods, that all shall succeed to the wish, and we shall easily overcome all our enemies: but it becomes the prudent not to be always in counsel (for that is idle and trifling), but put in practice what they judge best; nor ever imagine they can judge with certainty of the event of public counsels. Let them know they reason but from opinion, and therefore let them acquiesce in the consequences accordingly. Neither of which prudent methods do you follow, but are in the greatest disorder possible. You have met to chuse, as it becomes you, the wisest measures; and though you do know what is best to be done, yet you will hear none but such as flatter you. But if you truly had the city's good at heart, you ought rather to be attentive to those who oppose your sentiments, than such as fall in with your humours and weaknesses; for you cannot be ignorant, that those who practise such artifices, are the most likely to deceive you: for artful flattery easily closes the eye to truth and sincerity. But you can never suffer such prejudice from those who speak the plain, naked truth; for such cannot persuade you, but by the clear demonstrations of utility. Without this disposition, how can men judge
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of actions, or probably guess about futurity, unless they listen to opposite counsellors, and make themselves equitable hearers of both parties? I wonder at our elders, if they do not remember, and at our youth, if they have not heard it from others, that we never suffered by those who advised us constantly to peace; but, on the contrary, that we ever were brought into great calamities by such as rashly advised us to war. But we vouchsafe not to remember any thing of this, nor do what concerns our present situation, but fill up the number of our gallies, make voluntary contributions, and assist those, or fight against others, as it were, fortuitously. This happens to us, because we do not, what we ought, take the same care of the public as we do of our private affairs. This you neglect to do; for when you consult about your domestic interests, you seek out such as are pruder, and more advised than yourselves; but, in respect of public management, you are distrustful of such men, and envy them, but praise the most abandoned sycophants, who mount your rostrum; and imagine, that the intoxicate are greater friends of the people than the most sober and vigilant; and the rash and frantic, better leaders than the rationally brave and courageous: in fine, such as squander away the public revenues on worthless objects, more to be favoured than those who have lightened the public's burden by their own generosity: so that it is a real wonder, if any one can hope, that our city can prosper and flourish under such directors. I know it is dangerous and difficult to oppose your sentiments; and that, in this democratical state, there is not a freedom of speech permitted, but to such as are the most imprudent, and have no real benevolence for their country; and in the theatres, for the farce and comedy writers. But what is the most extravagant in your conduct is, that you have a greater value for such who expose the city's errors and faults to all Greece, than those who are your public benefactors; and have such a resentment against those who blame, and would correct you, as if they had done some particular

particular injury to their country. But this being manifestly so, yet I will not digress from my intended subject; for I am come hither, not with a design of flattering you, or to procure for myself your votes, but of shewing my real sentiments. First, I shall mention what our consuls have proposed; and then the other affairs that concern the city: for we shall reap no benefit from what has now been concluded on in respect of peace, if we do not take prudent measures in relation to the rest of our public œconomy.

I FIRST say, that we ought not only to make peace with the Chians, the Rhodians, the Byzantines, and Choans, but with all mankind; and not continue those measures, which some have counselled, but stand by those treaties, which have been concluded with the Persians and the Lacedæmonians, suffer all the Greeks to be free, draw our garisons out of other cities, and let each be protected by its own power. None will ever find out more equitable resolutions than these, or more conducive to the prosperity of the city. If I here break off my discourse, I know I shall seem to prejudice the glory of the city; if the Thebans retain Thespiæ, Plataæ, and the other cities, which they have seized on, contrary to their solemn agreements, and we quit, without necessity, the places we are in possession of. But if you hear me attentively to the end, I do not doubt but you will think all such men guilty of downright madness, who judge oppressive and unjust actions to be gain; who would hold by violence those cities, which are the property of others, nor foresee the calamities, which must be the result of such actions. I will, through the whole discourse, endeavour to convince you of this.

BUT, first, let us consider the topic of peace, and reflect, with attention, what we would most wish for in our present circumstances; for if we come, in this respect, to a clear precision, and often cast our eye back upon the hypothesis, we shall pass a sounder judgment on the rest. Would it not suffice you, if we should inhabit with security this city, abound more in all things necessary and convenient,
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be at greater concord among ourselves, and gain more esteem from the rest of Greece? Certainly it would: for it is my thorough persuasion, should this be so, our city would soon recover its former flourishing condition. But war has deprived us of all these goods and advantages; it has made us poorer, obliged us to undergo many dangers, set us at variance with the rest of the Grecians, and has distressed us in all respects: but if we make peace, and behave ourselves as solemn covenants require, we shall possess our city in all safety, and be freed from all those wars, dangers, and confusion, into which we have brought ourselves by a contrary conduct; and shall every day make advances towards a more flourishing condition, towards, I say, a greater affluence, be freed from tributes, ship-money, and the other burdens and charges of war; and, on the contrary, safely till the ground, sail the seas, and employ ourselves again with cheerfulness in those occupations, which had been interrupted by the horrors of war. We shall see our city's revenues doubled, become full of merchants and strangers, and replenished with sojourners, which it is now almost void of. What is still a greater advantage, we shall have all mankind our allies, not by compulsion, but inclination; not joining with us in the sunshine of prosperity, and deserting us in adversity, but adhering to us with that constancy which becomes sincere friends and allies. Add to this, that what we cannot now obtain by war and expences, we shall easily then obtain by embassies and conventions. Nor imagine, that either Chersobleptes will make war against us for Chersonesus, or Philip for Amphipolis, if they once see us practising equity, and not usurping any thing which is the right of another. Now, they are not, without cause, afraid of having our city for a next neighbour; for they see we are not content with our present possessions, but are constantly desiring and aiming at more. But should we happily change our manners, and gain more esteem, they will not only abstain from our rights, but make us some concessions from their own; for

for it will be their interest, by guarding the authority of our city, to secure their own states : nay, we may easily receive quietly such a portion of land in Thrace, as not only to remedy all our wants, but even supply a competency to those Greeks, who now strole without fixed habitations ; for if Athenodorus and Callistratus, tho' one was a private person, and the other a banished man, could found cities, certainly we, who are such a powerful people, may possess ourselves of many such places. Now, it undoubtedly becomes those more, who claim the principality of Greece, to be leaders in such actions, than at the head of a war, supported by mercenaries, which we are at present but too desirous of.

CONCERNING what the embassadors promise, methinks, what I have said will suffice, or perhaps some others may add from their own reasoning ; but I should think, you ought not only to leave this assembly, after a resolution upon peace, but should likewise deliberate by what means we may best preserve it, and not do what we have been accustomed to do, that is, be reduced in a short time to the same streights and tumults ; nor how we may only gain a respite, but a perfect freedom from the like calamities. But nothing of this can be effected, until you are thoroughly convinced, that tranquillity is more useful and beneficial than being embarrassed with too many affairs ; that justice is preferable to injustice, and the care of your private affairs to the coveting of others properties : but none of the popular orators have dared to speak to you upon this topic. I shall make these heads the greatest part of my oration ; for I see our happiness consists in a due care of these, and not in what we are now rashly about putting in execution. Now, there is a necessity, that he, who will speak out of the common track, and would change your sentiments, should touch upon many things, and protract his discourses by many and long arguments, and recall some actions to mind again, blame some, praise others, and give advice in many instances ; for, by all these means, it will be difficult for any one to persuade you to keep a better œconomy. The whole affair appears to me
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in this light: all seem to me aiming after private emolument, and that they may have more than others; tho' they seem ignorant by what methods they can purchase this, and therefore differ widely in opinion about them: some, indeed, have very just notions, and such as tend directly to happiness; but others, such as diametrically depart from it; which happens to this city: for we imagine, that, if we sail on the seas with many gallies, and force the maritime cities to send tribute, as well as their respective deputies, we have done some notable matter; but we mistake the truth: nothing of what we expected happens; but enmities, wars, and large expences, follow such thoughtless enterprizes: and this justly; for in preceding times, by filling our hands thus too full, we fell into the utmost dangers; and, on the contrary, by our just government of the city, assisting the oppressed, and not coveting what did not belong to us, we had the principality of all Greece deferred to our conduct; tho' we now, for a considerable time, have rashly despised our countrymen: for some of us are arrived at that pitch of folly, that we think, indeed, injustice infamous, but yet profitable, and of great advantage in public and private life; that justice is indeed honourable, but unprofitable, and rather conducive to the good of others than of the possessors; having a wrong notion in believing; that it can so much benefit towards riches, fame, or the success of actions or happiness, as heroic virtue, and its several degrees of perfection: for, by the excellencies of the mind, and its noble qualities, we acquire all that we need in life. Wherefore, whoever neglect the improvement of the mind, observe not, that they are careless of the justness of their sentiments, or of living more rationally and happily than others. I wonder, that any should imagine, that such as cultivate piety and justice, should partake of less happiness than the manifestly abandoned and wicked; and cannot perceive, that such must certainly be more loved and rewarded both by gods and men: for I am satisfied, that the latter only obtain true riches, and the former, false ones. I reason

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son in this manner, on this account: I observe, that such as love and practise injustice, and think usurpation of their neighbours properties the greatest advantage, are like wild beasts ensnared by baits, who at first enjoy what they thus meet with, but soon after fall into the greatest miseries; but that those, who live according to the rules of religion and equity, live securely in this life, and have better hopes in regard of all futurity: and if this is not visible in all, yet it is manifest in respect of the far greatest number. Now, it becomes all wise men, since we cannot see distinctly into futurity, to chuse what is most generally beneficial: but the absurdity of those men is the most flagrant, who allow justice to be the noblest study, and more acceptable to the gods than injustice, and yet that such as embrace it, lead more miserable lives than such as embrace injustice. I here must wish, that it were as easy to persuade others to the practice of virtue, as it is easy to praise it.

BUT I am afraid that I speak in vain; for we have been a long time corrupted by persons, who are capable of nothing but deception; who have such a contempt of the people, and disregard of their happiness, that, when they have received bribes to declare war against others, they impudently assert, that we ought to imitate our ancestors, nor suffer ourselves to be despised, or let such sail unmolested on the seas, who will not pay us contributions. I would willingly ask of such men, which of our ancestors they mean; whether those who lived in the Persian war, or those who governed the republic before the Decelic wars and troubles? If they will have us like the latter, they might as well say, that we ought again to run the hazard of servitude: if they will have us resemble those who conquered at Marathon, and those who were before them, how can they avoid the just imputation of gross impudence, if they praise those, and yet would have us to act contrary to their examples; and would have us to commit again such errors, as I know not what to say of? I know not whether I shall be bold enough to speak freely, as I am wont, the real truth, or,
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out of fear of your hatred, hold my tongue. But it seems proper I should treat of this topic, tho' I see you more offended at such as blame your conduct, than at those who are authors of your calamities : but I should be ashamed, if I consulted my own reputation, or interest, more than the prosperity and good of my country. It is therefore, I will dare to say, my duty, and the duty of others, who have the public management, to compose not the most pleasant, but the most profitable orations. You must be sensible, that many and various remedies have been found for the cure of such diseases as are incident to the body ; but, as for the mind, I will assert it, there is no other remedy for it, when it is infected by vice and error, than those salutary moral discourses as dare blame the hearers. In the second place, how absurd is it to undergo caustics, and the surgeons instruments, that we may be freed from pains, and yet reject orations, before we know whether they will benefit us or not?

I HAVE made this short prefatory introduction, because I am determined, in what follows, to dissemble nothing, but to speak my sentiments with all freedom.

FOR who is there, who should come as a stranger hither, who is uncorrupted with our reigning vices, but would conclude we were actually mad, or insatuated ? who glory in, and boast of the actions of our ancestors, and write pænyrics of their renown ; but practise the quite contrary to what they believed their true glory. They continued making war upon the Barbarians, for the interests of Greece ; but we have brought even those, who had established themselves in Asia, against our own countrymen. They freed the Grecian cities, and, by their generous assistance, had the principality deferred to their merits : but we, though we enslave them, and act diametrically opposite to our ancestors, are offended, that we do not inherit their honours ; who are as far excelled by them of those times, both in our minds and actions, as it was glorious for them to quit their native city for public good, and beat the Barbarians by sea

and land ; but we are unwilling to run the hazard of battle for our own advantages ; and we expect to be placed at the head of all, tho' we dare not in person to appear in the field : and tho' we are rash enough to proclaim war against all mankind, yet we take no precaution in exercising and preparing ourselves for it ; nay, for this intent, we chuse fugitives, banished men, renegadoes, and others stained with all manner of crimes, who, did any one offer them larger pay, would as willingly, if not more so, fight against us ; but yet we cowardly pay them such respect, that tho' they should violate our very children, yet we are afraid of inflicting just punishment on them : and when accusations come to us against them for rapine, oppression, and injurious arrogance, we do not resent it, but take pleasure when we hear they act in a scandalous manner. We are, in short, advanced to such an extravagance of folly, that, tho' we want a daily competency, yet we will maintain strangers, and plunder and lay taxes on our allies and colonies, that we may pay our common enemies. In fine, we are so much degenerated not only from our famous ancestors, but even those who were hated, that the latter, when they declared a war against an enemy, tho' the treasury was full of silver and gold, yet would run the hazards of war in their own persons ; whereas we, tho' we are in such visible poverty, and have such a number of idle hands, yet, like the oriental monarch, trust our battles to hirelings. They, if they judged proper to man their galleys, made strangers and slaves their galley-rowers ; but they sent out their citizens in compleat armour : on the contrary, we make use of foreigners as soldiers, and force our citizens to work our ships, and row, as I said before, our galleys ; so that those, who claim precedency and command over others, when at any time they make a descent upon the enemies territories, come to shore as galley-slaves ; but the foreign mercenaries appear as deservedly well-armed soldiers.

Now, should any one perceive the civil affairs of the city managed with a wise œconomy, perhaps he might hope
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well upon that account of the rest ; but, upon this account, he has most reason to be dejected. Certainly, it becomes us, we who glory in being the original inhabitants of this country, and to have first inhabited this city, it becomes us to set an example to all of a regular and well-ordered government ; but we manage our affairs worse, and in a more confused manner, than those who have lately been formed into a colony : nay, we affect grandeur, and nobility of extraction, and yet we communicate more freely to foreigners this natural pretended honour, than even the Treballi and Leucani the privileges of their obscure country. Tho' we have a multiplicity of laws, we so little heed them (for if you but hear one proof, you may judge of the rest), that tho' bribery in a court of justice is condemned to death, if clearly proved, yet we chuse, too often, notorious offenders for generals, and put that person at the head of affairs, who is most capable of spreading the infection of corruption the widest : and tho' we affect our present state of government, as if the entire safety of the city consisted in it, yet we are sensible, that our democracy has flourished in peace and public tranquillity, but has twice been dissolved by wars, we are, notwithstanding, angry with those who counsel us to keep peace, as affecting an oligarchy ; and imagine those who incline you to war, lovers of a republic and liberty. Tho' we are the most experienced in eloquence and public events, yet we behave so foolishly, that we continue not an entire day in the same sentiments ; but even vote in our public assemblies for the very thing which we had separately blamed ; and, again, a little time after, when we are at home, we condemn what we our ownelves gave sanction to : and tho' we lay claim to distinguished prudence, yet we make use of such counsellors, as any wise man would have in contempt ; and trust the national affairs to such, as no one would trust with his private affairs. But the last instance of our degeneracy is, that we judge the most profligate the properest guardians of the state ; and though we think our inmates like the patrons whom they chuse, yet

we imagine we shall not be thought to resemble those, whom we so inconsiderately promote; nay, we are so different from our ancestors, that tho' they elected the same persons both governors of the city and generals of their armies, because, they judged, that such as spoke most prudently in the rostrum, would probably reason the most wisely by themselves; yet we are so far from doing so, that we vouchsafe to chuse, for generals, those whom we suffer not to be counsellors in momentous affairs, as if they had not proper qualifications and understanding; and we send out, with absolute power, those whom none would take the advice of, either in regard of private or public concerns, as if they would become wiser abroad, and would take pruder measures for the common good of all, than for the execution of what is proposed in this senate.

I SAY not this of all, but of those who are guilty of what I have laid before you. I should spend all the remainder of the day, if I endeavoured to enumerate all the transgressions, all the errors, in respect of our public actions: perhaps, some one of those, who are most guilty of what I have said, will ask, with indignation, How then, if we consult the public interest so carelessly, are we still preserved, and have equal power with any other city? I answer, we have antagonists, who consult their own good no better than ourselves; for if the Thebans, after their conquest of the Lacedæmonians, having freed Peloponnesus, and left the other Greeks the exercise of their own laws, had continued quiet, and we had committed such gross faults, the mouths of my interrogators would have been closed, and we should have been made sensible how much better it is to act with moderation, than be engaged in too many affairs. Now, things are in such a condition, that the Thebans saved us, and we, in turn, the Thebans; and they, in some measure, make us their allies, and we them: so that, were we both prudent, we should bribe each other to call frequent assemblies; for those who most frequently do so, are the cause, that their rivals improve the state of their affairs. But
certainly

certainly it behoves those, who have the least share of wisdom, not to place their hopes in their adversaries mistakes, but in their own actions and minds; for whatever good may befall us by others ignorance, it may fortuitously have an end, or be changed; but what good happens to us by our own conduct, will be more solid and lasting.

Now, it is no difficult matter to refute cavillers; but if any one of those, who stand by, and are of a more moderate disposition, should say, I speak truth, and justly blame our actions; yet should add, it were but just, that a benevolent corrector would not only blame our mismanagement, but shew how, by abstaining from some things, and pursuing others, we may amend our disposition, and put an end to our faults: this reasoning would puzzle me, not only to give a true and beneficial answer to, but such a one as would be agreeable to your inclinations. Wherefore, since I have begun to speak clearly, I must not delay here to open my sentiments on this head. I think I have mentioned before, that it becomes them, who would be truly happy, to be possessed of piety, temperance, justice, and other virtues. Now, tho' I am going to lay down a true method how we may be the soonest instructed in, and possessed of these virtues, yet what I shall say may appear offensive to some, and differ widely from the sentiments of others. I judge therefore, that we shall govern our commonwealth more prudently, be better ourselves, and be more prosperous in our affairs, if we quit our claim to the sovereignty of the seas; for this claim is the cause which has thrown us into our present troubles, and has dissolved the democracy, during which our ancestors were the happiest of all Greece, and indeed has been, I will affirm it, the cause of almost all the calamities we undergo ourselves, or have brought others into. I know how difficult it is for him, who accuses a form of government beloved of all, and vindicated by war, to be thought to advance any thing reasonable; yet, since you have borne with what has been said before, which was true, but liable to odium, I beg of you, that you will hear

what I have now to say, nor condemn me of such folly, as to advance before you paradoxes incredible, unless I could give a demonstration of the truth of my propositions. Now, I believe I can evidence that we neither desire a just power, or such a one as is possible, or would be useful to us.

THAT we desire what is unjust, I can convince you by your own behaviour; for when the Lacedæmonians held the same power, what declamations did we not make, whilst we accused their dominion, and said loudly, that all the Grecians ought to be governed by their own laws? What cities of Greece did we not invite to our alliance, when we purposed to make war against them upon this account? How many embassies did we send to the great king, to inform him, that it was not just or profitable, that one Grecian city should be mistress of all others? Nor did we desist from carrying on war both by sea and land, till the Lacedæmonians consented to the universal liberty of Greece. That it is not therefore equitable, the stronger should lord it over the weaker, we were sensible at that time, and are so now by the œconomy of our present republic.

AND that we cannot establish such a power, I think, I can quickly demonstrate: for if, when our treasury contained a thousand talents, we could not maintain it, how shall we, in our present indigence, acquire such a sovereignty? especially since we follow the very institutes and morals by which we lost, and not obtained it.

BUT that it is not even expedient to accept it, were it offered us, I think you may hence easily perceive yourselves. But I chuse to speak briefly on this head; for I am afraid, lest I should seem disposed to satirize our city, because I am often obliged to blame your conduct: and did I speak in this manner before others of our mal-administration, I should justly incur the censure; but, speaking thus only to you, I do not desire to traduce you to strangers, but persuade you to abstain from disgraceful actions, and establish peace (to promote which I have made this discourse), not only in respect of our country, but of all Greece. Yet

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there is a necessity, that they who admonish as well as accuse, should use similar words, but such as will have very different senses. Wherefore you ought not to judge in the like manner of those who use the same expressions; but detest those who injuriously reproach you, as ill-affected to the city: on the contrary, praise such as admonish you for your good, and think them better than other citizens; and him the very best, who can most clearly demonstrate bad actions, and shew the calamities which arise from them: for such a one will most easily make you hate what you ought, and love what is eligible. As for the harshness of my preceding words, as well as of those I may use hereafter, I hope this will serve as an apology.

I WILL begin again where I broke off. I said, you would hence have the justest idea, that it is not expedient we should retain the sovereignty of the seas, if you consider the administration of our city before the possession of this power, and its disordered condition afterwards: I say, if you consider this in a parallel view, you will perceive how many calamities it has been the source of to our city; for it is certain, that the then republic was as far better than the present, as Aristides, Themistocles, and Miltiades, were more excellent men than Hyperbolus and Cleophantes, who now harangue the people. You will also find the people who then had the power, neither addicted to sloth, distressed by poverty, or filled with vain hopes; but, on the contrary, capable of conquering all who invaded their country, and worthy to have deserved the chief honours for defending Greece; and so distinguished by their probity, that many cities put themselves voluntarily under their protection. But things having been formerly in this condition, by such a wise conduct, this usurped power has brought us into such a vicious state, as no man will ever praise; and tho', by that form of government, we conquered all the enemies who dared to invade us, our present mismanagement has so debased our citizens, that they even dare not meet their enemies before their own walls; and, instead of that benevolence of our allies
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towards us, and that glory spread over all Greece, we are fallen into such odium, that our city was like to have been taken, had we not experienced the Lacedæmonians, who, in the beginning, had war with us, more benevolent than those who before had been our allies; whom we cannot accuse justly of having a malignant disposition towards us: for they were not aggressors, but repelled our injuries, and, after having suffered many calamities, took such a repentment against us. And who could possibly have borne with the arrogance of our fathers? who, collecting out of all Greece the idlest, most cowardly, and those stained with all manner of villainies, filled with this scum their fleets, and exposed themselves to the odium of all the Grecians; nay, expelled the very best in other cities, and gave away their inheritances to the very basest. But, did I dare to lay open all that was done in those times, perhaps I might effect, that you would take pruder measures for the future; but I should certainly thereby expose myself to an accusation: for you are accustomed to hate the persons who reprehend crimes, more than those who are the very authors of them; wherefore, since you are of such a disposition, I am afraid, lest, while I endeavour to do you good, I may suffer evil for it myself; yet I will not entirely desist from what I designed to say; but I will omit those things which are the most grievous, and would wound your delicacy, and I shall only mention such actions, whereby you may perceive the stupidity and folly of those who had then the reins of government: for they so diligently studied what would render them odious, that they decreed the money arising from taxes, after they had divided it into talents, should be expended upon the orchestra of the Bacchanals. When the theatre was full, they did what I have mentioned, and introduced the children of those who had fallen in war; shewing, to their allies, the lucre they had gained by hirelings, and, to all the other Greeks, the multitude of orphans, and the other calamities, which had befallen by their avarice and injustice: and, acting in this manner, they reckoned

koned the city fortunate, and many thoughtless persons believed so too. Thus they had no foresight of what would happen upon this account, but admired and praised the unjust riches which came into the city, and were shortly to moth-eat and destroy those which had been justly acquired; nay, they fell at last into such a neglect of their domestic affairs, and an insatiable thirst after what belonged to others, that, tho' the Lacedæmonians had invaded their lands, and the Decelic wall was built, they manned their gallies for Sicily, nor were ashamed, while they suffered their own country to be torn and plundered, to send an army against those who had never injured us; nay, they even came to that pitch of frenzy, that, tho' they were not masters of their own suburbs, they hoped to govern Italy, Sicily, and Carthage. They, at last, so far exceeded all mankind in madness, that, tho' others are apt to be humbled and rendered moderate by adversities, they were not corrected by this, altho' they fell into more calamities, while they held the sovereignty of the seas, than had ever befallen the city in all former times. Two hundred of our ships, which sailed into Egypt, were all lost or destroyed; at Cyprus there perished a hundred and fifty; they lost in Pontus ten thousand native soldiers and allies; but, in Sicily, they lost forty thousand men, and two hundred and forty gallies; and, lastly, in the Hellespont, two hundred. But were I to mention the other ships which perished, five or ten at a time, or those men that were slain, to the amount of one or two thousand, it would be an endless labour. Thus, these calamities and deaths happening in an annual circle, they raised sepulchres yearly; to which flocked crowds of neighbours and other Greeks, not with an intention of lamenting the dead, but to exult with joy at our misfortunes; yet they were ignorant all this while, that they were not only filling the public sepulchres with the bodies of citizens, but the tribes and companies, with inmates and foreigners. We may know from hence the multitude of those who perished; for we shall find, that the chief and noblest families, which
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had survived tyrannical factions, and the Persian war, were entirely ruined by that government, which we are so desirous of. Wherefore, if any one would consider the rest, and refer all to this as an example, we shall appear another people ; for we ought not to judge that city happy, which collects a number of citizens from all sides, but which preserves, with all care, those who held it from the beginning : we ought not to emulate such as seize upon a tyrannical power, or such as stretch their authority beyond equity ; but such as are indeed worthy of the greatest honour, yet contented with the free, honorary rewards of the people. No private person, no city can acquire either a better, a safer, or more desirable power than this ; by which rule those conducting themselves, who were cotemporary with the Persian war, did not live like robbers ; sometimes having more than enough, and, at others, being to struggle with want of bread, and involved in sieges, and the greatest of calamities : but they had neither a scarcity of daily food, nor superfluity, and gloried in the equity of their administration, their personal virtues, and the enjoyment of a happier life than others ; which their posterity neglecting, did not endeavour to maintain the principality, but invest themselves with tyranny ; which seems to be near the same, but is widely different : for it is the duty of rulers to make their subjects happier by their care ; but it is the custom of tyrants to procure themselves pleasures by the pains and labour of other men. Now, there is a necessity, that those who attempt such actions, should fall in the damages attending on tyrants, and suffer themselves what they make others suffer : which has happened to our city ; for, instead of garisoning other towns, they have seen others masters of that which belongs to them ; instead of receiving the children of others for hostages, which were taken from their parents, many of the citizens were forced, during the siege, to instruct and educate their children in a worse manner than was becoming ; and, instead of tilling the lands of others, it was not permitted them, for some years, even to see their own. Now, should

Should any one ask us, if, reigning for such a time, we would bear to see our city in this deplorable case? Who is he, except he be entirely mad, or regards neither the religious rites, his parents, his children, or any thing else beside that time he lives in, who would dare to give his assent? None of those sentiments ought we to approve, but much rather theirs, who have taken all possible care of the state, and contended not more earnestly for their own than for the public glory; who, in fine, chuse a moderate life with justice, rather than great riches with injustice: for our ancestors, by behaving themselves thus, transmitted down to their posterity a most flourishing republic, and left an immortal remembrance of their virtues. From whence we may learn both these truths, that our country can produce more excellent men than any other can, and this government, as it is called, tho' in reality a detriment, is naturally disposed to make all those the worse who use it. This is the greatest proof; for it has not only corrupted ours, but the Lacedæmonian city; so that those who were accustomed to praise their virtues, cannot speak in this manner; that we, upon account of being subjected to popular power, have managed our affairs ill, but that, had the Lacedæmonians the same power, they would have made others and themselves happy; for it has more quickly shewn its nature in them: it has not only shaken, but was near entirely dissolving that polity, which none ever knew, during seven hundred years, to have been either moved by dangers or losses; for, instead of their accustomed manners, it has filled the people with injustice, idleness, neglect of laws, and avarice, and the whole community with contempt of allies, desire of others property, setting light by oaths and covenants: for they so far exceeded ours in transgressions against the Greeks, that, besides what had happened before, they added massacres and seditions; whereby the Greeks entertain, amongst one another, irreconcilable enmities; and they became such lovers of war and hazards, though; in former times, they had more cautiously avoided

avoided such things, that they neither abstained their hands from their allies or benefactors ; but tho' the king had supplied them with above a thousand talents, and the Chians, as their readiest allies, had fought with their naval forces in concert with them, and the Thebans had contributed greatly to their land-forces ; yet they no sooner gained the principality, but they laid snares for the Thebans, sent an army and Clearchus against the king, drove the chief citizens of Chios into banishment, and carried off by violence all their galleys from the havens. This did not suffice them ; but, at the same time, they laid waste the continent, insulted the islands, annihilated the republics constituted in Italy and Sicily, and erected monarchies : they afflicted Peloponnesus, and filled it with wars and seditions. Against what city did they not march their armies ? and what allies did they not injure ? Did they not take from the Eleans a part of their lands ? did they not plunder the territory of Corinth ? separate the Mantineans into villages ? sack the city of the Phliasians ? invade the country of the Argives ? or did they ever desist from injuring others, and preparing for themselves the calamity at Leuctra ? which defeat some affirm, though not truly, to be the cause of all their miseries ; for they did not become odious to their allies for this, but for their insults in former times ; they were conquered in the battle, and were in danger of losing their own country. We ought not to refer the cause to those calamities which happened in the end, but to these misdemeanours which brought them to this conclusion. Wherefore, would not a person speak more truly, should he affirm, that the origin of their calamities was derived from acquiring the sovereignty of the seas, and a power that was different from what they had before ? for, by the discipline of their land-government, and the patience of labour which they exercised in it, they easily obtained the sovereignty of the seas : but, by their insolence, which came to them with this power, they were deprived of their former authority ; for they no longer observed the laws, which they had received from

from their ancestors, nor remained constant in those institutes which they had kept before; but, whilst they thought they might act as they pleased, they fell into many troubles: for they did not reflect how intractable a thing that power is which all desire, and how it renders delirious those who love it; nor that it is of the disposition of those mistresses, who allure us indeed to love them, but ruin those who continue to adhere to them. It is evident, that it has this effect; for any one, by the example of us and the Lacedæmonians, may see, that those who have acquired the greatest power, have fallen into the greatest distresses. Those cities, which before governed with the greatest moderation, and obtained the brightest glory, as soon as they acquired such power, and received the sovereignty, no ways differed from each other; but, after the manner of those who are infected with the same lusts and disorders, they attempted the same crimes, fell into the same vices, and, at length, suffered the same calamities: for we, having become odious to our allies, were in danger of captivity, and were saved by the Lacedæmonians; and they, when all sought their ruin, found a refuge in us. Now, who can praise a power which has such fatal events? Why should we not hate and avoid it, which inclined both cities to commit such grievous actions, and brought them to suffer such miseries? Nor is it to be wondered at, if formerly all were ignorant, that this power was a source of such distresses to those who possessed it, or was sought for by war, both by us and the Lacedæmonians. You will find most of mankind to err in the choice of things, and be disordered by more strong desires of what is bad than good, and counsel their enemies better than themselves. This may be seen in the greatest affairs. What does not happen in this manner? Did we not chuse to do such things, as rendered the Lacedæmonians masters of Greece; and they administered their affairs so ill, that we not many years after, as it were, emerged, and were made arbitrators of their safety? Did not the sedulity of those, who favoured the Attic party, cause cities to join the Lacedæmonians;

cedæmonians; and the insolence of the Lacedæmonians oblige them to revert to us? Did not the very people, upon account of the improbity of the public orators, wish for that oligarchy, which was constituted in the time of the four hundred? and were not all of us made more popular in our inclinations for the madness of the thirty tyrants, than even those who seized Phyle? Now, even in small things, and daily life, we may perceive many persons, who are pleased with such meats and exercises as prejudice body and mind; who think laborious and hard what benefits both; and who judge those men of resolution, that continue in such perverse institutes and manners. If therefore, in these very things which men are conversant about, and take more care of, it is clear they chuse the worse, what wonder, if they mistake in the affair of maritime empire, and wage war with one another for what they never reasoned about the nature of? Observe, how many lovers monarchies raised in free cities have who are ready to suffer any thing to obtain them. Are they not, as soon as they have acquired them, involved in such calamities, that they are forced to make war against all the citizens, and hate those who never did them an injury? distrust their friends and allies? trust the safety of their bodies to the faith of mercenaries, whom they are ignorant of, and be in no less apprehension from those who guard them, than those who lay ambuscades for them; nay, be of such a suspicious temper, that, while they are in company with their most intimate acquaintance, be still diffident? for they very well know, that those who made themselves despotic before them, perished, some of them by their parents, some by their children, some by their brothers, and others by their wives; and their race was exterminated from the face of the earth: yet they voluntarily exposed themselves to so many calamities. Now, if the chief of mankind, and those who have acquired the greatest glory, expose themselves to so many evils, why should we wonder others are desirous of the like things?

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I AM not ignorant, that you approve of an oration against tyrants; but you bear with displeasure that which touches upon your own rule. Something very disgraceful happens to you; for what you perceive in others, you cannot perceive in yourselves. But, surely, it is not the smallest proof of wise men to judge always the same in regard of the same actions. You have never taken care of this; and you judge tyrannical governments pernicious, and full of trouble, not only to others, but to the possessors themselves; but the sovereignty of the sea, the cause of the greatest good, which no ways differs, either in calamities or violent actions, from tyrannies. As for the Theban affairs, you think they are in a bad situation, on account of their injuring their neighbours; yet, tho' you manage, with no more equity, your allies interests, than they govern Bœotia, you judge, you do all that is necessary. If you therefore will listen to me, omitting all other concerns, you will turn your minds to yourselves and the state, and will study and consider what it was that made ours and the Lacedæmonian city, from small beginnings, rise so highly as to govern all Greece; and, after they had got immense power, be reduced to the danger of captivity: for what reasons, likewise, the Thessalians, though they had received great riches from their ancestors, and acquired a great and extensive power, should be reduced to penury; why the Megarenses, tho' their republic was small and weak in the beginning, tho' they had not lands, nor ports, nor silver-mines, but inhabited rocks, now have the most splendid possessions amongst the Greeks; and why strangers always garison the towns of the former, tho' they have three thousand horse, and innumerable shield-men; and why the latter govern their own state at pleasure, though they have but a small power: on the contrary, why the others are always in civil war; lastly, why the former, tho' they inhabit betwixt the Peloponnesians, Thebans, and our city, enjoy a perpetual, uninterrupted peace. If you consider these circumstances, and the like, you will find, that intemperance and injustice have been the cause of all these

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evils; and moderation and equity of the contrary goods: yet you yourselves judge, that such as preserve this oeconomy in their private affairs, are the most deserving of praise, and live the most safe and happy of all citizens; but think, at the same time, that the public is not obliged to this method. Now, certainly, it becomes cities, more than private persons, to practise virtue, and avoid vice. An irreligious, wicked man may, by chance, die before he suffers for his misdeeds; but cities, on account of their immortality, undergo both the punishment of gods and men. You ought therefore, reflecting on this, not to listen to flatterers, and disregard futurity; or esteem those who say they love the people, but prejudice the whole city: for did not these men, when they had got the power of the rostrum, so insatuate the city, that it fell into all those calamities which I have mentioned to you before? But what deserves admiration is, that you have such men as are not of the same sentiments with those who rendered the city flourishing, but such as speak and act like those who ruined it: I say, tho' you know this, that the good do not only differ from the bad in this point, that they render the city happy, but the republic, under such, has been unshaken and unchanged; whereas, under the others, in a short time twice unhinged and destroyed; and, finally, that those who were recalled from banishment, which they underwent in time of the tyrants and the thirty, were not recalled by sycophants, but those who detested them, and had obtained the greatest glory by their virtues: I say, tho' we have these examples before us, by which we may judge how the city has acted under both; yet we are so pleased with the villainy of popular orators, that tho' we know, that, by these wars and tumults which have been stirred up by them, many of the citizens have lost their substance, while themselves of poor are become rich, we are neither filled with indignation nor envy at their prosperity; but we suffer the city to be accused of concussions and oppressions, while we quietly let these men reap the benefit, and let the people, whom they say, ought

ought to govern others, live more unhappily than such as serve an oligarchy ; while we permit those, who had no conveniences of life, by our imprudence, to become flourishing and opulent. But Pericles, who presided before these men, tho' he received the city not so sound in judgment as before the sovereignty, yet still tolerably economized, did not hasten at full-speed to raise an estate, but left his family less affluent than it had been from his father's fortune, and brought into the citadel eight thousand talents, besides what served for religious pomps. But these men are so different from him, that they are not ashamed to say, that, on account of their care of the public, they cannot attend to their private affairs ; yet, what they pretend to be so negligent of, have received such an encrease, as once before they durst not even have prayed to the gods for : but as for the populace, whom, they say, they take such care of, they are in such a condition, that none live easily, or with good spirits, but the city is full of lamentations ; some of them commemorate and bewail to themselves their poverty and misery ; others, the multitude of edicts and public offices, and what regards tributes and exactions : which considerations cause such grief, that they live less pleasantly who have possessions, than they who are constantly poor. I wonder you do not observe, that no sort of men is worse affected to the populace, than wicked orators and ministers. And, besides other calamities, they would have the people indigent of daily food ; for they see such as can maintain themselves of the city's party, and in the interest of those who speak the most salutarily ; but that such, who live by public assemblies, and judgments, and such ways, to be at their devotion on account of poverty, and to think themselves obliged for so many accusations, public calumnies, and all variety of sycophantism. Wherefore they would gladly see the whole city in that necessity and indigence, whereby they govern the citizens. This is an evident proof they have not this in view, viz. whereby they may make the necessitous easy, but whereby they may equal those, who

have a competency, with the distressed. What remedy can be applied to these present evils? I have mentioned many things, not in order indeed, but as each occurred conveniently. Now, you will more easily retain them in memory, if, after I have recapitulated what is necessary, I endeavour to run them over. It is in our power to rectify the mistakes of the city, and make it better by these means. First, if we employ such persons in public counsels, as we would desire to have in our private affairs, and no longer esteem hypocrites lovers of the populace, and good and honest men affecters of an oligarchy; knowing, as we must, that no man is either by nature, but that as each sort of men are honoured in the state, so they chuse a form of government. In the second place, if we treat our subjects as our friends, nor give them, as it were, their own full liberty, but, in fact, expose them as a prey to our generals; nor preside over them as lords, but as allies; convinced of this truth, that tho' we are superior to any single city, yet we are inferior to all together. In the third place, if we esteem nothing more, after sincere religion towards the gods, than to be honoured by the Greeks; for, to persons so disposed, they will naturally entrust the sovereignty and themselves. If you continue in these maxims, and, besides, render yourselves warlike by exercise and preparation, and affectionate of peace by equity, you will not only make this city happy, but all Greece; for no other city will dare to injure them, but all will fear, and rest in peace, when they see, that our city is looking on, as from a watch-tower, and ready to assist the oppressed. But let them act as they will, our affairs will not fail of going on prosperously; for whether it will please the more powerful cities to abstain from injustices, we shall be esteemed the authors; or, if they do attempt to injure others, all who fear, or are oppressed, will fly to us, offering us prayers and supplications, and not only giving us the pre-eminency, but putting themselves under our patronage. Wherefore we shall not want such, by whose assistance we may quell the delinquents, but shall have

have many who will readily assist us. What city, what man, will not desire to be partaker of our friendship and alliance, when they will see us both the justest and most powerful, and, at the same time, both willing and able to save others, and yet want no assistance ourselves? What a glorious encrease of happiness must our city receive, when others are thus benevolently affected towards it? What a flood of riches will flow in on all sides, when all Greece is preserved by us? Who will not praise the authors of so many and great goods? But I cannot, upon account of my age, mention all particulars, which yet I have an idea of in my mind; but only this, that it would be glorious, if, amidst the injustices and madness of others, we should first, recovering our senses, consult the liberty and safety of the Greeks, and not be called their common plague, or disgrace the high reputation which our ancestors acquired by their virtues. I have this chief head to mention, to which all this discourse bears, and by which we ought to judge of the actions of the city. We ought, I say, if we would blot out all accusations, which we are now charged with, to abstain from all rash wars, possess the perpetual pre-eminency, hate all tyrannical governments and powers, while we consider the calamities which arise from them, and emulate and imitate the Lacedæmonian kingdom; for it is less permitted their kings to commit injustice, than private persons. But those kings are so much the more happy than those who are possessed of tyrannical power, as those who slay tyrants receive from their fellow-citizens the most splendid gifts; but these, who dare not die for their kings in battle, are treated with more ignominy than such as desert their ranks, or throw away their shields. Now, certainly, such sovereignty is desirable. It is, doubtless, in our power, by a similar conduct, to acquire such an honour from all Greece, as the Lacedæmonian kings have from their citizens, if the Grecians are satisfied, that our power is not constituted for their slavery, but safety.

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THO' great variety of arguments remain to support my thesis, yet both these motives, the length of my oration, and the number of my years, persuade me to finish my discourse. But I exhort the younger, and those who are in their vigour, to speak and write such things, whereby they may dissuade the greatest cities, and which have been accustomed to violence, to quit such practices, and apply themselves to the study of virtue and justice; because, in the public felicity of all Greece, philosophers and men of letters will find their condition much bettered, and their happiness, with the public, augmented,

T H E

THE NINTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
IN PRAISE OF
EVAGORAS.

The S U B J E C T.

THIS is a funeral panegyric of Evagoras king of Salamis in Cyprus, who was Nicocles's father, for whom the second and third orations were written. First, he says, that nothing can be more pleasing to Evagoras, than to have his noble actions celebrated in an eloquent, splendid manner, which he shews to be difficult: then specifying, from his youth, his distinguished virtues, he exhorts his son to imitate them. The picture of so great a hero is here drawn, as it were, by the pencil of Apelles; and he is described victorious over all the persecutions of fortune. There are fine admonitions mixed in it, with delicate praise.



THE NINTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES,
IN PRAISE OF
EVAGORAS.

WHEN I saw you, O Nicicles! ornamenting your father's funeral, not only with the multitude and beauty of your donations, but with dances, music, and gymnastic games, as likewise with naval and horse-races, nor omitting any magnificence of this kind; I judged, that Evagoras (if there be any sense in the dead of what is done on earth), would receive all these things kindly, and take a pleasure in seeing your care of him, and splendid behaviour; but that he would still think himself more obliged, than for all things else, if any one should explain worthily his studies, and those dangers which he ran in the execution of his noble actions; for we shall find men, who love honour, and are great-minded, not only desirous of praise beyond things of this nature, but even chusing death with encomium, rather than life itself, and more emulous of glory, than of old age; doing all that lies in their power to leave an immortal remembrance behind them. Expences of this nature conclude in nothing, but are an indication of affluence. As for those who profess music, and exercises of that kind, some of them shew their own faculties, and others their arts, whereby they render themselves more glorious. But should any one, by an oration, worthily

worthily represent his actions, such a one would render the virtues of Evagoras eternized amongst mankind. Now, it is more proper, that contemporaries should be praised, who have been good men, than those who are capable of ornamenting the actions of the antients, might, amongst the intelligent, use true panegyric, and the moderns might be more stirred up to virtue; knowing well, that they themselves will be praised more than those whom they have excelled in merit. But who now almost would not despond, when he sees those who lived about the Trojan war, and before these times, celebrated by hymns and tragedies; but foresees, that he, tho' he should excel them in heroic qualities, will not be vouchsafed such praises? The cause of this is envy, which has no other good in it, but that it is the greatest torment to those who are influenced by it; for some persons are so morosely disposed, that they more willingly hear the praises of such, whom they know not ever to have existed, than of those whom they have received good from. But we should not be enslaved by such men, who have so perverse a mind; we should neglect such, and accustom others to listen to what it is juster they should hear of; especially since we see all the improvements of arts, and all things, not to have been made by those who followed a beaten track, but by those who corrected former methods, and dared always to change something in what was not perfect and compleat.

I KNOW it is difficult to praise the virtue of a distinguished person in an oration: and this is an evident proof; for those, who are conversant in philosophy, have dared to speak about all other subjects, but none of them have hitherto attempted this topic. I pardon them; for the poets have many opportunities of ornamenting, who are permitted to make gods conversant with, and assisting, whom they please; and explain themselves not only in customary, but in foreign, new, and metaphorical expressions; nor omit any colouring, but vary their poetry as much as possible. Now, nothing of this is permitted in orations; but orators are obliged to

to speak plainly, and use such words and arguments as are usual upon their topics. Besides, the former have both measure and numbers, but the latter are destitute of such advantages ; which are of so great efficacy, that, though the diction and sentiment should be deficient, yet, by the art of harmony and versification, the poets can engage the attention, and, as it were, transport the mind. From this instance we may perceive their power ; for if any one should leave the words and sentiments of celebrated poems, but dissolve their numbers, they would appear jejune, and inferior to the notion we now have of them. But tho' poetry has this advantage, we are not to be indolent, but try the force of eloquence ; and experience, whether this cannot celebrate good men, equally with those who have composed odes and poems in their honour.

FIRST, then, tho' many already know the birth of Evagoras, and from whom he descended, yet, I think, I ought, for the sake of others, to speak upon this head, that all may understand, tho' he had left him the noblest and most excellent examples, yet he no ways fell short of them. It is acknowledged by all, that those, who are descended from Jupiter, are the noblest of the demi-gods. Now, amongst those, there is no one but will give the preference to the *Æacidae*. In other families, we shall find some to have excelled, and others to have fallen short of the same glory ; but all these were the most famous of all in their own times : for *Æacus*, who was the son of Jupiter, and author of Teucer's family, so far excelled, that, when a drought had happened in Greece, and many perished, when the calamity was now come to its height, the chief of the cities came to him in a suppliant manner, thinking, by his high birth and piety, they might the soonest be freed from their pressing calamities. Thus being saved, and obtaining all they wished, they built, in *Ægina*, a temple common to all Greece, on the spot where he had made his prayer ; and, during all that time which he was amongst men, he lived with the greatest glory ; but, when he departed this life, he is said to have

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received the greatest honours from Pluto and Proserpine, and to have been seated at their side. His sons were Telamon and Peleus; the one of which, making an expedition with Hercules against Laomedon, deserved the highest encomium of valour; and Peleus, distinguishing himself in the war with the Centaurs, and gaining praise in many other dangers, tho' mortal, married Thetis the daughter of Nereus, who was immortal: and it is said, that, at his nuptials, of all human race, the hymenæan was sung by deities. From those two, viz. from Telamon, came Ajax and Teucer; and from Peleus, sprung Achilles; each of whom gave the greatest and most evident proofs of valour: for they were not only the chief in their cities, and the places they dwelt in, but there happening an expedition of the Greeks against the Barbarians, and a great number being collected on both sides, nor any of distinction being left behind, in this conflict, Achilles distinguished himself from all others, and Ajax merited the next degree of glory; but Teucer, worthy of their relation, and inferior to no others, after he had with them sacked Troy, sailing to Cyprus, built Salamis, calling it thus after his own country, and left behind him that family which now reigns. What glory, therefore, was transmitted down to Evagoras by his ancestors, is of this exalted nature: this city being in this manner built, at first the descendents from Teucer obtained the kingdom; but, in process of time, a banished person came from Phœnicia, who was received by him who then reigned, with amity, and thus obtaining great power, did not requite his friend with gratitude; but, becoming villainous to his benefactor, and ambitious of higher things, expelled him, and seized his kingdom. But being alarmed by fear for what he had done, and having a mind to secure himself, he both filled the city with Barbarians, and subjected the whole island to the great king of Persia.

EVAGORAS was born, when things were in such circumstances. I shall omit here the oracles, the prophecies, and visions, which happened in sleep, by which he might appear
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a person exalted above human nature ; not that I disbelieve these things, but that I may make it evident, that I am so far from feigning any actions of his, that I shall pass by such as are true, but few know of, nor all are agreed about ; for whilst he was a youth, he was endued with beauty, strength, and modesty ; qualities particularly adapted to that age. And of what I say, I can produce these witnesses, viz. of his modesty, all the citizens who were educated with him ; of his beauty, all who saw him ; and of his strength, all those games and contests in which he vanquished his equals. When he was a man, all these advantages encreased, and to them were added fortitude, wisdom, and justice, not in a middling degree, nor as we see them in some others, but each of them in excellency : for he so far excelled in the virtues of mind and body, that when they, who then reigned, saw him, they were struck, and feared for their own kingdom ; thinking it was impossible, that such a one would be content to pass his life in a private station. But when they considered his manner, they put such confidence in him, that they thought, should any one else dare to injure them, they should have Evagoras for their assistant ; and tho' their opinions were so different, yet they were deceived in neither respect ; for he neither remained a private person, nor trespassed against them : but the gods had such care of him, and that he might virtuously possess the kingdom, that what necessarily was prepared by impiety, another perpetrated ; but Evagoras himself performed what was necessary for his just and guiltless ascent of the throne : for one of the nobles causing a conspiracy, both slew the tyrant, and had a mind to seize Evagoras ; thinking he could not obtain the kingdom, unless he destroyed him. Evagoras escaping this danger, and being safe arrived in Soli, a city of Cilicia, entertained not the same thoughts as such do, who fall into the like calamities ; for others, tho' they have lost a kingdom, are apt to have, on account of their calamities, abject minds ; but he rose to that pitch of magnanimity, after he was driven into banishment,

nishment, that, tho' before he lived a private person, he now thought it was but just he should assume the royalty. But he scorned to accept of renegadoes or fugitives, and return by such, or make his addressees to those beneath him; And taking the opportunity, which it becomes those who would act with piety, of revenging, and not being the aggressor; in short, resolving either to succeed in attaining a crown, or, failing, to die with bravery; having got together about fifty persons, as most attest, and being supported by these, he attempted his return. From whence we may clearly perceive his abilities, and what great thought others had of him; for, on the point of sailing with so few to execute so great a design, and tho' all cruelties were presented to their view, he neither desponded, nor would a man of them withdraw from the danger; but, as if they had followed a god, all stood to their promises; and he, as if he had a superior army, or foresaw what would happen, proceeded with secrecy. This is evident from his actions; for, in making a descent upon the island, he did not judge, that, after seizing some strong place, and putting his body in safety, he ought to wait the assistance of some of the citizens; but immediately, as he was prepared, the same night, having broke open a small gate in the wall, and introducing his companions by it, he made an assault against the palace. And why need I here dwell upon describing the tumult which happens on such an occasion, the terror of some, and his generous exhortations? While some of the tyrant's guards resisted, and the rest of the citizens were spectators (for, fearing the government of the one, and the valour of the other, they remained quiet), he did not cease fighting, both alone against many, and, with his companions, against all the enemies, till, taking the palace, he revenged himself on his adversaries, brought succour to his friends, restored his family to its former honours, and made himself the lord of the city.

I now think, that, should I add no more, but break off in this place my discourse, it would be easy to estimate both

both the valour of Evagoras, and the greatness of his actions. But I judge, that I shall more fully manifest both by what follows; for tho' there have been so many monarchs in all times, yet none will be found who obtained this honour more gloriously than he. But should we compare Evagoras's actions with each of theirs, perhaps neither the discourse would please the hearers, nor the time suffice for what might be said; yet, if we select the most glorious, and compare Evagoras's actions with theirs, we shall lose nothing by this method, and we shall express ourselves more briefly by this means. Is there, think you, any of those, who have succeeded to their paternal kingdoms, whose fortune we would not postpone to the dangers of Evagoras? There is no one so mean-spirited, who would chuse to receive such a government, rather than, after he had gained it blamelessly, as Evagoras, to leave it to his children. Now, amongst the antients, the returns of those persons to their paternal kingdoms are most celebrated, which we read of in the poets; for they do not commemorate only the most glorious, but they invent other heroes of their own. But none of them have mentioned, in their fables, any one, who, after he had passed such horrid and dreadful dangers, recovered his own right. Most of them have celebrated those who received their kingdoms from fortune; others, those who got the better of their adversaries by art and stratagem: but of those who succeeded, or perhaps of all, most particularly admire Cyrus, who took the empire from the Medes, and transferred it to the Persians; yet he, with a Persian army, overthrew the Medes, which many, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, would have easily done. But it is certain, Evagoras effected most of these things, which have been mentioned before, by his bodily strength and courage. Now, it is not evident from the expedition of Cyrus, that he would ever have sustained the dangers of Evagoras; but it is clear from the latter's actions to all, that he would easily have attempted the exploits of the other. Besides, all was done justly and religiously by the one; but
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some things were a blemish to the other's piety. The one slew his enemies ; but the other killed his wife's father : so that if any one will consider, not the greatness of the events, but the bravery of each, they must necessarily praise Evagoras before Cyrus. And if I ought to conceal nothing, nor be deterred by envy from speaking my mind freely, I will dare to say, that no mortal, demi-god, or immortal, can be found ever to have gained a kingdom more nobly, or with more glory and piety. Every one may be most convinced of this, if, not too incredulous of what I have said, he resolve to enquire how each acquired his kingdom ; for I shall not appear desirous of always speaking in the most pompous manner, but of speaking with boldness, according to the verity of the facts. Had he distinguished himself in small actions, he would have deserved an encomium ; but all confess, that royalty is the greatest, the most august, and deserving of contention, of all mortal goods. Now, what rhetorician, what poet, what orator, can sufficiently praise him for his actions, who has acquired the most glorious of all possessions ?

NOR, tho' he excelled in these respects, will he be found inferior in others ; for, in the first place, tho' he was born with the happiest genius, and could do many things in the most perfect manner, yet he judged, he ought not to set slight by any thing, nor transact ought rashly and inconsiderately ; but he spent much of his time in enquiry and deliberation ; judging, that, if he exercised prudently his own mind, his kingdom would be rendered glorious, and wondered at those, who do all for the sake of life, but nothing for a wiser and better œconomy of it. In public affairs, he judged in the same manner ; for seeing those, who took the greatest care of their affairs, to be least exposed to trouble, and that ease of mind consisted not in activity, but in doing good, and bearing labour, he omitted nothing, but so well understood public affairs, and all persons, that they neither could prejudice him by fraud, nor those who were good, be concealed from him ; but all had their just reward.

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He neither punished or honoured his citizens, by what he heard from others ; but what he knew, he made the rule of his sentiments. Tho' he was employed in such variety of care, yet he committed no one instance of error in whatever occurred daily ; but he governed the city so religiously and humanely, that those strangers, who came there, did not felicitate Evagoras more for his happy reign, than they did his subjects for his mild government. He passed his whole life without injuring any man, and in constantly honouring the good. If he governed with a strict hand, yet he punished delinquents according to the laws ; and tho' he least of all men wanted counsellors, yet he always took the advice of his friends. Tho' he would yield to his friends, yet he would conquer his enemies in all things. He was august and venerable, not by the haughtiness of his brow, but by the dignity of his life. He behaved himself in nothing in an indecent or unbecoming manner ; but preserved his veracity as much in common conversation as others do in regard of oaths. He was full of noble spirit, not for the goods of fortune, but those that were his own. He made his friends his own by his beneficence, and others he subjected by the greatness of his courage. He was not terrible by his violence to others, but by excelling in the superiority of genius. He was a master of his pleasures, and not hurried here and there by them. He procured himself leisure by a few labours, and did not, for a little amusement, cause himself great trouble. In a word, he omitted nothing of whatever becomes kings, but chose whatever was best in every republic. He was popular in the affection of the multitude, political in the government of the city, a general in taking just measures in danger, and royal by excelling in all things.

It is just to imagine, that all these, and more than these noble qualities were inherent in Evagoras ; for tho' he received a city disgraced by barbarity, and which, upon account of the Phœnicians, would not admit the Greeks, learn arts, or use any free trade, or allow open ports, he cor-

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rected all these things; he added a spacious country, inclosed the city with a wall, built gallies, and with all other preparations so fortified the city, that it was inferior to none of all those which belonged to the Greeks. He acquired such power, that many feared who had despised him. It is impossible, that any cities should have such additions, unless some person govern by such a noble conduct as Evagoras did, and such as I have endeavoured to enumerate before. Wherefore I do not fear, lest I should seem to those who knew his virtues, to speak beyond his merit, but lest I should be inferior in eloquence to his actions. What man, with all the power of language, can reach the qualities of him, who not only made his city of more value, but brought the neighbouring regions, nay, the whole island, to civility and moderation? for, before Evagoras possessed the kingdom, they behaved themselves in such a detestable and savage manner, that they thought those were the best of their chiefs, who acted the most cruelly against the Grecians. Now, they are so changed, that they contend among themselves who shall appear the most benevolent to the Grecians; most of them beget children on women of our country; take a greater pleasure in our furniture and institutions than in their own; and one may find among them more persons who excel in noble music, and in other kinds of science, than amongst those where they formerly flourished. None can deny Evagoras to be the author of all these things. Now, this is the greatest sign both of his manners and sanctity. Many reputable good Grecians passed over into Cyprus, leaving their own country, and judging the government of Evagoras more humane and equitable than their own republics. To mention by name others, might make my discourse tedious: but in regard of Conon, who, on account of his many virtues, was the chief of the Grecians, is any one ignorant, that, when the city of Athens had met with bad success, he, selecting out of all, came to Evagoras? judging there would neither be any where else a surer refuge for his body, or a quicker assistance for the city: and tho'

tho' he had done well in former things, yet he seemed never to have taken better measures than now; for it happened to him, by coming into Cyprus, to be the cause of many goods, and to receive many. In the first place, they no sooner met, but they esteemed one another more than those who before had been familiar to them; and agreeing constantly in other things, they likewise had the same sentiments in regard of our city; for seeing it subjected by the Lacedæmonians, and afflicted by a great change of affairs, they bore it heavily, and each did his respective duty; for the one was a countryman, and the Athenians had made the other a citizen, upon account of his many and singular merits. While they were thinking of the means of freeing Athens from its calamities, the Lacedæmonians afforded them an opportunity; for governing the Grecians both by sea and land, they arrived at that pitch of insatiable avarice, that they attempted even to injure Asia. Conon and Evagoras seized on this juncture, and informed the king's generals, who were doubtful, how they should manage affairs; advising them not to make war by land, but by sea, against the Lacedæmonians; judging, that, should they raise a foot-army, and conquer by that means, things would only be better on the continent by it; but, if they conquered by sea, all Greece would partake of the victory; which happened: for the generals obeying this counsel, and collecting a fleet, the Lacedæmonians were conquered in a naval battle, and stripped of their power; the Greeks were restored to liberty, our city recovered part of its splendor, and was constituted head of the allies. This was done by Conon as leader, but Evagoras as assistant, who furnished out the greatest part of the troops; for which we honoured both with the greatest honours, and placed their statues where that of Jupiter the Preserver is, next to him and each other, as a monument of both these things, viz. of the greatness of the benefit, and of their own mutual friendship. But the Persian monarch had not the same sentiments of them, but feared them in proportion as they did greater and more noble actions.

I SHALL speak of Conon in another place. But it is evident, that the Persian had this disposition towards Evagoras, since he did not dissemble it; for it is certain, he was more anxious about his Cyprian war than any other, and judged him a greater and more dangerous enemy than Cyrus, who contended with him for the kingdom. This is a sure proof; for when he had heard of his brother's preparations, he so despised him, that, not being cautious enough, his rival had like to have entered the palace without his knowledge: but he was so timid in respect of Evagoras, that, while he received benefits from him, he was privately levying a war; not doing justly indeed, but yet, not without an appearance of reason, consulting his safety; for he knew, that many, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, had erected great empires from low and mean beginnings; and he understood, that Evagoras's magnanimity, the increase of his state, and the glory of his actions, made swift progress, that he had an invincible genius, and that fortune favoured his virtues. He was not angry for what had been done, but solicitous for the future; and not fearing so much for Cyprus, but far greater concerns, he undertook war against him; and he applied himself to it with such vigour, that he expended in this expedition above fifty thousand talents. But Evagoras, inferior in all preparations, opposing his courage to such immense forces, shewed himself more wonderful on this occasion, than in regard of all that has been mentioned before; for while they suffered him to live in peace, he only held his own city; but, after he was forced to make war, he behaved himself so, and had such an assistant in his son Protagoras, that he was very near seizing all Cyprus. He laid waste Phoenicia, took Tyre by force, and made Cilicia revolt from the king; and he destroyed such numbers of the enemies, that many of the Persians, deploring their misfortunes, remember his valour: at length, he so glutted them with war, that, tho' formerly the Persians were not accustomed to be reconciled to those who had revolted, before they were masters of their bodies, they now willingly

willingly made peace, dissolving that law, and making no change in Evagoras's kingdom. And tho' the Persian king, in three years, destroyed the power of the Lacedæmonians, who were possessed at that time of the greatest strength and glory, yet, having war with Evagoras for ten years, he left him lord of the same possessions of which he was before the war began. But this is most to be admired: that very city, which, when another reigned in, Evagoras took with fifty men, the Persian king could not conquer with his mighty forces. Now, how can any one more nobly shew the fortitude, prudence, and all the virtues of Evagoras, than by the history of his actions and dangers? for it is certain, that he not only surpassed the exploits of other wars, but those carried on by heroes, and celebrated in hymns and poems by all men; for they, with united Greece, only took Troy, but he, tho' he had but one city, made war against all Asia: wherefore, had as many praised him as have praised them, he had acquired greater glory than they. Who, amongst them, if we omit fables, and examine the truth, did so great things as he? or, who was the author of such great changes in affairs? Of a private person he made himself a king, and restored all his family, who had been excluded from public authority, to their former dignity. He made his citizens, of barbarians that they were, humane, of effeminate, warlike, and of obscure, famous; and tho' he had found a place averse to commerce, and enlaved, yet he rendered it more humane and civilized: besides, having a quarrel with the king, he so nobly revenged himself, that the war he carried on in Cyprus, ought ever to be remembered: but, whilst he was his ally, he was so much more beneficial to him than the rest, that, by the confession of all, he assisted him with the greatest naval forces in the battle at Cnidos; which being over, the king was constituted lord of all Asia; and the Lacedæmonians, tho' before they wasted the continent, were forced to fight for their own city; the Greeks, instead of slavery, recovered their liberty; and the Athenians had such accession of power, that

P 3

they,

they, who governed them before, now came to offer them the sovereignty. Wherefore, should any one ask me, which I think the noblest amongst the actions of Evagoras ; whether his endeavours and preparations against the Lacedæmonians, on account of which what was mentioned before came to pass, or his possessing himself of the kingdom in last war, or the whole administration of his affairs ? I should be in a great hesitation ; for whichever I once turn my mind to, that seems to me the greatest and most wonderful. Wherefore, if some of the antients have been made immortal by virtue, I judge him to have been thought worthy of the reward ; and by this proof, that he led a life more happy and acceptable to the gods than they, to his death : for we shall find most, and the most famous of the demi-gods, to have fallen into the greatest calamities ; but Evagoras was not only deserving admiration from the beginning, but continued so, and happy to the end. What part of happiness was wanting to him ? who had such parents as no other, unless those who were descended from the same : and he so far excelled others in body and strength, that he was worthy not only of governing Salamis, but of all Asia ; and, when he had most gloriously acquired a kingdom, died in the possession of it : in fine, tho' mortal by nature, he left behind him an immortal memory ; lived such a time, that he was neither excluded from old age, nor subject to those diseases which arise from it ; besides, what is looked upon a rare case, he was not deprived of a numerous and virtuous offspring, but was happy in this too ; and, what is greatest of all, left none of his descendants stiled by vulgar names, but one called king, others princes, and others princesses : wherefore, if any of the poets, using an hyperbolical way of expression, have said such a one was a god amongst men, or a deity, it is certainly just that the same should be said of his exalted nature.

BUT I judge many things have escaped me, which I should have said of Evagoras ; for I want the vigour of age, whereby

whereby I might have finished, in a more accurate and elegant manner, this oration. But even now he passes not unpraised, to the best of my abilities. I, O Nicocles ! think the images of the body beautiful monuments, but the images of actions, and the mind, far more worthy, which are only to be seen in eloquent orations. I prefer these first, because I know noble and good men are not so elated with the beauty of body, as with the glory which attends their actions ; besides, that statues can only be amongst those where they are placed, but orations may spread through Greece, and, thus distributed, be esteemed in the company of wise men ; amongst whom honour is more valuable than among all others ; because, by statuary or painting, none can ever express the nature of the body, but it is an easy matter for others to imitate their manners and natures, who are represented by writing, if they chuse not to be slothful, but good men : for whose sake I have more willingly undertaken this oration ; judging, that this will be the most honourable exhortation to you, your children, and all who descend from Evagoras, if any one, collecting his virtues, and adorning them by eloquence, expose them to your view, and put it in your power to be always conversant with them : for we exhort others to virtue, by proposing to them the examples of others, that, emulating those who are praised, they may emulate the same institutes with them ; but I exhort you and yours, not using foreign but domestic examples, and advise you to be attentive, that you neither fall short, in words or actions, of any of the Grecians : nor think I am accusing you, as if I thought you little solicitous about this, because I often exhort you to the same ; for neither I, or others, are ignorant, that you are the first of those who live in regal power, amidst riches and pleasures, who has attempted to join labour and philosophy ; and that you will cause many kings, by emulation of your learning, to love such studies, and omit those things which they now take great pleasure in. But tho' I know this, yet I both do, and will do, as spectators at gymnastic games ; for they do

not encourage the mean-spirited, but those who contend for victory. It therefore becomes me, and other friends, to say and write such things, by which we may excite you still to desire what you now love : and it becomes you to omit nothing, but take care at present, and in time to come, that, by exercising your mind, you may become worthy of your father and ancestors ; for it becomes all highly to value wisdom, but especially you who preside over so many. You ought not to be content, if you are better than those who now live, but grieve, if, being such by nature, originally descended from Jupiter, and lately from a man of such distinguished virtues, you do not only far excel others, but those who are placed with you in the same dignity. It is in your power not to fall short of this ; for if you persevere in the study of virtue, and make such progress as hitherto, you will soon become such as you ought to be,

T H E

THE TENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
OR, THE
PRAISE of HELEN.

THE S U B J E C T.

THIS is, perhaps, the noblest panegyric that ever was composed of Helen, excepting Homer's, which shines with the pomp, fiction, and beauty of all poetry. It has many digressions; but this is natural on such an occasion, when the subject is too confined. That part, relating to beauty, has been emulated by Lucian, but not successfully, in the opinion of the learned. This discourse should be looked upon as a contest of sophists in their own way.



THE TENTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES:
OR, THE
PRAISE of HELEN.

SOME there are who glory, if they can but speak tolerably on an absurd subject; and some have grown old in asserting, that no one can speak a falsity, or affirm contradictions, or make two opposite orations upon the same topics; others arguing, that fortitude, wisdom, and justice, are the same; that we have none of them by nature, but that instruction is the cause of them all. Others pass their time in chicanery about trifles, which conduces to no good, but may puzzle those who will trouble themselves in such a manner. Did I perceive such nonsense had its rise lately in rhetoric, and that such men could glory in the novelty of invention, I should not so much wonder at them. Now, who is there amongst us so belated in study, who is ignorant, that Protagoras, and the sophists of those times, left us such, and more laborious writings? for who can surpass Gorgias, who dares to say, nothing that exists is real? or Zeno, who endeavours to prove the same things possible and impossible? or Melissus, who, though created things are infinite, endeavoured to find out reasons, whereby to demonstrate that the whole universe was an unity? But altho' they have demonstrated so evidently, that it is easy for any one to invent a false discourse about what is proposed,

propofed, yet they continue in the fame circle; whom it did become, omitting the fallacies of words, whereby they have promifed to evince any thing, but which have been found idle a long time, to purfue truth, and inſtruct their cotemporaries in thoſe things whereby the commonwealth ſubſiſts; reflecting, that it is far better, that any one ſhould have a moderate judgment about uſeful things, than know uſeleſs ones accurately, and be a little ſuperior in great affairs, than to excel greatly in ſmall things, and ſuch as are no ways beneficial to life: but they have nothing in view, but to take money from young men. Now, a contention about trifles can effect this; for thoſe who neither heed private or public affairs, are chiefly delighted with theſe orations which are ſubſervient to no good. Now, young men ought to be pardoned for thinking ſo; for they are, in all reſpects, attentive to thoſe things, which are ſuperfluous and wonderful. But it is juſt to reprehend thoſe who profeſs to teach others, becauſe they blame ſuch who deceive in contracts, or uſe language wrongfully; but do far worſe themſelves than the others; for the others indeed may hurt ſtrangers, but they prejudice chiefly their friends: ſo that they have ſo encreaſed the licence of lying, that ſome ſeeing perſons enriched by ſuch means, have dared to aſſert in writing, that the lives of mendicants and exiles are more to be deſired than that of other men; and they would have this paſs for a proof or ſpecimen, that they, if they can but ſpeak any thing of ſuch ſcandalous things, ſhall eaſily be redundantly copious upon good and noble topics. Now, it ſeems to me the moſt ridiculous thing imaginable, to endeavour, by ſuch means, to prove themſelves ſkilled in political affairs; while it is permitted them to give a proof in what they profeſs: for it becomes thoſe, who contend about wiſdom, and call themſelves profeſſors of it, to excel and exceed, in virtue, private perſons, not in thoſe things which are neglected by other Grecians, but in ſuch as are emulated by all. Now, they act in ſuch a manner, as if a perſon ſhould profeſs himſelf a moſt excellent combatant, while he
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trode a stage, where none would vouchsafe to enter. Who that is wise would praise calamities? It is evident, they have recourse to such topics out of weakness; for there is one method of all such writings, which it is neither difficult to find, learn, or imitate: for common orations, such as are worthy of credit, and the like, are both invented and expressed by many forms and figures, which are difficult to be understood; and are so much more difficult in the composition, as it is more arduous to be a grave person than a buffoon, and act a serious than a ludicrous part. This is a clear proof of this truth; for none of those, who either chused to praise bees, salt, and the like, ever wanted, but abounded in words; but all have said, that those who have endeavoured to speak of what was confessedly good and laudable, or of those who distinguished themselves by virtue, have fallen far short of what might have been spoken; for it is not the part of the same genius to speak worthily of both kinds of these topics; but it is an easy matter to exceed, by language, small subjects; on the contrary, to equal the sublimity of the other, is very difficult: so it is an arduous task to invent, upon celebrated topics, what no one has said before; but whatever any one happens to speak of low and abject subjects, is his own. Wherefore I praise him particularly, who has written the encomium of Helen, of all those who would write elegantly; because he made that woman his subject, who excelled in her origin, her beauty, and glory. But something escaped his judgment: he says, he designs her panegyric; but his discourse is an apology for what she did. Now, such an oration is not of one and the same form or kind, but the quite contrary; for an apology ought to be made for those who are guilty of injustice: and that I may not do what is the easiest, reprehend others, but produce nothing myself, I will endeavour to speak concerning her; omitting all that has ever been said of her by others.

I WILL make her first origin the beginning of my discourse; for tho' many demi-gods were begotten by Jupiter, he

he vouchsafed alone to be called the father of this woman; and tho' he was solicitous about the son of Alcmena, he so far honoured Helen above Hercules, that he gave him strength indeed, whereby he might conquer by force all others, but to her he gave beauty, which vanquishes strength itself, and has a natural empire over it. And knowing, that splendor and glory arise not from inactivity, but from war and conflicts; and not designing only to exalt their bodies among the gods, but appropriate immortal honours to them, he made the life of the one obnoxious to labour and dangers, but the nature and perfection of the other such as was to be admired and contended for by war.

AND, first, Theseus, said to be the son of *Ægeus*, but, in reality, of Neptune, having seen her, tho' not in the full bloom of age, but far excelling others, he, who was accustomed to conquer others, was so vanquished by her beauty, that, tho' he had an extensive country, and a safe kingdom, he thought the possession of all his present goods nothing without enjoyment of her: but when he could not have her from those under whose authority she was (for they waited for her age, and the Pythian oracle), despising the kingdom of Tyndarus, nay, despising the strength of Castor and Pollux, neglecting all the dangers he might incur at Sparta, and seizing her by force, he carried her off to Aphidna, a town in Attica. And he was so grateful to his friend Pirithous, who assisted him in the enterprize of this ravishment, that when his friend would needs possess Jupiter and Ceres's daughter, and exhorted him to make, in concert, a descent into hell, when he could not by his advice dissuade him, tho' certain calamity was in view, yet he would accompany him; judging he ought to make him this return, and disobey none of Pirithous's commands, for the dangers he had run for his sake. If he, who did all this, had been one of the vulgar, and not of the most excellent amongst mankind, it could not as yet be clear, whether this was a praise of Helen, or an accusation of Theseus. Now, amongst other illustrious men, we shall find some to have wanted
fortitude,

fortitude, some, wisdom, some, other parts of virtue; but we shall perceive him to have wanted none of these, but to have been possessed of compleat virtue: I think I ought to speak more at large of him; for I judge this to be the strongest argument that any who praise Helen can use, if it is proved, that all they who admired her, deserved more admiration themselves than others. As for what happens in our times, we have a right to judge of such things according to our best opinions; but, in regard of antient things, we must take care that our sentiments are consonant to the sentiments of those who thought justly in those times. What I have to mention as to Theseus's honour, particularly, is, that he made his glory emulous of Hercules, who was born in the same time; for they were not only decorated with the same arms, but they followed the same institutes, acting as it was worthy of those of the same family; for being begotten, the one by Jupiter, the other by Neptune, they had similar affections; for they alone, of all who had lived before, became combatants for the lives and good of mankind. It happened, that the one did the more famous and greater exploits; but the other, such as were more beneficial and related to the Grecians: for Eurystheus ordered the one, that he should drive from Erythea certain oxen, carry off the Hesperian apples, drag up Cerberus from hell, and undertake other labours of this kind, by which he could not benefit others, but run hazards himself. But no sooner was the other master of his own conduct, than he chose such conflicts, whereby he might be judged the benefactor of all Greece, or his own country; and, after he had conquered alone that bull which had been sent in by Neptune, destroyed the country, and was dreaded by all, he freed all those who inhabited the city from great fear and tumult. After this, being an ally with the Lapithæ, and undertaking an expedition against the Centaurs, conquering those double-bodied monsters, who excelled in swiftness, in strength, and boldness, destroyed some cities, were ready to waste others, and threatened others, he soon quelled their info-

insolence, and shortly after extinguished their whole race. About the same time, when that monster had appeared, which was born in Crete of Pasiphaë, the daughter of the son, to whom the city was ordered by the oracle to send fourteen youths as a tribute, seeing them dragged away, and accompanied by the people, to an unjust and premature death, he conceived that indignation, that he judged it better to die than live basely, governing a city, which was forced to pay such a miserable tribute to enemies. Sailing therefore with the others, and vanquishing that monster, composed of a man and bull, with strength adequate to such a nature, he restored the children safe to their parents, and freed the city from such an unjust, cruel, and inevitable burden.

I AM dubious how I shall employ my other arguments; for, since I am come to the actions of Theseus, and beginning to speak of them, I am not willing to break off in the middle, and omit the barbarity of Sciron, Cercyon, and the like; engaging with whom, he freed Greece from many and great calamities. I perceive, I am hurried too far, and am afraid, lest I should have more concern for him than my first subject: I chuse, therefore, rather to omit many things, for the sake of those who are delicate auditors, and speak of what remains as briefly as possible, that I may partly comply with their humour, and partly with my own; for I am determined not to be entirely worsted by those who envy others, and find fault with all that is said by them. He therefore shewed his fortitude in those actions, when he fought alone; but he shewed his knowledge in military affairs, in those battles, when he was assisted by the whole city; and his piety towards the gods, both in the supplications of Adrastus and the children of Hercules; for he saved the latter, by conquering the Peloponnesians, and he gave those who had fallen under the Cadmean castle, in spite of the Thebans, to be buried. He proved his other virtues and moderation, both by the fore-mentioned instances, and particularly by his administration of the city;

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for observing, that they, who endeavoured to govern the city by violence, were slaves to others, and those very persons, who would make the lives of others full of dangers, were so struck with fears themselves, that they were forced to enter into war, jointly indeed with the city, against invading enemies, but with others against fellow-citizens; that they spoiled the temples of the gods, slew the best of citizens, were diffident of their nearest relations, nor were happier than those who are imprisoned for capital crimes; yet that they appeared externally happy, while they grieved internally more than others (for what can be more intolerable than to live continually in fear, lest some stander-by should take away one's life, and no less dread their guards than assassins?) Despising such wretchedness, and thinking such not princes, but plagues of the city, he shewed it was easy both to govern, and be in no worse condition than those who live as private persons. And, first, he collected together the citizens, who dwelt in separate and scattered villages, into one place, and made the city so great, that it remains to this day the largest of all Greece. Afterwards, when he established his country upon the principle of equality, had freed the minds of his citizens from fears, he let the pretension to magistracy be common to all; being as full of noble courage, should they do their best efforts, as if they were sunk in indolence: for he thought those honours more pleasing, which are conferred by brave men, than those which are by slaves; and he was so far from doing any thing contrary to the will of the citizens, that he made the people lords of the government; but they would have him only to govern, judging his monarchy more upright and equitable than their own democracy. He did not, as some do, transfer the labour to others, while he himself alone enjoyed pleasures; but he assumed dangers to himself, and made all utility common: therefore he past his life beloved, nor ever was exposed to treachery. Nor did he preserve his power by foreign troops; but was surrounded, as it were, by a guard, with the benevolence of his own citizens. He reigned by

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power,

power, but he was popular by beneficence ; for he governed the city with such justness and glory, that there are still traces of his lenity in our manners.

How should we then do otherwise, than praise her who was begotten by Jupiter, and endowed with such virtue and modesty, and think she must have excelled all women who ever were ? for we cannot bring a more unanswerable testimony of the excellencies of Helen, than the judgment of Theseus. But that I may not seem to dwell upon the same topic, on account of the barrenness of my subject, nor misuse one man's praise to make her encomium, I shall pursue my discourse. For, after the descent of Theseus to hell, when she was returned to Lacedæmon, and arrived at a proper age for marriage, all who then reigned, and obtained the principality in their cities, had the same opinion of her ; for tho' they could have married the chief women in their respective cities, despising domestic alliances, all sought after her in marriage. Even while he was not yet chosen, who was to live with her (but fortune was still common), it was so evident to all, that she would be contended for by war, that, in an assembly, they gave their solemn promise to each other, they would assist him, if any one should dare to take her by violence from him, who was judged worthy of possessing her ; and each concluded he was procuring this security for himself : but all, except one man, were disappointed of their private hope ; yet none of them were deceived in that opinion which they had of her : for no great time being elapsed, and a dispute happening among the goddesses concerning their beauty, Alexander the son of Priam was constituted arbiter ; and tho' Juno offered him the empire of all Asia, Minerva victories in war, but Venus the possession of Helen, not being capable of judging of such goddesses bodies, but dazzled with their rays, and forced to be rather a judge of the rewards, he preferred the enjoyment of Helen before all ; not that he principally regarded pleasure (tho' it is preferred, and by wise men, before many things), but he aimed not so much at that, but to become and be called

called the son-in-law of Jupiter ; thinking this honour far greater, and more glorious, than the kingdom of Asia ; that great empires and power may be the portion of worthless men, but that none of all posterity would ever be judged worthy of such a woman. Besides, he considered this, that he could not leave a more noble possession to his children, than if he procured them this, that they should be, upon account of father and mother, descended from Jupiter. He knew, that the other goods of fortune soon pass over to others ; but that nobility is the inheritance of the same. Wherefore he foresaw, that this choice would benefit all his posterity ; but that the other gifts would only concern the age in which he lived. No wise man, I suppose now, will reprehend his sentiment, though some of those who consider nothing which precedes, but the event alone, have reviled him ; whose folly is easy to be learned by those reproaches which they have cast out against him. Must they not be thought to act absurdly, if they imagine their judgment is better than his, which was preferred by all the goddesses ? for they did not make, upon their great dispute, any fortuitous person judge ; but it is evident, that they were as solicitous about a proper judge, as the thing in question. We are to consider who he was, and not form our ideas from the resentment of the disappointed goddesses, but from their disposition, while they preferred his judgment to that of all others. It is usual, that those should suffer from the more powerful, who have deserved no harm ; but no mortal could have been appointed judge between goddesses, or had such an honour, unless he exceeded in wisdom. I wonder any one can think him to have consulted ill, if he chose to live with her, for whose sake many of the demi-gods chose to die. How could he be otherwise than foolish, if, while he saw that goddesses contended about beauty, he should have despised it ? nor have esteemed that the greatest gift, which they were the most solicitous about ? Who would have despised the bed of Helen ? on account of whose being carried off from her husband,

band, all the Greeks were fired with an equal indignation, as if Greece had been entirely plundered ; and the Barbarians became as insolent as if they had conquered us all. It is evident what were the dispositions of both ; for tho' many dissensions had happened betwixt them before, yet they remained quiet : but they stirred up so great a war for her, not in respect of the heat only, but time also, and the variety of preparations, as none were before. And when it was permitted the one party, by the restitution of Helen, to be freed from calamities, and the other, by the neglect of her, to pass their whole lives in security, neither of them would do so ; but one side suffered their cities to be overthrown, and their country to be laid waste, before they would restore her to the Grecians ; and the other chose to grow old in a foreign land, never to see their own again, rather than, leaving her behind, return into their own countries. They did not do this upon account of Alexander and Menelaus ; but as on one side contending for Asia, and the other for Europe ; thinking, that in whatever part of the world she lived, it would be the more happy. And such ardor was there in regard of that expedition, not only in Greeks and Barbarians, but likewise in the gods themselves, that they did not even preserve their own children from those conflicts which happened before Troy. But tho' Jupiter foreknew the fate of Sarpedon, Aurora that of Sarpedon, Neptune that of Cygnus, Thetis that of Achilles, yet they exhorted them to it, and sent them with others ; judging it would be more glorious for them to die fighting for the daughter of Jupiter, than live without encountering dangers for her ; nay, they themselves sustained a harder and more dubious conflict than what they had undergone against the giants : for they fought against these in mutual league ; but for her they fought against one another. They certainly judged rightly ; and I may use this loftiness of expression on this occasion. She had the greatest share of beauty, which, of all things, is certainly the most admirable, valuable, and divine. It is an easy matter to know its power ; for it will
appear

appear to have been more honoured than valour, wisdom, or justice; and we shall find what is deprived of beauty to be had in no account, but every thing to be despised, if it does not participate of it; nay, that virtue itself is chiefly celebrated, because its study is the most beautiful of all. But it may be known from hence, how far beauty excels all other things, if we consider the disposition of our minds towards it; for we desire only to be possessed of the other things we stand in need of, nor are we affected by them in our minds any further; but such a desire is implanted in us of what is beautiful, that it has so much greater strength than prudence, as the nature of beauty is the most excellent: and we envy those who excel in understanding, or any other thing, unless they daily oblige us, and force us to love them; but we are favourable to the beautiful, as soon as ever we see them, and are never weary of worshipping them, as if they were gods; nay, we more willingly obey such than command others, thinking ourselves more obliged, tho' they give us many commands, than if they commanded nothing at all. Those who address themselves to persons possessed of other excellencies, we are apt to reproach, and call flatterers; but we think those elegant and ingenious, who devote themselves to beauty; nay, we have such a respect and reverence for this quality, that, should any amongst those who are possessed of beauty, prostitute it for money, and depreciate their youth, we stigmatize them with more infamy than those who have offered violence to the bodies of others: but as for those who have preserved their beauty inaccessible to others as a temple, we honour them ever after, as those who have done some signal good to the city. Why should we spend time in mentioning human opinions? Even Jupiter, who governs all, shews his power in other regards, but he does not disdain to approach beauty in an humble manner; for he approached Alcmena in the form of her husband Amphitryon; he enjoyed Danaë, flowing into her lap like gold; but he fled to the bosom of Nemesis under the transformation of a swan; and, again, affimi-

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lating himself to the same bird, he caressed Leda. 'Tis certain, that he always prevailed over such natures by art, and not by violence; nay, there is so much the greater honour paid amongst the gods to beauty, than amongst us, that they pardon their wives when they are overcome by beauty; and it is an easy matter to enumerate many immortal goddesses, who have been too weak for mortal beauty; none of whom would have the fact concealed, as if it had been any disgrace; but as if all had passed to a wonder, they would rather have such things celebrated by hymns than concealed. The greatest proof of what I have said is, that we shall find more made immortal for beauty than all other excellencies; all whom Helen as far excelled, as she surpassed them in the beauty of her face. She not only obtained immortality, but, acquiring a power equal with the gods, first of all she immortalized her brothers, who had been subject to death; but, designing to make this change illustrious, she conferred on them such conspicuous honours, that, if they were seen by those who were in danger at sea, all should be saved who prayed to them with devotion: and, afterwards, she shewed such gratitude to Menelaus for all his labours and dangers which he underwent upon her account, that, when the whole family of Pelops was ruined, and fallen into inextricable calamities, she did not only free him, but, after she had made him of a mortal a god, she made him her co-partner, and assessor for ever. And I can have, for witness of these things, the city of Sparta, which is particularly careful of preserving antiquities; for even yet, at Therapnæ, in the Laconian territory, they make solemn sacrifices to them, by their country's ritual, not only as to heroes, but as to divinities. She likewise shewed her power to the poet Stesichorus; for, in the beginning of a poem, having written something of satire against her, he rose next day deprived of his sight; but after, upon his understanding the cause of his calamity, he made what is called his recantation, the goddess restored him to the same state in which he was before. Some of the Homerides likewise affirm, that,

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standing by Homer in the night-time, she ordered him to compose his poem of those who had fought at Troy; having a mind to render their deaths more eligible than the lives of others: and that it was partly by the genius of Homer, but chiefly upon her account, that his poem is so full of beauty, and famous every-where. Therefore it becomes those, who excel in riches, to appease and honour her with donations, sacrifices, and other religious worship, as one who is capable of inflicting punishment, and shewing gratitude; and it becomes the learned and eloquent to endeavour to say something worthy of those excellencies which shined out in her; for it certainly would redound to the honour of the liberally-educated, to offer her such first-fruits of their genius.

MUCH more has been omitted by me than might have been said; for we ought to think, that besides both these arts, sciences and utilities, which may be referred to her and the Trojan war, that it is justly also owing to Helen, that we are not slaves to the Barbarians; we shall find, that, by her means, the Greeks became united, undertook a common expedition against the Barbarians, and Europe then, for the first time, erected a trophy for the conquest of Asia; whence happened such a change, that tho', in former times, such as were unhappy amongst the Barbarians thought themselves worthy of reigning in Grecian cities, Danaus the Egyptian fugitive had seized Argos, Cadmus the Sidonian had reigned in Thebes, Cares had possessed the islands, and Pelops, the son of Tantalus, subdued all Peloponnesus; yet, after this war, our nation received such increase, that it snatched many cities, and a spacious country, from the Barbarians. Wherefore, if any will handle more accurately, and protract these topics, he will not want an opportunity of praising Helen beyond what I have done; but such will find out many new and noble arguments for making her eulogium.

THE ELEVENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
OR,
His Panegyric of BUSIRIS.

The S U B J E C T.

BUSIRIS is famous in history. This oration seems written to convince a sophist of his absurdity, who had delighted in writing upon extravagant subjects, and dared to compose a mercenary oration for the persecution of Socrates, a man who shone with all human virtues. It contains, tho' digressively, fine and just sentiments, and deserves to be read for its art and ornaments.



THE ELEVENTH

ORATION of ISOCRATES:

O R,

His Panegyric of BUSIRIS.

I HAVE understood from others, O Polycrates ! your moderation and change of life ; and having read myself some of those discourses which you have published, I should willingly reason with you about your method of instruction, which you have been obliged to engage in ; for I think, that, upon all such as are undeservedly unhappy, and endeavour by literature to gain money, all who are more experienced and accurate ought to confer such a favour. But as we have never yet met together, when we happen to do so, we may discourse about other things more at large. In regard of such benefits as I can do you at present, I think I ought now to communicate them to you, but carefully conceal the same from others ; for I know, that it is natural to most of those who are admonished, that they do not consider the utility, but are the more offended, in proportion as such monitors more accurately inspect into their errors. But yet those who are of a benevolent mind to others, must not be afraid of incurring such mistaken resentment, but must endeavour to change their sentiments, who are affected in this manner against those who consult their good. Having observed therefore, that you do not a little glory in the defence of Busiris, and the accusation of

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Socrates,

Socrates, I will endeavour to convince you, that you have departed from the duty of an orator in both these discourses; for tho' it is known by all, that it is part of those who will praise others, to attribute more excellencies to them than they are possessed of, and of them who accuse, to do the contrary, it is far from being true, that you have used eloquence in this manner; for tho' you profess to write a defence of Busris, you are so far from freeing him from those crimes which are objected to him, that you have charged him with such an atrocious degree of wickedness, as cannot possibly be exceeded by invention; for tho' others, who endeavoured to reproach him, only accused him of this, that he sacrificed the strangers who came to him, you have accused him even of devouring the very men. But when you would accuse Socrates, as if you had designed to praise him, you give him Alcibiades for a pupil; whom no one ever knew to have been educated by Socrates; but that he far excelled others, all men are well acquainted. Wherefore, was it permitted the dead to determine of those things which have been said by you, the one would return you thanks, and the other, tho' he had been the most humane of all men, yet would be so inflamed with indignation, that he would abstain from no revenge. But why should not that man blush rather than glory, who ought to be better loved by those who have been reviled by him, than by those who have been praised? And you so far neglect the care of speaking consistently, that you say, Busris was emulous of the glory of Æolus and Orpheus; but yet you demonstrate, that he applied himself to none of those studies and institutes, which they excelled in. Can we compare his actions with those of Æolus, as mentioned in history? for the latter sent back in safety to their countries, such strangers as had been cast upon his shore; but the other (if we are to believe what is said by you) eat the guests whom he had sacrificed. Shall we compare him with Orpheus? he brought back the dead from hell; but Busris slew others immaturally: so that I should be desirous of knowing what that man would have

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done,

done, had he despised the merits of others, when he evidently did such things to those whose virtues he admired? But what is the most glaringly absurd, is, that, handling the topic of genealogy, you have dared to advance, how that he imitated them, whose fathers, in those times, were not born. But that I may not seem to do what is most easy, reprehend what has been said by others, and give no proof of myself, I will endeavour to explain to you briefly, even upon this subject, which is not reputable, nor admitting of an illustrious oration, how one should make a panegyric, or an apology.

WHO is there, who cannot speak of the nobility of Buthiris? whose father was Neptune, and mother Libya, the daughter of Epaphus, the son of Jupiter; who, they say, the first of women obtained a kingdom, and left her name to it. But having such parents, he was not proud on that account; but judged, he ought to leave a monument of his virtues to all posterity. He therefore despised his mother's kingdom, as thinking it unworthy of him; but having conquered very many, and acquired a great power, he fixed his kingdom in Egypt, because he thought it not only amongst all the regions he possessed, but the noblest seat of all other countries of the earth; for he saw other places not situated opportunely and conveniently, in respect of the nature of the whole universe, but some to be inundated by showers, and others scorched by heats; yet that this country, situated in the beautifullest part of the globe, could produce the most and best fruits, and was surrounded by the Nile, as with an impregnable wall, was appointed by nature not only to give it safety, but plenty of provisions; and tho' it was insuperable and invincible to enemies, yet was commodious for carriages, and useful, in many respects, to those who dwelt within it. Besides what I have mentioned, he made their power in agriculture almost divine; for as for showers and droughts, which Jupiter is the dispenser of to others, of both these rendered he himself master. And the Egyptians arrived at that

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that pitch of happiness, that they enjoy the continent in the excellency and nature of their soil, and the extent of their fields, and seem to inhabit an island, by the exportation of their products, and the importation of what is wanting to them ; for the Nile running round and through it, has supplied them with both these conveniencies. He therefore began, as all wise men should, by chusing the pleasantest place, and providing sufficiency for all his subjects.

AFTERWARDS, distributing them all by order, some he made priests, others he turned to trades, others he obliged to exercise the arts of war ; judging, that things necessary, and riches, must arise from agriculture and mechanics ; and that the surest protection of them is, military practice, and religion towards the gods. And, afterwards, he took the compleatest measures to lay down such rules, whereby the state might be most prudently governed ; he ordered they should continually keep up the same vocations, knowing well, that those who change their employments, become improper to finish any thing accurately ; but that each of those who continue constant in the same studies, arrive at excellency. Wherefore, we shall find them more excelling those who are conversant in the same sciences, than artificers, in other places, those who are ignorant of them ; and, in respect of that order, whereby they preserve the kingdom and the commonwealth, they so well behave themselves, that even those philosophers, who have chosen to speak upon these topics, and are the most famous, prefer the form of government in Egypt before all others ; and the Lacedæmonians, by intermixing some of their laws, govern their city in the best and wisest manner ; for in as much as no one of the military men travels abroad without leave of the magistrate, that they have common feasts and exercises of the body, and, by wanting none of the necessities of life, neglect not the public edicts, nor busy themselves in other arts, but apply their minds to arms and expeditions ; I say, they have had all these maxims thence. But the Lacedæmonians have, so much the more imprudently than

than they, used these institutes, that, by making themselves all soldiers, they endeavour to seize upon others possessions; but the Egyptians live so as becomes those who neither neglect their own, or lie in wait for what belongs to others. Any one may perceive the difference of the methods in governing the two commonwealths thus: for should we all imitate the sloth and avarice of the Lacedæmonians, we should soon perish, both on account of the want of daily food, and intestine wars amongst ourselves; but should we follow the institutes of the Egyptians, some of us apply ourselves to industry, and others to the protection of the state, we should all of us pass our days happily in our own possessions. Moreover, any one may justly imagine him to have been the origin of the study of wisdom; for he procured the priests affluence, by religious revenues, inspired them with temperance, by ritual sanctity, and he furnished them with leisure, by immunities from war and other dangers; and living thus amidst such advantages, they invented the help of physic, not that indeed which uses hazardous remedies, but such as has a security like to daily food. They were authors of such benefits, and they are confessed to be the most healthy and long-lived of all men. They have likewise shewn their ingenuity by the studies of philosophy, so as both to have instituted laws, and searched into the nature of all things. But he appointed the old men for the practice of what was best, and persuaded the youth to despise pleasures, and be conversant with the studies of astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry; which faculties some praise as conducive to other things, and some endeavour to demonstrate, that they conduce highly to the attainment of virtue: but it is particularly just to praise and admire their piety and worship of the gods; for as many as so prepare themselves as to be more esteemed for philosophy, or any virtue, than they deserve, hurt certainly the deceived: but they, who so keep up the dignity of religion, that its rewards and punishments seem surer than other events, must greatly benefit mankind; for they, who at first struck us with

with this fear, were the cause that we live not amongst one another, not in a savage manner as beasts; but they behave themselves with such holiness and gravity in this regard, that their religious oaths are kept much more sacred than they are amongst other people; and each thinks he shall immediately suffer for his fault, nor lie hid at present, and the penalty be transferred to his children: and, doubtless, they judge right in this manner. He appointed for them many and various divine exercises, and ordered them by law, to worship some of those animals which are despised amongst us; not that he was ignorant of their natures, but that he judged it proper both to accustom the common people to obey the magistrates in all commands, and have an experience, in manifest things, what notion the vulgar had of hidden ones; for he judged, that, perhaps those who despised such things, would despise greater; but that those, who observed order in all, had given a proof that their piety was established*. Now, one who did not hasten to a conclusion, might speak many and pompous things of their sanctity, which it is not I who have first observed, but many likewise both of the present and past ages; of whom Pythagoras the Samian is one; who travelling into Egypt, and becoming their disciple, he both introduced the other philosophy into Greece, and more manifestly shewed his zeal in what belongs to sacrifices and consecrations in temples; thinking, that tho' he should obtain nothing more for this from the gods, yet he should thereby be rendered particularly famous amongst all men; which indeed happened: for he so far excelled others in fame, that all youths desired to be his disciples, and old men rather chose to see their children conversant with him than attentive to business. None can disbelieve this; for even now we more admire such, who profess themselves his disciples, for their very silence, than those who have acquired the greatest glory by their eloquence.

* This is perhaps the best apology for all the superstitions which remain among Christians.

PERHAPS,

PERHAPS, you will object to what has been said, that I praise indeed the country, laws, piety, and wisdom of the Egyptians; but I can give no proof, that he was the author of what I have mentioned. Should any one else reprehend me in this sort, I should think he designed ingeniously to blame me; but you should not use such an argument: for when you praised Busiris, you took it in your head to say, that he made the Nile flow round Egypt, and devoured those foreigners who came there; but that he did this, you gave no proof. Now, is it not ridiculous to require that of others, which you do not attempt yourself? You are remoter than I from speaking things credible, because I do not assert him author of any thing impossible, but of laws, and the establishment of a commonwealth; which are the works of good and famous men. But you make him the effecter of what no mortal ever performed: for one of the actions you attribute to him, is bestial savageness, and the other, an act of the power of the gods. Besides, if both of us speak what is false, yet I have used such expressions as become those who praise others; but you, such as are proper for them who dispraise. Wherefore it is certain, that you have not only erred in the truth of things, but in the very forms, whereby we ought to praise. In fine, if, omitting your oration, my oration was to be examined, none would reasonably distrust it; for was it certain, that some others had done those things, which I say were done by him, I would confess myself too bold, if I endeavoured to change their opinions about things which all knew. But since the subject is common, and we are to make a conjecture, whom would any one believe to have been the authors of the customs established there, if he considers the thing in a probable light, rather than him who was begotten by Neptune, derived by his mother from Jupiter, invested with the greatest power of any in his time, and most famous amongst all? It is not congruous, that those who were rather deprived of these advantages, should have been the authors of such good to their country before him.

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Moreover, it is easy, from the times, to convict those haranguers, who have endeavoured to dispraise him, of evident falsehood; for they accuse Bufiris of the slaughter of his guests, and, they say, he was slain himself by Hercules. Now, it is agreed by all writers of history, that Hercules was later by four ages than Perseus the son of Jupiter and Danaë; but that Bufiris was above two hundred years earlier than Perseus. Now, how is it otherwise than absurd, that, when you designed to refute the aspersions cast upon him, you omitted this argument, which is so evident, and supported with so great strength? But you had no care of truth, you followed the calumnies of the poets, who assert those to have perpetrated and suffered more atrocious things, who were born from gods, than those who were begotten by the most wicked men; nay, they have composed such fictions of the gods themselves, as no one would dare to make of his enemies; for they have not only reproached them with thefts, adulteries, and slavery to men, but the eating of children, castration of parents, concubinage with mothers, and a variety of other enormous crimes: for which, indeed, they did not suffer worthy punishment, but, however, they did not go off quite unpunished; for some of them were vagabonds, and destitute of daily food; others struck blind; others banished their countries, and forced to carry on war with their relations and domestics all their lives. Orpheus, who was the particular inventor of such fables, was torn to pieces; wherefore, if we are wise, we shall never imitate their writings, nor shall we make laws against those who abuse one another, and bear with impunity the licence of declaiming against the gods: we shall take care, and think those who say such things equally guilty with those who believe them. I judge, not only the gods, but their children, were never guilty of any crimes; but, being by nature themselves endowed with all virtues, became the leaders and masters to others in all virtuous studies; for it must be absurd to suppose, that the gods take care of the happiness of our children, and that they are negligent of

of their own. If any of us could become lord of human nature, such a one would not suffer his domestics to be villains: I say then, could there be such lords of mankind, with what indignation should we resent it, if they suffered their own children to be impious and profligate? And do you think, that you shall render those who come to you as disciples, tho' not belonging to you, virtuous; and yet judge the gods take no manner of care of their own offspring? In your opinion, they are not free from two of the basest crimes; for, if they will not have them to be good, they are of a worse disposition than men; but if they would, and are ignorant of the methods, they have less power than even sophists.

Too many things remain on this subject; by which any one might amplify this panegyric and defence; yet I think I ought not to use a more diffuse discourse, for I have treated of these things, not out of a view of giving others a demonstration, but of instructing you, how one ought to execute both these designs. Any one would think that oration which you wrote, was not a defence, but a confession of the crimes of Bursis. You do not free him from crimes, but you shew some others have done the same; no, is this would be the easiest refuge for the guilty. But it is no easy matter to imagine any crime, which has not already in some time been committed; and we judge none of those are guilty of an atrocity, provided some others have done the like; must we not thereby render defence open to all, and give a great licentiousness to all who are inclined to be wicked? You will particularly perceive the absurdity of the things you have advanced, if you consider them in respect to yourself. Reflect; was you guilty of great and enormous crimes, and should any defend you in such a manner, in what temper would you be on such an occasion? I know, you would more detest him than your very accusers. But how can it be otherwise than disgraceful, to make such a defence for others, as, were it made for yourself, you would be filled with indignation? Consider this, and examine

mine it in your mind : If any of your intimate friends should be induced to perpetrate such things as you commend, how could he avoid being the most miserable both of those who now are, and of all that have been ? Now, does it become a man to write such an oration, the best quality of which is to persuade nobody ? Perhaps, you will say, you were not ignorant of it ; but had a mind to set an example to the studious of eloquence, how it becomes a person to make defences of base and infamous causes. But if you was ignorant of it before, I suppose it is now evident to you, that any one will sooner be absolved by saying nothing, than by making such a defence. This likewise is manifest, that tho' philosophy labours, as it were, under fatal necessity, and is hated by all, it must become much more odious to all by such orations. Wherefore, if you will listen to me, you will not handle, for the future, such impious subjects ; or, at least, you will endeavour to say such things, by which you may neither seem more wicked yourself, nor corrupt your imitators, nor bring the profession of eloquence into disgrace. Nor wonder, if I, who am younger, nor any way related to you, now admonish you so freely ; for I do not think it the office of the elder, or the most intimate, but of those who are the most able and willing to benefit, to give good counsel to others.

THE TWELFTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
CALLED THE
PANATHENAIcus;
OR,
PANEgyRIC of ATHENS.

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The S U B J E C T.

H I T T O R Y W I T H I N T

HE begins with a commemoration of his old age, of his manner of writing his life, and the calumnies of Japhists: then he says, that the Athenians deserved better of Greece than any others. But tho' he had touched upon this topic before in the panegyric, yet he says, that was not so proper an opportunity as this. He compares the Athenians merits with those of the Lacedæmonians, and gives the preference to the former. In fine, he uses every art to extol the Athenians, and concludes, after his frequent manner, in pleading his old age and infirmity as an excuse; tho' he evidently desires considerate readers, and satirizes the folly and rashness of the dull and inattentive in passing their judgment of his composition. Methinks, I hear old Nestor speaking in this oration, whom Homer has rendered famous for self-praise, tho' founded on merit.



THE TWELFTH
 ORATION of ISOCRATES:
 CALLED THE
 PANATHENAIICUS;
 OR,
 PANEGYRIC of ATHENS.

WHEN I was younger, I did not chuse to write fabulous orations, nor such as were full of prodigies and lies, which the vulgar generally more delight in than such as are calculated for their good; nor did I chuse those which explain the antient transactions of the Grecians, tho' I knew that they were justly praised; nor such as are esteemed of a simple nature, nor admit of ornament; which those do who are esteemed to excel in the handling litigious suits, if they thus would conquer their adversaries. But, omitting all topics of this nature, I employed myself in those discourses, which belonged to the advantage of our city, might be the hint of good advice to other Grecians, were filled with many enthymens, with antitheses, and other rhetorical figures, which make eloquence shine, and the auditors to applaud, and be in transport. But I meditate nothing of this now; for I do not think it is proper for ninety-four years, which I am of, nor any who have

grey hairs, to express themselves in that manner; but in such a one, as tho' all might hope for, or desire, yet none could easily attain, but by intensely labouring, and employing their whole mind. I have spoke thus in the preface, to the intent, that if this oration, which is now to be recited, should appear of a gentler nature than those which have been published before, none may compare it with their variety, but would judge of it by its merits in the present case; for I will discourse of the actions performed by our city, and of the virtue of our ancestors, not indeed beginning with them, but from what has happened to myself. I think this concerns me most; for tho' I endeavoured to live blameless, and without offence to any one, I have passed no part of my life, without being attacked with calumnies by wicked and obscure sophists; and, as I cannot be known personally by some, am judged such as they have heard from others: I therefore design to speak of myself first, and of those who are in such a disposition towards me, that, if I can, I may restrain them from abusing me, and inform others in what studies they ought to employ themselves: for if I can perfectly explain myself on this subject, I hope I shall pass the remainder of my life without molestation, and those, who are present, will be more attentive to the oration which is reciting.

I WILL not be ashamed to express clearly, neither my present perturbation, nor the absurdity I am conscious of, nor will I reason whether I am doing what becomes me. In the first place, let me say, I have obtained the greatest goods, which all would wish themselves to be possessed of, health both of body and mind, not in an ordinary degree, but so as I might contend with those who have enjoyed these qualities in the happiest degree. Secondly, that plenty of necessary things, that I never wanted what was moderate, and a prudent man would desire. And, lastly, I have not lived as a vulgar abject person, but such an one as the polite of the Greeks have made mention of, and stiled the best of mankind. Tho' all these things happened to me, some in

in an extraordinary, and some in a sufficient degree, yet I am not contented to live so ; but my old age is so morose and querulous, that I have often found fault with my genius (which yet no one has despised), and even pitied my fortunes ; tho' I have nothing to find fault with on this head, but that I have passed my life in the study of philosophy, which has exposed me to certain calamities and calumnies. I knew, I had a nature which was too infirm and soft for the transaction of business, nor adequate to consummate eloquence, nor proper for all things, but yet capable to conjecture of the truth of things, better than those who made profession of knowing it ; tho', to confess ingenuously, I was unequal to speak of these things in public assemblies more than any man ; for I am so destitute of both those things, which have the greatest power with us, a sufficient voice and boldness, that I question whether any of the citizens is more ; and those who have not these faculties, are more despised, and are cast into an inferior rank, than those who are obnoxious to the public ; for the latter may pay their penalties, but the former can never change their natures. Yet I did not, for all this, out of a base and abject mind, suffer myself to be entirely inglorious and obscure ; but seeing I am incapable of any public administration, I had recourse to study, industry, and writing what I judged proper ; not chusing slight subjects, small things, private contracts, or such other things, as others trifle about, but of the concerns of Greece, kings, and the republic ; for which, I thought, I ought the more to be honoured, than those who ascend our venal rostrum, as I composed orations on greater and more beautiful subjects ; which yet has not happened to me : and all know, that many orators dare not to speak of such things as will benefit the commonwealth, but of such as will be lucrative to themselves ; but they know, that both I and mine have not only more abstained than others from the public goods, but have been at greater expences for the public necessities than our circumstances admitted : besides, they see others in assemblies reproaching
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one another about depositums, troublesome to their friends, or calumniating such others as occur ; but me, to have been the author of such orations, which exhort the Greeks both to concord amongst one another, and to undertake an expedition against the Barbarians, which counsel them to send out common colonies to such a spacious region, which, whoever have heard of, say, that, if we become wise, and omit our mutual madness, we shall easily seize on without labours and dangers, and that it will easily contain all, who now want necessaries amongst us. Now, did all assembled together examine into those things, they could never find out actions more glorious, greater, or more conducive to our interest. But tho' we so vary among ourselves in opinions, and I have so far a nobler topic, yet the vulgar have not judged rightly, but in an inconsiderate, rash manner, of my intention ; for altho' they reproach the conduct, and reprehend the manners of other orators, they make them magistrates and masters of themselves ; and while they praise my orations, they envy me, for no other reason, but for the very orations which they approve : so unluckily am I circumstanced with them. But why should we wonder at those, who have such a disposition against all excellency, when some of those, who think they excel and emulate me, nay, desire to imitate me, are more my enemies than the unlearned ? Who can find baser persons than such ? I will say it, tho' I may seem to speak with more haughtiness and sharpness than suits my age, that those men, tho' they can teach their disciples nothing without the assistance of what I have said, and they use my orations as examples, nay, live by them, they are so far from gratitude to me, that they not only neglect me, but are always speaking some evil of me. While they ill-treat my orations, comparing them with their own ; while they read mine in as bad a tone as possible, not dividing them justly, but tearing them asunder, in short, every way depraving them, I set light by what was told me, and bore all patiently. But I was filled with indignation on their account, a little while before the

the great Athenian assembly; for some of my friends meeting me, told me, that three or four of the herd of sophists, fellows who pretend to know every thing, and fly swiftly from place to place, were sitting together in the Lyceum, and discoursing about the poets, and particularly Hesiod and Homer, producing nothing of their own, but however repeating their verses in a rhapsodical manner, mixed with the most elegant passages in other writers. Some in the company having approved of their disputation, one of them, bolder than the others, began to revile me, saying, I despised things of this nature; that I overturned the institutes and studies of all, and that I declared all were delirious, who did not follow my discipline; and when this had been said, some became less friendly disposed to me. I cannot express how much I grieved, and was disturbed, to think, that any should believe I would speak in such a manner; for I thought it was so evident, that I always declared myself against those who boast of themselves, and that I always thought moderately and humbly of myself, that no man could be thought worthy of credit, who would say, that I ever used such arrogance. But I have not without reason complained of my unhappiness, which has always attended me from such men. This is the cause of all the falsities spread about me, of the calumnies and invidious language, and that I cannot acquire the general esteem which I deserve, nor that which is granted me by all others, or which some of my friends allow me, who have seen me in all circumstances. That those things should not have happened so, is now impossible; and there is a necessity of my being contented.

WHILE many topics of discourse occur to my mind, I am doubtful whether I should retaliate upon those who have been accustomed to spread false reports of me, and are bold enough to affirm what I do not deserve. But if I should seriously undertake this affair, and compose an oration about those men, whom no one ever thought worthy of mention, I might justly incur the blame of folly: therefore, scorning them as envious wretches, I will endeavour to convince others,

others, that they neither justly, or worthily, entertain such a notion of me. And who is there, who would not condemn me of imprudence, if I should imagine those men, who never were my enemies, but because I have seemed to write some things elegantly, after I have spoken in the same manner as before, will grieve less upon account of my oration, but rather more; especially should I appear, though in such an advanced age, not yet to be delirious? But yet no one shall persuade me to set those so aside, and neglect them, as to finish directly the oration, whereby I design to shew, that our city has been the cause of more good to Greece than Lacedæmon. Should I do so, nor conclude what I have begun, or join the beginning of what I have begun, with the end of what is to be said, I should be like those, who throw out rashly, importunately, and confusedly, whatever comes into their minds; things which I ought to avoid.

It will be the best, if I speak of what I proposed in the beginning; for I think, if I produce in writing what idea I have of education and the poets, they will cease to invent false crimes, and say whatever comes into their heads: but, at the same time, I admonish those, who are affectionate to such studies, not to be concerned, nor be too strictly attentive to all that I shall say, while I allow, that if such learning is good for nothing else, at least, it averts young people from many trespasses. I therefore judge, there never was found out, for such, more useful or becoming exercises. But I do not say, that the same studies become the more advanced in years, and are esteemed perfect men; for I see some of those, who so accurately understand these arts, that they teach others, not using prudently their science, but more ignorant in the concerns of life than their scholars, I am afraid of saying, than their slaves. I have the same opinion of popular orators, and those who are famous for the composition of such orations; and, in a word, of all who are distinguished by faculties (as they are called) and sciences; for I know most of these neither conduct their
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private affairs well, nor are tolerable in their conversation, make little account of the esteem of their fellow-citizens, and are guilty of many and great transgressions. Wherefore I do not judge them possessed of that habit I design to speak of. Whom then do I judge learned, since I reprehend arts, sciences, and faculties? First, those who make a right use of daily occurrences, that have a judgment proper to seize opportunities, and capable, for the most part, of hitting the mark of utility; next, such as always behave themselves in a becoming and just manner with those they converse with, and bear others spleen and moroseness with ease and good-nature, and render themselves as much as possible more agreeable and moderate in respect of all their friends. Besides, those who are always masters of their pleasures, are not much depressed by adversity, but behave themselves like men, and worthy of that nature we partake of. Fourthly, which is the chief, those who are not corrupted with prosperity, nor forget themselves, or become proud, but keep the post of prudence, nor take greater pleasure in the goods which flow in from fortune, than those which were acquired in the beginning by their own good conduct and ingenuity. But those, who have not minds capable of one of these qualities, but of all, I affirm, they are wise and perfect men, and possess all virtues. This is my opinion of the learned.

I SHALL now express my sentiments of the poetry of Homer, and others; for I judge I shall thereby cause those to be silent, who chaunt their verses in the Lyceum, and trifle about them. But I perceive I am carried away beyond the bounds which are prescribed to preambles; for it becomes a prudent man, not to love such a diffusive eloquence, whereby he may speak upon the same topics more than others, but observe moderation in all he reasons about; which is also my duty. I shall therefore speak another time of the poets, unless old age first takes me out of the world; for more noble subjects present themselves to me, than such would be. I will therefore make my discourse of those

those benefits which have been conferred by our city upon all Greece; not because I have not written more panegyrics upon it than all who profess poetry or eloquence; but that I do not design to speak in the same manner as before; for then I made mention of it, when I treated of other things: now, I have made it my subject. I am not ignorant what an arduous hypothesis I chuse in my old age; but perfectly knowing, and having often declared, that it is easy to give a grandeur to small things by eloquence, I will say, it is a difficult task to equal elogium with what is noble and sublime. Yet we are not to desist for this, but finish what we have begun, if nature grants longer life, especially since many motives induce me to make this oration. First, such men as are wont impudently to accuse our city; then, those who praise it elegantly, but without judgment, and less than it deserves; and, besides, those who dare to praise it more boldly than others, but not so well as to prevent the objections of many: and, finally, my greatest motive is my age, which usually discourages others; for I hope, if I succeed, to increase my reputation; but if I speak beneath myself, I shall have a ready pardon from the hearers. What I therefore designed to preface concerning myself and others, as those who prelude in music before a concert, I have now finished.

Now I judge, that those who would accurately and justly praise any city, should not only make that alone their topic, which they design to speak of; but as we examine and try purple and gold, by shewing near them natures of the same species and value; I judge, I say, that small cities should not be compared with great, nor those which have been accustomed in all times to govern, with those who were accustomed to serve, nor those cities which are capable of preserving others, with such as need protection: but I judge, those cities should be compared together, which are possessed of a like power, have been conversant in the same affairs, and are of equal authority; for thus will they most easily come at the truth. Now, if any one consider us in this light,

fight, and not compare us with any city, but with that of Sparta, which many praise moderately, but some speak of, as if demi-gods governed that republic, we shall be found to have left them farther behind in beneficence towards Greece, than they have left all others; and I shall mention hereafter our antient conflicts for the good of Greece. Now, I shall make my discourse of them, beginning from the time when they seized upon the Achaic cities, and divided the country with the Argives and Messenians; for from hence we ought to discourse about them. Our ancestors will be perceived to have preserved, from the Trojan times, the concord of the Grecians, and enmity with the Barbarians, and and to have persevered in the same affections. And, first of all, in respect of the islands Cyclades, concerning which many disputes arose under the government of Minos, when they lastly were possessed by the Carians; after they drove the Carians out, they did not make them their own provinces, but they placed in them a colony of the most indigent Grecians: afterwards they built many and great cities on both sides of the continent, drove the Barbarians from the sea, and taught the Grecians by what method of government, and by carrying on war against whom in particular, they might enlarge and aggrandize Greece. But the Lacedaemonians were so far, in that time, from doing any thing of this nature, as our ancestors (who commenced war against the Barbarians, and benefited the Grecians) that they would not even remain quiet; but having a city belonging to others, and not only a sufficient territory, but so large as none of the other Grecian cities had, they were not content with this; but learning by events, that cities indeed, and countries, according to laws, appear their right, who justly possess them, but, in fact, become theirs who most skilfully exercise military art, and can conquer their enemies in battle: I say, reflecting on this, and neglecting agriculture, trades, and all other things, they never ceased to attack and disturb, one by one, all the cities of Peloponnesus, except that of Argos. Now, it happened from what we did, that Greece was

was enlarged, and Europe became master of Asia; besides, that the necessitous Greeks received cities and lands, but that the Barbarians, who before commenced insults, were driven out of the country, and became of more submissive minds than they had been: but from what the Spartans did, it happened, that their city alone was aggrandized, and made famous, and governed all the cities in Peloponnesus, and had great respect shewed it from them. It is certainly just to praise that city, which was the cause of many goods to others, and to judge that unjust, which only procured itself advantages; to esteem those friends, who treat others on the same footing as themselves, but to fear and apprehend those who are of the most friendly mind amongst themselves, yet administer their government with a visible hostile intention towards others: such, therefore, was the foundation of the government in both cities.

AFTERWARDS, upon the commencement of the Persian war, when Xerxes, who then reigned, had got together twelve hundred ships, five million foot, seven hundred thousand of whom were regular troops, and entered Greece with such a vast army, the Spartans, tho' they governed all Peloponnesus, sent only ten ships to the naval battle, which gave a turn to the whole war; but our fathers, tho' they were forced from their country, and had abandoned the city, because it was not at that time fortified, afforded better ships, and better provided with forces, than all together who ran that danger. And the Lacedæmonians sent, as their admiral, Eurybiades, who, could he have effected what he designed, must have ruined all Greece; but ours sent Themistocles, who was thought indisputably to be the cause that the naval engagement was wisely conducted, as well as author, besides, of all that was prosperously acted in that time; for when they, who had been allies, had wrested the sovereignty from the Lacedæmonians, they conferred it on us. And what better judges can any one imagine, or more worthy of credit, of the transactions of those times, than those who were present in the battles? or, what benefit can be supposed

posed greater than the preservation of all Greece from destruction?

It happened afterwards, that each became sovereign of the sea; which whosoever holds, must have the greatest number of cities in subjection. Not that I praise in this regard either city; for one may blame both in many respects. But we have not less excelled them in this administration, than in what I have mentioned before; for our fathers persuaded their allies to constitute such a form of government, as they themselves had always preferred. Now, it is certainly a sign of benevolence and kindness, when persons exhort others to use those institutes, which they have found profitable to themselves. But the Lacedæmonians constituted republics, which were neither similar to their own, nor like those constituted elsewhere, but only made ten men of each city its lords; whom should a person endeavour, for three or four successive days, to accuse continually, he would not be able to express a part of their crimes and oppressions. It would be absurd to comment particularly upon such and so numerous instances: but, perhaps, I should have reflected on a few, which would have excited a worthy anger in the hearers, if I had been younger. But I have now no such intention; however, it is confessed by all, that they so far exceeded all who went before them, in rapacity and injustice, that they not only ruined themselves, their friends, and their countries, but likewise, by exposing the Lacedæmonians to the odium of their allies, plunged them too into so many and great calamities, as no one would have ever imagined could have befallen them. From hence any one may see, with how much more mildness and clemency we managed affairs, and likewise from what follows: for the Spartans scarce governed ten years; but we held the supremacy sixty-five years. Certainly all know, that cities, subject to others, continue longest faithful to those from whom they suffer the least evils: but both, upon account of injuries becoming odious, fell into wars and tumults; yet we shall find our city was capable of making resistance ten

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years, though attacked by all the Greeks and Barbarians : whereas the Lacedæmonians, tho' they still governed, and made war by land against the Thebans only, being conquered in one battle, were stripped of all they possessed, and were afflicted with the same misfortunes and calamities as we. Besides, we shall find our city to have restored itself in fewer years than it was overthrown in ; but that the Spartans, after this loss, in a very long time, have not been able to recover themselves to their former footing, but are still in the same low condition. Now, I ought to explain, how we both have behaved against the Barbarians ; for this remains. Under our government, it was not permitted them to come with their foot-forces within the river Halys, or sail in long ships to the coasts within Phælis. But, under that of the Lacedæmonians, they not only gained the power of going and sailing wherever they pleased, but became masters of many of the Grecian cities. Wherefore, that city, which, with more bravery and courage, made a treaty with the Persians, and was the cause of the most and greatest calamities to the Barbarians, but of benefits to the Grecians ; which, besides, took all the maritime coast of Asia, and many other provinces from the enemies, and gave them to its allies, hindering the former from committing injuries, and freeing the latter from indigence ; and which has more magnanimously fought for itself, than that very city which is celebrated for such actions, and repelled its own calamities sooner than those persons ; who is there that will not think it just to praise and honour this city, more than that which it has surpassed in all these regards ? Concerning the actions of both, and the dangers undergone together against the same enemies, this is what occurred to me to say at present.

Now, I think those who have heard with disgust what I have said, will not contradict any thing as if it was untrue ; nor produce any other actions, by the performance of which the Lacedæmonians became authors of much good

good to Greece. But such endeavour to accuse our city, according to their custom, and repeat the harshest acts of power, which happened during our sovereignty of the seas: they will blame the accusations and judgments, which happened here to the allies, as well as the exactions of tributes, and will particularly dwell on the calamities of the Melii, and the Scionæans, thinking, by these aspersions, they can give a blot to those benefits risen from our city, which I just now mentioned. To whatever may be justly charged against our city, I neither can answer, nor would I attempt it; for I should blush, if, when others have thought, that not even the gods are free from faults, I should endeavour to persuade mankind, that our republic never offended in any thing. But I believe I can effect this, that I can both prove, that Sparta, in respect of what was mentioned, has done things of a much more cruel and barbarous nature, and that they, who abuse us on this account, are superlatively foolish, and the very cause why their friends are reproached by us: for since they accuse us of those crimes which the Lacedæmonians have been more guilty of, we are not deprived of an occasion of retorting upon them, and that too in a severer manner. For example, should they here make mention of the judgments passed upon allies, who is so stupid, but that he can find out a ready answer, viz. that the Lacedæmonians have put to death more Grecians, without giving them a fair hearing, than, ever since this city was built, have been called by us before the tribunal? The same, should they make the like objections, we have to answer about the exaction of tributes; for we shall shew, that we benefited, in a far greater manner, those cities who paid us tributes, than did the Lacedæmonians. In the first place, they did not do this by our command, but by their own decree, when they conferred the sovereignty of the seas upon us. Again, they paid not those tributes on account of our safety, but for their own republican government and liberty, and lest they should fall again into as great calamities as they had suffered under the decemviri and the Lacedæmo-

nian power. Besides, they conferred nothing of what they had saved themselves, but what they had preserved by our assistance: for which, had they the least reason in them, they would have repaid us with gratitude; for when we had recovered their cities, some of them razed by the Barbarians, and others of them laid waste, we so restored them, that, having given to us a little of their substance, they had no worse habitations than the Peloponnesians, who paid no tributes. In respect of those who were destroyed under both our governments (which some object to us alone), we will shew, that those, whom these men never cease to praise, perpetrated far greater cruelties. It happened, that we injured such, and so small islands, as many of the Greeks know nothing of: they, after having overthrown the greatest cities of Peloponnesus, which far excelled amongst all the Grecian; I say, after they had erased them, possess their goods: which cities, tho' no benefit had before been conferred by them on Greece, were deserving of the highest favours from the Greeks, for undertaking the expedition against Troy; in which they were the chief, and furnished leaders, not only possessed of such qualities, of which ordinary and vulgar men are incapable, but of such as none but the good and brave can attain. Messena sent out Nestor, who was the prudentest of all who lived in that age. Lacedæmon sent Menelaus, who alone, for his temperance and moderation, deserved to be made and called the son-in-law of Jupiter. The city of Argos sent them Agamemnon, who was not ornamented with one or two virtues, but with all that any one can mention: nor so, in a moderate, but high degree; for we shall find no one of all, who undertook things which were more proper, more glorious, more noble, more beneficial to the Greeks, or worthy of greater praise. And, perhaps, while I hastily enumerate these things, many may not give their assent to them: but, after I have spoken briefly of each, all will acknowledge I have said nothing but truth.

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BUT I cannot well conceive, but am at a loss, what words I shall most properly use; for I am ashamed, after I have said so much of Agamemnon's virtues, I should say nothing of his actions; but should appear to the hearers, like those who boast of themselves, and deafen company with what comes uppermost in their minds; for I perceive, that those actions, which are mentioned foreign to the subject, are not praised, but seem of a confused nature, and that there are many who use them unseasonably, and more who reprehend them. Wherefore I am afraid lest the same should happen to me. But I think I ought to assist him, who has suffered what I and many others have, in being deprived of that full glory which he deserved; he who was the author of the greatest happiness in those times, but is now praised less than those who have done nothing memorable. For what was wanting to him? Who acquired such honour, greater than which, should all seek after it, they could never find it? for he alone was judged worthy of being the general of Greece. Whether he was chosen, or acquired this by power, I cannot aver. By whichever means this happened, he left nothing whereby they could exceed his glory, who have in any other way, been honoured: for having attained this power, he injured none of the cities of Greece; but was so far from this, that he freed some from those wars, tumults, and troubles, in which they were involved, and, uniting all, he scorned extravagant and romantic actions, and such as no ways benefit others; and, collecting an army, led it against the Barbarians. No one ever undertook a more glorious or useful expedition for the Greeks, either of those who were famous in those times, or were born afterwards: which he having done, and set the example of to others, has not been so praised as he deserved, by the means of those who more love prodigies than beneficent actions, and lies than truth. And yet great as he was, he hath now less glory than those who never had the courage to imitate him. Nor need I only praise him for these things, but for those which he did about the

same time ; for he so excelled in magnanimity, that it did not suffice him to raise soldiers of a private condition, in number as many as he pleased, out of each city ; but he persuaded those very kings, who are wont, in their own cities, to do and command what they please, to be subject to him, follow him against whomsoever he would lead them, obey his commands, pass their lives, tho' kings, in a military manner, besides, face dangers, and carry on wars, not for their own countries and kingdoms, but, in word, for Helen the wife of Menelaus ; yet, in fact, that Grecians should not suffer the same, or the like, from the Barbarians, as when Pelops seized Peloponnesus, Danaus Argos, and Cadmus Thebes. Of which who can be found to have had a foresight, and to have opposed himself, that nothing of this nature might happen ? None but he who was endowed with such knowledge and power. What now follows, is indeed of an inferior nature to what has been said, but far more noble and worthy of memory than what is often praised. When such forces were got together from all the cities, and so numerous, as may be supposed by such leaders, as were partly of the family of the gods, partly begotten by, or born of them, not affected as the vulgar are, nor thinking in their train, but replete with wrath, violence, envy, and ambition ; he yet retained all these together for ten years, not by large pay or expences in money, by which all are now powerful, but by excelling in prudence, by supplying the soldiers with provisions from the enemy's country, and by appearing to consult more wisely the safety of others, than others do their own. Now, we may, with equal justice, admire the end he put to all these actions : for he will be found not to have put a dishonourable one, and unworthy of what has been said before ; but tho' in declaration he had only made war against one city, yet, in fact, he made it not only against all those who inhabited Asia, but against many other barbarous nations. He was wearied out by no dangers ; nor did he depart, till he had reduced to slavery that city which had dared to offend,
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and till he had restrained the Barbarians from committing insults.

I AM not ignorant of the variety of those things said of Agamemnon's virtues ; nor, though they be so many, will any, if they consider them singly, disapprove of any thing, or dare to detract any thing ; but, had they been explained in order, all would blame me, as having spoken more than was convenient. Had I been ignorant I should exceed moderation, I should blush, if, having attempted to write about these things which no one else dared, I were so stupid. Now, I knew far better than those who have dared to reprehend me, that many would find fault with such a method : but I thought it would be less offensive, if I seem, in this part, to come to neglect the order of time, than if, while I spoke of so great a man, I omitted any of those excellencies which belonged to him, and it was proper I should mention : yet I judged, that, amongst the politest hearers, I should be esteemed, if, while I make the elogium of virtue, I more laboured about speaking worthily of it, than about the exact measure of my discourse. I knew this well, that, by neglecting the just measure of time, I should render myself less admired ; yet that prudent advice about actions would profit those who are praised : I therefore, neglecting my interest, preferred what was just ; nor shall I be found only in what has been now said of this mind, but absolutely in all things : for I shall appear always to have taken more pleasure in those disciples of mine, who were famous for their lives and actions, than in those who had a genius for eloquence ; for, indeed, contributing what I did, all would ascribe to me their eloquence ; but, in regard of their good actions, tho' all knew I had been the counsellor, there is none but would praise the person who put such things in practice.

I SCARCELY know whither I am hurried in my discourse ; for though I ought to subjoin the consequence of what had been said, yet I have wandered far from my subject. Nothing remains, but that, desiring pardon for my old age, for

my forgetfulness and loquacity, which faults are incident to men of my years, I should return to that subject from whence I wandered into this garrulity; I say, I ought to consider from whence I digressed: for I answered those, who object to us the calamities of the Melii, and such small towns; not that these actions were just, but that I might shew them, how those, who are loved by them, have destroyed greater and more cities than we; amidst which, I discoursed of the sovereignty of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Nestor; not advancing fallacies, but speaking, perhaps, beyond moderation. This I did to shew, that these men's crime was no less, who dared to overthrow those cities, which had produced and educated those men, of whom even now one may compose celebrated harangues. But, perhaps, it is foolish to dwell upon one fact, as if there could be wanting words to express the cruelty and barbarity of the Lacedæmonians; and that there was not a variety of instances to mention on this topic: whom it did not suffice to have trespassed against these cities, and these men, but they would injure those who were born in the same place, who warred in alliance with them, and underwent the same dangers; I mean, the Argives and Messenians: for they endeavoured to afflict them with the same calamities as the others; and indeed they desisted not to attack the Messenians, till they drove them out of the country; but the Argives, upon this account, are now in war. Now, I should be ridiculous, if, having mentioned what they have done against others, I should not mention what they have acted against the Plataeans; who having pitched their tents with us, and other allies, in their territory, and we having drawn up our battle, and sacrificed to the gods consecrated by them, we not only freed the Greeks, who were with us, but even those who were forced to be on their side. And we effected this, when we had the Plataeans alone our assistants, of all the Boeotians; and not long after, the Lacedæmonians, to gratify the Thebans, after taking their city, slew them all, excepting such as could fly away. Certainly, our city did not

not resemble the Lacedæmonians in regard of this. They dared to do such things against the public benefactors of Greece, and their own relations; but our countrymen placed those Messenians, who were saved at Naupactum, and made those Platæans, who came to them, citizens, and partakers of all they possessed themselves. Wherefore, had we no more to say of these cities, yet, methinks, the manners of both would be clear, and which of us had ruined more and greater cities.

I PERCEIVE I am fallen into an affection different from what I had in mentioning some things a little while ago; for I then lapsed into ignorance and forgetfulness. Now, I am sensible I preserve not that lenity of discourse, which I observed in the beginning; but that I endeavour to explain myself on those heads, which I should not mention; that I become bolder than fits my nature, and am not capable of containing myself in some things, on account of the variety of the subjects which present themselves to me to be spoken of. Since then a spirit of freedom has seized me, and I have opened my mouth with liberty, and have laid such a foundation, and it is neither becoming nor possible to pass over such actions, by which it may be demonstrated, that our city has deserved better of the Greeks than the Lacedæmonians, I must not pass by those other evil actions, which have not hitherto been spoken of, though they were perpetrated amidst the Greeks: but I shall shew, that our countrymen learned late such practices, and that the Lacedæmonians were guilty of some the first, and committed others only. Very many accuse both cities, that, professing to fight against the Barbarians for Greece, they did not permit the cities to live by their own laws, and administer their affairs, as was convenient for them; but dividing them, as if having taken them all by war, they oppressed them all with servitude, and acted like those, who set other mens slaves at liberty, to make them serve themselves. We were not the cause that these and many sharper things were said, but those who now oppose us in what is said, and, in former

former times, derogated from all our actions. But no one can prove, that our ancestors, during infinite spaces of time, ever attempted to subject either a greater or less city ; but all know, that, since the Lacedæmonians came into Peloponnesus, they do nothing, nor design any thing else, than to govern as much as possible all ; or, at least, if this cannot be effected, govern the Peloponnesians. Besides, all know, that they have been the authors of seditions, massacres, and changes of commonwealths, with which calamities and disorders they filled all cities excepting a few : but no one would dare to say, that, before the calamity at the Hellepont, our city ever committed a crime against their allies. After the Lacedæmonians became lords of Greece, they again lost the lead in power. In those times, the other cities being seditious, two or three of our generals (I will not conceal the truth) trespassed against some of them ; hoping, did they imitate the Spartans actions, they should more easily contain them within the bounds of duty. Wherefore, all of us may justly accuse them, as being the leaders and authors of such works, and allow pardon to our countrymen, as scholars deceived by promises, and falling short of their hopes. Now, who is ignorant of what they did alone ? for tho' our enmity to the Barbarians and their kings was common, yet we were in many battles alone, sustained sometimes great losses, our lands every now and then wasted, and yet we never regarded their friendship and alliance ; but, for their ill designs against the Greeks, we continued to hate them more than those who now endeavour to distress us. But the Lacedæmonians, tho' they had not suffered, or were likely to suffer any hurt, or were in any fear, came to that pitch of insatiable avarice, that it sufficed them not to have the land-government, but they would have the dominion at sea ; so that, at the same time, they pushed on our allies to a revolt, promising to make them free, and negotiated friendship and alliance with the king ; affirming, that they would deliver to him all the inhabitants of Asia. When they had mutually pledged their faith on these terms,

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and conquered us, they reduced those whom they promised to enfranchise, to a worse state of servitude than their own slaves; and they requited the king with this gratitude, that they persuaded his younger brother Cyrus to dispute with him for the kingdom; and gathering an army, and making Clearchus general, sent them against him. But being deceived of their hopes in this, and having shewed to all what they aimed at, they were hated of all, and fell into such wars and tumults, as it was necessary those must, who had trespassed both against the Greeks and Barbarians. Now, I know not why I should say any more about them, but only this, that, being conquered in a sea-fight by the forces of the king, and dexterity of Conon, they made that peace, than which none can shew me a more base, more disgraceful, or regardless of the interests of Greece, or more contrary to what is said by some of the valour of the Lacedæmonians; who, tho' the king had made them lords of Greece, endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom, and all his fortunes; but after he had conquered in a sea-fight, and humbled them, did not surrender to him a small part, but, mentioning expressly in writing, all who inhabited Asia, and surrendering them to be used at his discretion: nor did they blush to make such a treaty about those very men, by whose alliance they had defeated us, were become masters of Greece; and hoped to seize upon all Asia. Such a treaty as this did they fix in their temples, and force their allies to do so!

AND tho' I judge others will not much desire to hear the remaining things, I believe that all think, they have been sufficiently informed of what a disposition each city has been towards the Greeks. I am not of the same opinion, but think the hypothesis, which I have chosen, requires many more words; especially such as will demonstrate the madness of those men, who have attempted to oppose what has been said; whose confutation I shall easily find; for, amongst those who approve the Lacedæmonians actions, I judge the best and prudentest of them will praise indeed the Spartan republic, and continue to be of the same opinion about

about it as before ; but will assent to me concerning those things, which they have done against the Greeks ; but as for such, who, not only inferior to those, but the vulgar, can speak tolerably of no subject, and yet cannot be silent about the Lacedæmonians, hoping, that, if they make exaggerated elogiums of them, they shall acquire the same glory as those who are far superior and more excellent than they : when such see, that all arguments have been handled, and they have not what to answer to one of them, they will turn themselves, I judge, to a dissertation about what the republic is, and, comparing their institutes with ours, their obedience and temperance with the negligence which prevails amongst us, they, on this account, will extol Sparta ; which, if they do, prudent men should think they trifle ; for my purpose was not to dispute about the forms of republics, but to shew, that our city has deserved better of Greece than that of the Lacedæmonians. Now, if they refute some of these things, or can say that others were common, in which they had the superiority, they will deserve just praise : but should they speak of what I have made no mention, they will deserve to be looked on as fools by all ; yet since I judge, they will produce the arguments for the forms of the two republics, I shall have no difficulty to handle that topic.

LET no one, tho', imagine, that I have said this of that form of a republic, which we have by force received for the old one, but of that of our ancestors, which our citizens not contemning, hastily seized on this ; and tho' they judged the other far more excellent in other things, yet thought this more adapted to the sovereignty at sea ; by the attainment of which power and wise administration, they might revenge the treachery of the Spartans, and conquer all the strength of the Lacedæmonians, which at that time particularly pressed our city : I wherefore no one can justly accuse those who chose it ; for they were not frustrated of their hopes, nor were they ignorant of the bad or good, which was in either power ; but they sufficiently knew, that a land-

land-power consisted in good order, moderation, obedience, and things of a like nature; but that a maritime power was not encreased by those means, but by naval arts, by those who could manage oars, who had lost their own possessions, and were accustomed to live upon others. Now, it was not hid from them, that when such should flow into the city, both the former discipline must be dissolved, and the affections of allies would be soon changed, when those, to whom before they gave lands and cities, would be obliged to pay those taxes and tributes, which I mentioned lately. But tho' they were ignorant of nothing said by me, they thought it proper, for a city of such greatness, and which had acquired such glory, rather to suffer all difficulties than the empire of the Lacedæmonians. And tho' two things were proposed to them, which were not good, they thought this option preferable, to cause others to suffer rather than themselves; and rather to reign over others unjustly, than, avoïding a fault, serve the Lacedæmonians unjustly: which all prudent persons would certainly chuse and wish; but some few, who profess themselves wise, were they asked, would say the contrary. Now, the causes why they chose that form of government, which is reprehended by some, instead of that which is praised by all, were those I have mentioned.

I WILL now speak of those things I proposed, and of our ancestors, beginning from those times, when there was no mention of the word democracy, or oligarchy, but all the Grecian as well as the Barbarian cities were governed by monarchies. For this reason, I chuse to begin my discourse from a greater distance. In the first place, judging it becomes those who dispute about precedence in virtue, that they should, from their origin, excel others; secondly, because I should be ashamed, if, after having discoursed more than was necessary about persons excellent indeed, but not related to me, I should make no mention of our progenitors, who kept our republic in the most beautiful order, and so far excelled those who are now in power, as far as the most

most mild and prudent men excel the most savage and cruel beasts. For what is there of atrocity in impiety and crimes, which we shall not find in other cities, and especially in those cities which then were the greatest, and are now esteemed so? Shall we not find various murders of brothers, fathers, and guests, committed in them? Shall we not find assassinations of mothers, incestuous beds, and children born by them who bore their fathers? Shall we not find the devouring of children plotted by the nearest related? Shall we not find the exposition of those they had begotten, the drowning of them, the blinding of them, and so many crimes, that none of those who are accustomed to shew, on the theatre, the calamities that then happened, ever wanted matter? I have related these things, not with an intention to reproach them, but to shew, that not only nothing of this nature has been done by ours (for this would be no proof of virtue, but of this only, that our countrymen were different in their natures from the most flagitious); but it becomes those, I say, who distinguishedly praise others, not only to prove, that they are not wicked, but that they have exceeded, in all virtues, both those that have been, and those who now are; which any one may affirm of our ancestors: for they so religiously and honourably managed both the public and their private affairs, as was worthy of such who were first begotten by the gods, built a city, used laws, and, in all times, observed piety towards the gods, and justice towards men. They were neither mixed with others, nor were aliens, but alone of all the Greeks native primæval inhabitants; who had the soil for their nurse, out of which they were born, and loved it in such a manner as the best do their fathers and mothers; who, besides, were so dear to the gods, that what seems very difficult and rare, viz. to find any of royal and monarchical families, who continue four or five centuries, that even this happened to them; for Erichthonius, born of Vulcan and the Earth, received both the palace and kingdom from Cecrops, who had no children: all who were born from him, having received
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the reins of government, who were not a few in number, left their possessions and empires down to Theseus; of whose virtue and actions I wish I had not discoursed before; for it would be a much more proper place to speak of them in this oration, of which our city is the topic. But it was difficult, or rather impossible, that what occurred to me then, should have been reserved to this time, or that I should then foresee this occasion. Let me therefore omit those things, since I have used them on an improper occasion. I will only make mention of one action, which has happened neither to have been mentioned before, nor done by any other than Theseus, and was the greatest proof of his valour and prudence: for having a most secure and large kingdom, in which he had done many and noble things, both in war and the public administration, he despised all this; and rather chose that glory which arises from labours and conflicts, which would be celebrated in all futurity, than inactivity, and that felicity which was in his power, on account of his kingdom. And he did this, not after he was become old, had enjoyed them, or was satiated with his present goods; but, whilst he was in vigour, he left the city to be governed by the people; and he himself never ceased to face dangers both for it and the rest of Greece. And I have here, as far as it was permitted me, made mention of the virtue of Theseus; and I made mention before, and not negligently, of all his virtues. But of those persons merits, who undertook the administration of that city, which he gave them, I know not what I can say that is sufficiently worthy; who, tho' they were ignorant of the forms of republics, yet erred not in their choice, but chose that republic, which is acknowledged by all not only the most humane and equitable, but the most beneficial and pleasant to all that use it; for they constituted such a democracy, as did not administer things rashly, or think insolence liberty; the licence of doing as each pleases, happiness; but which reprehended those things, and was managed by an aristocracy: which form, tho' it is useful, the vulgar rank with that which consists

sists in the valuation of estates ; not that they err by stupidity, but because they never consider things of this nature. I say, the forms of republics are threefold only ; an oligarchy, a democracy, and a monarchy. They who live under these forms, and chuse those for magistrates, who are the most proper for all other offices, and will administer the public affairs in the most just and best manner ; I say, those in each republic order their lives most wisely in respect of themselves and others ; but that they, who make use of the most rash and wicked citizens in these offices, such who regard not what is profitable to the city, but are ready to submit to any thing for satiating their avarice, who would have their cities filled with inhabitants who resemble the magistrates in improbity : I judge those, on the contrary, to be the worst consultors for their own and the people's good. But as for such, who neither act thus, nor as I said before, but while they are in safety, honour those most who flatter them ; and, as soon as they begin to fear, have recourse to the best and most prudent ; these, I judge, will, by turns, manage their affairs sometimes better, and sometimes worse. Such, therefore, is the nature of republics and commonwealths.

I BELIEVE these topics will furnish to others more words than have been spoken ; but I ought not to dispute any longer about them, but of the republic only of our ancestors : for I have promised to demonstrate this of more value, and to have been the cause of more goods, than that constituted in Sparta. Now, my discourse to those who willingly hear me reasoning about a wise republic, will neither be troublesome, nor out of season, but connected with what I have said before ; but to those who love not these things, tho' spoken with great care, but are chiefly pleased with such who abuse others in public assemblies, or, if they abstain from such frenzy, praise the most vile things, or the worst of all men who ever lived, I doubt not but this oration will seem longer than it ought to be. But I never esteemed such hearers, nor do others who are prudent ; but those

those who will remember what I have now said, more than any part of the oration, nor will blame the prolixity of the discourse, though it should contain ten thousand lines; but will think it is in their own power to read and look over what part of it they please; yet I esteem those the most, who hear nothing more willingly than an oration which commemorates mens virtues, and the manners of well constituted commonwealths; which would some men, and could they imitate, they would both possess their lives in great glory, and would make their cities happy. I have shewn what sort of hearers I desire of my oration; but I am afraid, if such are present, lest I should seem to express myself in a far meaner manner than those things require which I am going to speak of.

THEREFORE, that our city, in those times, was better governed than others, we may justly attribute to those kings whom I lately mentioned. It was they who instructed the people in virtue, justice, and great moderation, and taught them, by their own administration, what I am going to mention, after they had shewed it by example, that the form of every commonwealth is, as it were, the soul, which has the same power as prudence in the body; for it is the administration which must deliberate about every thing, preserve prosperity, and avoid adversity, and be the effective cause of the good which happens to cities, which the people, upon the change, did not forget; but took more care of this than other things to chuse leaders, who desired a popular state, and were endowed with such manners as they were, who governed them before; nor did they negligently chuse such as no one would trust any thing of his private affairs to; nor permit those, who were evidently bad, to have any share in the government, nor so much as bear their voice, who disgraced their own bodies, and yet pretended to advise others how they should govern the state, how they should become prudent, and manage affairs better. They would not suffer this; nor would they bear the voice of those who had spent their paternal substance in in-
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famous pleasures, and sought to seek, in the public monies; a remedy for their private poverty; nor their voice neither, who always seek to flatter, and, by so doing, throw those who listen into trouble and calamities. All will judge, that such men as these should be removed from all public counsels; and, besides those, such as say all private possessions belong to the city, and yet are not afraid to plunder those, which are its right, and who pretend to love the people, but render them odious to all; who, in words, fear for the Greeks, but, in fact, injuring and calumniating them in such a manner, that they make others so affected towards us, that such cities as are besieged would sooner admit the besiegers into their walls than our garisons. A person must be worn out with writing, should he attempt to expose all their crimes and villainy: which crimes being detested by our fathers, equally with such as were guilty of them, they did not make any counsellors and magistrates, but the most prudent, the best, and who had lived the most innocent lives. The same they made generals, and sent as ambassadors on occasions, and committed all the magistracies to them; thinking, that those, who, in a public speech, both would and could give the best advice, that they alone, and in all places, and about all business, would retain the same sentiments; which indeed happened. By means of this prudent judgment, they saw, in a few days, written laws, not of such a nature as the present, nor full of such confusion and contradictions, that those in force signify no more than those that were annulled; but at first few, which yet would suffice those who were to use them, and were easy to be understood; then, such as were just, useful, and consistent with one another, and tending more to promote a good public oeconomy, than even private commerce; such as the laws ought to be amongst those who live in a well-regulated commonwealth. About the same time, they invested with magistracies, those who were chosen by the companies and citizens; not making those magistracies subjects of ambition, or worthy of desire, but more like those

those offices which give trouble, but reflect honour on the employed ; for it became those who were chosen to govern, to neglect their private affairs, and to abstain as much from those fines, which are usually given to the magistracy, as religiously as from the donations to temples. (But who would suffer this custom now ?) Such who diligently executed their offices, after a moderate encomium, they destined to another employment ; but those who had the least failed, incurred the greatest disgraces and penalties : so that none of the citizens, as now, desired magistracies ; but it was more agreeable to avoid than obtain them ; and all thought there could not be a more equitable republic, and more beneficial for the people, than that which gave them an immunity from such functions, but made them masters of electing magistrates, and taking punishment of the delinquent ; which happens likewise under the happiest kings. This is an evident sign, that they loved what I say is best ; for it is certain, that the people opposed the other forms of a republic, which displease, overturned them, and slew the governors ; but made use of this no less than a thousand years, and continued in it from the time when it began down to the age of Solon, and regency of Pisistratus ; who being made a governor of the people, much prejudiced the republic, and cast out the best citizens, as lovers of an oligarchy, and at last dissolved the popular state, and made himself monarch.

PERHAPS some will say, that I speak absurdly (for this oration may be spoken against), because I dare express myself as if perfectly acquainted with those affairs I was not present at when they were transacted. Now, I judge, I do nothing of this rashly ; for if I alone believed what is said of the antients, and those writings which have been handed down to us, I might be justly blamed. But it is evident, that many and prudent men do the same. Besides, if I was called upon to give proofs, I could do it, that all men acquire more sciences by hearing than seeing ; yet we ought not to neglect such reprehensions (for, perhaps, if no one

answered, they might prejudice truth), nor yet dwell too long on refuting them; but, after having hinted reasons whereby such may be proved to trifle, to return from the digression to our subject, and finish what remains; which I shall do.

It is already shewn sufficiently, what was the order of the republic which then was, and the time which we used it; it remains, that we recite the actions which arose from a well-regulated republic. By these it will be clearer understood, that our ancestors had a better and more moderate government than others; and that they made use of such counsellors, as it becomes prudent men. But before I explain myself on these heads, I must speak a few prefatory words to these critics; for if, neglecting their reprehensions, who can do nothing else but find fault, I should relate in order both their other actions, and the military conduct, by the means of which our ancestors conquered the Barbarians, and became famous among the Greeks; it must happen, that some will say, that I recite the laws which Lycurgus made, and the Spartans use. I indeed confess, that I shall mention many things which are received amongst them; not that Lycurgus invented, or first thought of them, but that he imitated the government of our ancestors in the best manner which he could, and constituted amongst them a democracy, tempered with an aristocracy, such as was amongst us; made the magistrates be elected not by lots, but votes, and rendered as sacred by law the election of those elders who preside over all things, as it is said our ancestors did in the election of those who were chosen into the Areopagus: besides, he gave them the same authority which he knew our senate had. That therefore he regulated their affairs as ours were formerly, it is easy for those who are desirous, to be informed by many. But that the Spartans neither exercised the arts of war before, nor better than our countrymen, I judge I shall make so manifest by those conflicts and battles, which, it is confessed, happened at that time, that not even they, who are foolishly partisans, of

of the Lacedæmonians shall be able to contradict my words, nor those either who admire, envy, and endeavour to imitate us.

I SHALL make an exordium of what I am going to say, perhaps unpleasant to some in the hearing, but not useless in the narration ; for if any one say, that these two cities have been authors of great good to the Grecians, and of the greatest calamities after the expedition of Xerxes, he must appear to speak the truth to all those who know any thing of the actions of those times ; for they fought bravely against his power ; and, when they had done this, and it became them to have consulted wisely about what remained, they fell, I do not say, into that folly, but madness, that, with him who had attacked, and designed to have entirely destroyed both these cities, and oppressed the other Greeks with slavery ; with such a one, I say, whom they might easily have conquered both by sea and land, they made a perpetual peace, as with one who had been a benefactor ; and envying one another's virtues, and falling into mutual war and emulation, they ceased not destroying themselves, and other Grecians, till they had given the greatest opportunity to the enemy of reducing our city to the extreme danger by their power, and again of reducing theirs by the power of us. And when they had been so far surpassed in prudence by a barbarous king, they neither grieved then in a becoming manner the calamities they suffered, nor as was worthy of themselves ; nor does it now shame some of the Grecian cities to flatter for his wealth. For the Argives and Thebans helped him to conquer Egypt ; we, and the Lacedæmonians, though there is an alliance betwixt us, are more hostilely inclined towards one another, than against those we fight with. Of which this is no small proof : for we consult in common about no one thing ; but we separately both of us send ambassadors to him, hoping, that whichever city he favours, will render itself master of Greece ; not observing, that he is wont to insult those who serve him, but endeavours, by all methods, to

end contentions with such as oppose and condemn his power.

I HAVE related these things, not ignorant that some will be bold enough to say, that I have used discourse foreign to my subject. But I think, that no discourses were ever spoke, that could agree better than those with what went before, or by which any one can better shew that our ancestors were pruder than they in things of the greatest moment; I mean, those who governed our city, as well as those who governed the Spartan city after the war with Xerxes; for it is certain, that they, in those times, made peace with the Barbarians, and ruined themselves and other cities, and now would command the other Greeks, and send ambassadors to contract friendship, and make an alliance with the Persians. But they who before held our city, did nothing of this nature, but quite the contrary; for they as resolutely abstained from Grecian cities, as religious persons from the consecrated gifts in temples; and they thought that the most just and necessary war, which by all mankind was carried on against the savageness of wild beasts: the next to this, that which was by all the Grecians against the Barbarians, who were both enemies by nature, and in all times ill-intentioned to us. I have not made this oration out of my own invention, but from my reasoning upon their actions; for seeing other cities entangled in many distresses and wars, and their own only well governed, they judged it neither became them, who were wiser, and managed their republic better than others, either to disregard, or let those cities which were of consanguinity with them perish: but that they ought to consider how, and endeavour to free them from their present evils. Having thus thought, they tried, by embassies and arguments, to put an end to the dissensions of those cities, which were less disordered; but to those who laboured more under seditions, they sent those of the greatest authority among their citizens, who gave them counsel about such things as were then in agitation, and conversing with those, who, on account of poverty, could
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not live in their own country, and were by nature worse disposed than was convenient for the laws (such usually ruin cities); such, I say, they persuaded to make war along with them, and seek a better life than that which they then led. There being many who chose these terms, and obeyed their counsels, composing armies of them, they, after their having overthrown and driven out all those Barbarians, who held the islands, and who inhabited both the shores of the continent, placed those of the Greeks there who were in the greatest indigence. And they never ceased to act, and shew this to others, until they heard, that the Spartans had subjected to themselves the Peloponnesian cities. Afterwards, they were forced to turn their minds to their own affairs. What good then came from that war carried on about the colonies and seizure of lands? (for, I judge, most will be desirous of hearing this.) I answer, that the Greeks became richer in all the necessaries of life, and were more at concord, by being freed from such and so many men, that the Barbarians were driven out of their country, and became more submissive than before; and that those who were the authors of these things, were made famous, and doubled the extent of Greece. Therefore I cannot find a greater benefit, or a more universal one done the Grecians. But, perhaps, we shall have to mention what will be more related to military knowledge, and tho' worthy of less honour, yet manifest to all: for who is ignorant, or who has not heard in the feast of Bacchus from the tragedians, what happened to Adrastus among the Thebans? who endeavouring to restore the son of Œdipus, and his own son-in-law, lost a great many of the Argives, but saw all his centurions slain; and he having shamefully saved himself, when he could not obtain an agreement, nor carry off the dead for burial, becoming a suppliant to our city, while Theseus governed it, prayed that it would not suffer such men to lie unburied, and an antient institute and native custom to be abrogated, which all men use, not as having been invented by mortal understanding, but as commanded by divine

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power; which Theseus having heard, and making no delay, he sent embassadors to Thebes, who might persuade them to take a more pious resolution concerning the dead, and give a more equitable answer than the former; and might hint this, that our city would not permit them to infringe the common law of Greece: which they who then governed in Thebes having heard, they were not of that sentiment which some are about those things, nor persisted in what they first decreed; but when they had pleaded their cause with moderation, and accused the besiegers, they gave the power to our city of taking away the dead bodies.

NOR let any one imagine, I am ignorant, that I now seem to speak contrary to what I wrote in the panegyric concerning these things. But I think none of those, who can understand them, will be so foolish, or full of envy, as not to praise me, and judge I acted prudently, that I spoke then in that manner, and now in this. I know I have wrote on these topics justly and profitably; but how much at that time our city excelled in warlike actions (for designing to demonstrate this, I related what had happened at Thebes), I think that action evidently shews to all, which forced the Argive king to be suppliant to our city, and reduced the Theban lords to those straits, that they chose rather to obey the messages sent by our city than the law of a deity. Nothing of which could have been well performed, unless our city had far excelled the rest in authority and power.

HAVING many and noble actions to mention of our ancestors, I am doubtful in what method I shall treat of them; for I am more solicitous about that than any other thing. I am now come to the last part of the discourse which I designed; in which I promised to prove, that our ancestors excelled the Spartans in wars and battles. This oration will seem most incredible to the vulgar, but others will know it to be true. Just now I doubted, whether I should first relate the conflicts and battles of the Spartans, or those of our countrymen; but I now chuse to relate

late the battles of the former, that I may finish this oration upon these two cities, by their more glorious and equitable actions. After that the Dorians, who had marched with an army into Peloponnesus, had divided the cities into three divisions, and had extorted the lands from such as had justly possessed them; they, who had for their lot Argos and Messena, administered their commonwealths almost in the same manner as the other Grecians. As for the third part, whom we call Lacedæmonians, those, who have thoroughly examined their history, say, that they were more seditious than any other of the Greeks; and when those, who had more elevated minds than the vulgar, were become masters, they took not such measures as are usually taken by those who have suffered by sedition; for they judged others, who allow those who have moved a sedition, to live in the city, and be partakers of all advantages excepting magistracies, very imprudent, if they imagine they can govern the commonwealth with security, while they inhabit with those whom they have trespassed against. They say, the Spartans did no such thing; but made an equality amongst themselves, and such a democracy, as it becomes those to make who would always live in concord; but that they placed the common people about them in the neighbourhood, oppressing their minds with slavery, no less than those of their servants. After they had done this, tho' it was just that all should have received an equal portion of land, they seized, tho' they were but a few, not only the best part, but so much as no others of the Greeks have; and they only divided the worst part amongst the multitude, that, cultivating it with a great deal of labour, they might scarce have daily food. Afterwards their numbers being divided, they made the vulgar and greatest part plant themselves in a very narrow compass, called by names like those who dwell in cities, but having less power than the commonest people amongst us. When they had thus deprived them of all which it is just freemen should enjoy, they imposed on them the greatest share of dangers; for in those expedi-

expeditions, when the king headed their army, they obliged them to stand man by man by themselves; and some they chose, who were to be placed before the first phalanx; and, if it was necessary to send succour in labours and danger, and lighten the tediousness of length of time, they would send these to run the hazards of others. Why need I say more, in enumerating all the contumelies done the multitude? rather, after mentioning the greatest evil, let us omit the rest; for it is permitted the ephori, without passing judgment, to slay as many as they will, of those who, from the beginning, have suffered such hardships, and on occasion are so useful; tho' it is not thus permitted the other Greeks to kill the most profligate slaves.

I THEREFORE have spoke more at large of their manner of treating their domestics, and the faults committed against them, that I might ask of those admirers of all the Spartans actions, whether they approve of these, and the wars they have had with the inferior class? for I think they have been great, and cruel, and the causes of calamities to the conquered, but of profits to the victors; for the sake of which they always continue fighting, but such battles indeed as are neither religious, reputable, honourable, nor glorious, for those who claim that excellence which consists not in arts and many other things, but that which grows up in the mind with piety and justice, and about which is all this discourse; which some despising, praise them, altho' they have committed more faults than others: nor do they observe, that they betray their own minds, and shew that they would praise those who dared to kill their brothers, friends, and partners, if they might enjoy their possessions: for such crimes are like those which the Spartans have committed, which whosoever approve of, must have the same sentiment about what I have mentioned. I wonder there should be any, who do not think that battles and victories, gained contrary to right, are more shameful, and disgraced by infamy, than defeats received without cowardice; especially since they

they know, that great but wicked armies are often superior to good men, and those who chuse to run dangers for their country; whom we may with much more justice praise, than those who are ready to die for acquiring others properties, and are like to mercenary troops; for these are the actions of desperate men. But that good men sometimes should more unsuccessfully make war than aggressors in injuries, some one perhaps will say, proceeds from the negligence of the gods. This argument I may use in regard of those calamities which befel the Spartans at Thermopylæ, which all who have ever heard of, praise and admire more than those battles which were gained over adversaries, but were fought against those they ought not to have been: which victories some take a pleasure in praising, being ignorant that nothing is religious or honest, which is not said and done with justice; which never was the care of the Spartans: for they have in view nothing else, but to seize on others properties as much as possible. But our citizens never laboured any thing with such ardor, as to flourish with glory amongst the Greeks; for they thought, that no sentence could be more true or equitable than such as was given by the whole nation. They shewed they were of this mind, both by their behaviour in the administration of the republic, and their other actions; for in all the three wars which happened betwixt the Greeks and Barbarians, besides the Trojan, our city was the chief: one of which was that carried on against Xerxes, in which our citizens as far excelled the Lacedæmonians as they did all others; the other was that which happened at the time when the colonies were established, and to which none of the Dorians came as succours: but our city, becoming the leader of the indigent, and of as many others as would, changed affairs so, that it was the cause, tho' the Barbarians were accustomed to seize the greatest Grecian cities, that the Greeks could do what they before had suffered. Of these two wars enough has been said in the preceding oration; I will now make mention of the third, which was raised when the Grecian cities

cities were lately rebuilt, and ours yet obeyed the king; during which period, both the dreadfulest wars and the greatest dangers happened; all which I can neither imagine or explain. Omitting therefore the greatest part of what was done at that time, but not necessary to be mentioned at present, I will, as briefly as I can, endeavour to speak of those who attacked our city, and those battles which were worthy of remembrance; as likewise of our captains, the causes pretended, and the power of those nations which followed them: for these things will suffice; besides what we have said of the adversaries. The Thracians, indeed, with Eumolpus the son of Neptune, made an inroad upon our lands, and contended for the city with Erietheus, saying, that Neptune, before Minerva, had seized on it; and the Scythians, with the Amazons, who were said to be begotten by Mars, undertook an expedition on account of Antiope, the sister of Hippolita, who had both violated the laws that were sacred amongst them, and captivated with the love of Theseus, had followed and been married to him: but the Peloponnesians doing the same with Eurystheus, who had not suffered for those injuries which he had done Hercules, and he undertaking a war against our ancestors, as if he would take thence his children (for they had fled to us), suffered that which was due to his merits; for he was so far from performing what he had written in his letters, that he would bring the supplicants under his power, that, conquered in a battle, and taken by our men, he finished his life, after he had begged it of those whom he had demanded. After this, when those sent by Darius to ravage Greece, had made a descent at Marathon, and they were involved in more distresses and greater calamities than they hoped to have brought upon our city, they were all forced to fly out of Greece. Our ancestors, therefore, when they had conquered all those who did not invade them at the same time, but as opportunity, their utility, or counsels happened, and had repulsed their injuries, were not changed when they had done such great things, nor suffered the same

as those, who, because they had consulted prudently, and had acquired great wealth and glory, being elated by such grandeur, and blinded by pride, were deprived of reason, and reduced to a more humble and worse state than what they were in before. But avoiding this, they persevered in their own institutes, because they had a better government; conceiving higher thoughts from the habit of their minds, and prudence, than from the past battles, and because they would be more admired by others for this constancy and moderation, than that valour which they shewed amidst labours and dangers; for they all perceived, that many of those who exceed in wickedness, have warlike bravery; but that the bad are void of that virtue, which is useful in all things, and can benefit every one; and that it is inherent in them alone, who are happily born, educated, and instructed, which those, who then governed the city, were possessed of, and thereby were the authors of all the felicity I have mentioned above.

I HAVE observed others to conclude their orations with the greatest and most memorable transactions. Indeed I think those who so judge and so do, to be wise men; but as it is not permitted me to do the same, I must extend my oration beyond those bounds. The reason why I do so, I shall mention hereafter, when I have spoken of those advocates for the Spartans. I was correcting this oration, when it was written so far as we are come, with three or four young persons who used to converse with me; when we had read it over, it seemed to be well composed, and only to want a conclusion; yet I judged it proper to send for some one of those who had been my scholars, but had lived in an oligarchy, and had always affected to praise the Lacedæmonians; that if any thing falsely spoken had escaped me, he, by his quick perception, might acquaint me with it. When he therefore came, and had read the oration, he found nothing which I had written amiss, but praised it very much, and said of each part almost the same as we judged; tho' it appeared he did not approve of those things which had

had been said of the Lacedæmonians. He soon shewed it ; for he dared to say, that, had they been authors of no other good to the Greeks, yet all should be justly grateful to them on this account, that, having invented the noblest institutes, they themselves had used them, and had shewn them to others. This so short and brief an assertion, was the reason I did not finish the oration as I designed, but thought I should act shamefully, and with meanness, if, being present myself, I should suffer any of my disciples to use such indecent expressions. Thinking in this manner, I asked of him, if he had no value for the persons present, nor was ashamed of an impious and false position, which was likewise full of contradictions. You will understand, added I, that it is such, if you ask of the prudent what institutes they judge the most beautiful ; and, again, how long it is since the Spartans have inhabited Peloponnesus. There is none but will think the chief of all institutes to be piety towards the gods, justice towards men, and prudence in other things. All will say, the Spartans have not inhabited there above seven hundred years. These things being so, if you say the truth, when you assert that they were the inventors of the best institutes, it necessarily follows, that those who were born many ages before the Spartans had settled there, were not partakers of them ; neither those who fought at Troy, nor those born in the time of Hercules and Theseus, nor Minos the son of Jupiter, nor Rhadamanthus, nor Æacus, nor any of the rest who are now celebrated in hymns for these virtues, but all of them enjoy a false honour. But if you trifle, and it is reasonable that those who were born of gods, should both have practised these virtues more than others, and have shewed them to posterity, it cannot happen otherwise, but that you must seem extravagant to the hearers, when you praise any in so rash and such an unjust a manner ; and commend those who deserve reprehension, as if you had heard nothing of my oration. Thus you had erred before, but had not spoken contradictions ; but when I have produced my oration, which shews,

shews, that the Lacedæmonians have committed many and heinous actions against their relations and other Greeks, how could you say, that those who were guilty of such crimes, were the chief authors of the noblest institutes? Besides, I wondered, that you should be ignorant, that it is not every one who finds out that which is either wanting to institutes, arts, or any other things, but those who excel in genius, have been able to learn the most antient sciences, and have applied their minds more than others to new inventions; from all which the Lacedæmonians are remoter than the very Barbarians: for it will appear, that these have been both the scholars and teachers of many inventions; but the others have been so averse to common learning and philosophy, that they learn not letters; which have such power, that whosoever know them well, and use them rightly, know not only what is done in their own age, but what was done in all times. Yet you, I say, have dared to call those who are ignorant of such things, the inventors of the noblest discipline; and tho' you know this, that they habituate their children to such exercises, by which they may not become benefactors to Greece, but may prejudice it much as possible. And should I reckon up all their exercises, I should cause a great nausea both in myself and hearers. But when I have mentioned only one, which they love, and are fondest of, I think I shall have demonstrated all their manners; for they send their youth, as soon as they rise, into the fields, on pretence of hunting, but, in fact, to rob those who live in the country: in which case, should they be taken, they pay money, and are lashed for it; but those who have committed more crimes, and could carry off something, are more celebrated among the boys than others; and when they arrive at manhood, if they continue in these practices they loved when boys, they stand the fairest chance for the highest magistracies. Now, if any one can shew me any part of their discipline more loved by them, or more honoured, I will confess I have hitherto said nothing to any purpose. But what is there noble, what honest, nay,

not worthy of shame, in such actions? How can any one do otherwise than esteem them mad, who praise those who have so far departed from the sense of common laws, and think not, in this respect, either with Greeks or Barbarians? for these think the mischievous and thieves worse than slaves: the other, those boys, who are chief in such actions, the best among their fellows, and honour them the most. But what prudent man would not chuse rather to die, than be known, by such practices, to imagine he could introduce virtue?

WHEN he had heard this, he did not confidently oppose any thing I said, nor yet was entirely silent; but added, you indeed (meaning me) have spoke in such a manner, as if I approved of all those things, and think they are right. You seem to me justly to blame them for the licentiousness of their children, and many other things, but yet to find fault with me unjustly: for I was sorry, while I read the oration, not so much for what was said in it against the Lacedæmonians, as because I, who was hitherto accustomed to praise them, had nothing to oppose. When I was reduced to these straits, I said what remained to me, viz. that we ought to be grateful to them, if on no other account, at least on this, that they used the most beautiful institutes. I said not this with a view either to piety, justice, or prudence, which you mentioned, but to the gymnastic games, their exercises of fortitude, their concord, and, in a word, their military arts, which all will confess to be noble, and they chiefly to use them.

HE having said this, I received his answer, not as if he had refuted any thing of my accusation; but as hiding what was the most vehemently said, not illiterately, but wisely, and as having defended the other things more modestly than he at first boasted. But omitting this, I told him, I had a more grievous accusation against what he last had said, than about the boys thieving; for by that exercise, said I, they have corrupted their own children; but by what you now have mentioned, they have ruined Greece. It is an easy

matter to know this; for, I think, all will confess, that those are the worst of men, and worthy of the greatest punishments, who use things which were invented for good, to the ruin of others, not of Barbarians, nor delinquents, nor of those who invade their country, but of those who are most united with them by alliances and blood; which the Spartans have done. Now, how can any one say, that they use the military art well, who have never ceased to destroy those at all times, whom they ought to have preserved? But you are not the only person ignorant of what they use well, but almost all the Greeks; for as soon as they have seen any do so, or have heard from others, that they ardently study those things which are esteemed laudable, they immediately praise them, and make many discourses of them, tho' they do not know what will happen. But it becomes those who would judge with sanity, to be calm in things of this nature in the beginning, and have no opinion about them; but when such a time is elapsed, that they have been observed speaking and acting both in private and public affairs, then we should consider each of them accurately, and honour and praise those who apply with justice and integrity those studies which they have chosen, but to reprehend the delinquent and profligate, and shun their example; reflecting, that the nature of things neither benefit or prejudice us, but that the use made of them by men, and their actions, are the causes to us of all events. This any one may know from hence; for the same things every where, and no ways differing, are useful to some, and hurtful to others: but it is not consonant to reason, that each thing should have a nature contrary to itself, and not be the same; yet that nothing should happen of a like nature to those who act rightly and justly, which happens to those who live lustfully and shamefully, will appear no mystery to those who reason justly. The same discourse would hold good about concord; for it is of a similar nature with other virtues: but yet I affirm, that one sort of concord is the cause of many goods, but the other of many calamities; and

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such is that of the Spartans: for the truth shall be spoken, tho' I may seem to some to say what is incredible. They taking it for an opportunity, that they understood from travellers, how the Greeks were at variance amongst themselves, so behaved, as if they thought that rapine was art, and that what is the greatest calamity to other cities, they believed most beneficial to themselves. By this means, it was in their power to treat those cities which were so afflicted, as they pleased. Therefore none can justly praise them for their concord any more than pirates, and those who are occupied in other malevolent actions and injustices; for they, by agreement among themselves, slay others. But if I should seem to make a comparison unworthy of their glory, I will omit it; and say then, that the Treballi, whom all allow to agree better together than all other men, yet slay not only their neighbours, and those who dwell near to them, but all others which they can reach; whom certainly it does not become those, who are lovers of virtue, to imitate, but the beauty of wisdom, of justice, and other virtues. Yet those virtues benefit not their own natures, but render those they come to, and remain with, happy. But the Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, ruin those they approach, and claim the goods of others as their own lawful possession.

WHEN I had said this, I silenced him I spoke against, an able man, experienced in many things, and as well versed in the art of speaking as any of my disciples. But all the youths that were with me, were not of the same sentiment as I; yet they praised me, as having disputed more ardently than they had expected, and contended nobly; but him they despised, not judging wisely, but mistaking about both: for he went away wiser, and with such a humble mind, as becomes wise men, and experiencing something of a like nature with what is mentioned in the Delphian oracle: he understood himself, and the Lacedæmonians, better than before. But I was left successful enough in the dispute, yet left more foolish on that account, and

and bolder than becomes persons of my age, full of juvenile perturbation. It appeared I was so affected; for as soon as I had leisure, I did not rest before I dictated to my boy that oration which I had made a little before with so much pleasure, tho' it was a little after like to give me trouble; for though I had written all things in it nobly and justly, yet I grieved, and was sorry for what I said of the Lacedæmonians: for I did not seem to myself to have spoken moderately of them, nor as of others, but negligently, with too much acrimony, and an entire inconsideration. Wherefore, often inclined to blot it out, or burn it, I changed my purpose, pitying my old age, and the labour I had employed in its composition. While I was in this trouble, and often repented, I thought it most prudent, after calling those of my disciples who were in the city, to deliberate with them, whether this oration was to be suppressed, or delivered to those who would receive it; and determined to do what seemed proper to them. Resolving thus, I made no delay; but they were soon called together whom I mentioned. I told them on what occasion they were met, and the oration was read. It was praised, received with applause, and obtained all the ends which those do who succeed in orations of the declamatory kind. This being over, the others disputed among themselves about what had been read; but he, whom I had first consulted, him, I mean, who praised the Lacedæmonians, and with whom I had disputed more than I ought; after he had ordered silence and looked at me, said, he doubted what he should do at present; that he would neither disbelieve the things I had advanced, nor yet entirely assent to them. I wonder, says he, if you were so grieved or sorry, as you intimate, for those things which have been spoken of the Lacedæmonians (for I see nothing of such a nature as to deserve repentance), or whether you did not designedly call us together to consult about the oration, and whom you well knew would praise whatever you say or do. Prudent persons are accustomed to communicate those writings which they finish with great labour, especially to those

who are wiser than themselves; at least, with those who will give their opinion freely; the contrary of which you have done: neither of which reasons I approve of. But you seem to me to have caused this meeting of ours, and composed the panegyric of the city not in a simple view, nor as you have said to us, but because you had a mind to make trial of us, whether we seriously apply ourselves to our studies, and remember those things we heard during our instruction, and perceive the method and art of the oration. You indeed seem prudently to praise your city, that you may please the multitude of citizens, and acquire glory amongst those who are benevolent to us. When you had determined upon this, you thought, if you made mention of it alone, and spoke of those fabulous things which all mens mouths are full of, all that you said would look like what had been written by others; for which you would have been greatly ashamed and grieved: but that, if omitting these things, you should recite those actions which are allowed true by all, and have been the causes of many goods to the Grecians, and compare them with those of the Lacedæmonians, and extolled the actions of our ancestors, but depreciated those done by them, your oration would seem more full of energy to the hearers, and you would dwell on those topics, which some would admire more than other writings. You therefore seem to me to have disposed things so, and designed them from the beginning; but being conscious that you have praised the city of Sparta beyond any other men, you seem to have been apprehensive lest the hearers should think you like those who throw out all that presents itself to their imaginations; and therefore now dispraise those whom you had elevated more than others. Intending this, you seem to me to have considered, by what method of describing them you might seem to speak truth of both, praise your ancestors as you pleased, and seem to such as are ill-disposed towards the Spartans, to accuse them, but, in fact, do no such thing, but write their hidden encomium. When you had this in view, you seem easily

easily to have found ambiguous words, and which are no more adapted to those who praise than those who dispraise, but such as may be bent both ways, and have many doubtful lights. To use which, for him who disputes about contracts and properties, would be shameful, and no small sign of improbity; yet they sufficiently agree with a discourse treating of the nature of men, noble actions, and learning; such as is that oration which has now been recited, wherein you have represented your ancestors as pacific, and lovers of Greece, and the chief authors of a just administration in republics; but have made the Spartans proud, martial, coveting others properties, and such as all have thought them. Each of them having such dispositions, it is probable that the first will be praised, and judged benevolent to the multitude, and that many will envy and malign the others; yet that some still will praise them, admire them, and dare to say, that they are endowed with greater goods than their ancestors; for they will assert, that pride has an allied nature to majesty, which is a laudable quality, and that persons tinctured with it, seem to all more magnificent than such as are authors of equality; that warlike men are far more excellent than such as are studious of peace: for these can neither acquire what is not present, nor be stout guardians of their possessions; but that the others can do both, seize what they desire, and preserve whatever they have possessed themselves of: which they do who appear compleat men. But they think, they have more plausible words to plead for the desire of new acquisitions; for as for such as defraud in contracts, deceive others, and impose on them, they do not judge them just, but avaritious; and, by gaining bad reputation, they are disappointed in all things. But that the desire of more in the Spartans, kings, and tyrants, is to be wished for, that all would do the same, and none reproach or execrate those who are endowed with such abilities; nor is there any one of so abject a mind, but he prays to the gods, that he chiefly may acquire such a power, or, if not, his nearest relations. From whence it is clear,

that, to excel in this, we all think the greatest good. You therefore seem to me to have made your oration with such a design. But if I thought you would spare your words, and let my discourse pass without a reprehension, I would stop here. Now, I suppose, you are not solicitous that I have not declared my opinion about what we were called here to consult on; for when you called us, I could not think you acted seriously in the affair; but I judged you had resolved to compose an oration unlike your former, which, to negligent readers, would appear plain and easy, but to those who diligently read it, and endeavoured to see into what had escaped others, would appear difficult and scarcely to be understood; full of many histories, and abounding in all variety of erudition and polite fiction; not such indeed as would prejudice the citizens, but which would benefit the hearers, and please them with its urbanity: which you shall not say I examine in that light you designed I should; yet when I have shewn the force of what is said, I do not perceive I shall make the oration so much more illustrious, as elucidate it, and make it more clear to the readers: for while I give knowledge to the ignorant, I depreciate not the oration, nor deprive those who labour and are industrious, of the honour which might redound to them. I acknowledge my prudence to be much inferior to yours; but tho' I know this, yet while your city deliberates about the greatest affairs, sometimes the wisest err in respect of public good; and of those who are esteemed mean and contemptible, some one has sometimes thought right, and seemed to speak what was best. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if something of this nature has happened in regard of this discourse, whereby you judge you will become most famous, if you argue as long as possible; in which disposition you composed this oration. But I think you will act most wisely, if you make that intention, which you had in the composition, evident to all others, and to the Lacedæmonians; of whom you have spoken much, sometimes justly and gravely, and sometimes in too reproachful a manner,

ner, and liable to odium ; which had any one shewed them, before I had reasoned on the subject, they must have hated, and been of an ill-disposed mind to you, as against a person who had written an accusation against them. But now I judge the Spartans will continue in their antient custom, and no more heed the orations spoken here than what is said beyond the pillars of Hercules : but as for the most prudent of them, who have some of your orations, and admire them if they get a reader, and have leisure, they will be ignorant of nothing that is said ; but will observe the praises which are interspersed of their city, with the enumeration of its actions, and will contemn the reproaches, which, in regard of fact, are spoken rashly, and expressed with harshness ; and will think some words in your discourse suggested by envy ; but as for the actions and battles, of which they are both proud and rendered famous for, as for them, I say, that you wrote and collected them, that they might be remembered by placing them one after another, and in a parallel light. You they will think to be the cause, why many will be desirous of reading and perusing them ; not that they desire to hear of their actions, but that they would know in what manner you have spoken of them. Thinking of these things, and reflecting on them, they will not forget these antient actions, for which you praised their ancestors, but will often make mention of them amongst one another. How that first, when they were Dorians, and saw their cities ignoble, little, and indigent of many things, neglecting them, they made war against the chief cities of Peloponnesus, against Argos, Lacedæmon, and Messena ; and, after they had conquered the inhabitants in battle, and drove the conquered from their towns and country, that they now hold all their possessions ; a greater and more noble exploit than which none can shew in those times, nor an action more successful or pleasing to the gods, than that which freed those who undertook it from their own poverty, and made them lords of others felicity. This they did jointly with all their allies ; but, after

they had parted the lands with the Argives and Messenians, and had seated themselves apart in Sparta, you say they were so magnanimous at that time, that, when they were no more than two thousand, they thought they were unworthy of living, unless they became masters of all the towns in Peloponnesus. When they had entertained this design, and undertook it, they did not lose courage, tho' surrounded by many miseries and dangers, till they had subjected them all to themselves, except the city of Argos. Having now acquired a very spacious region, the greatest power, and such glory as must attend those who have achieved such noble things, they gloried still no less in this, that they had thus planted themselves alone of all the Greeks, and that this assertion was peculiar and honourable to them only; for it was lawful to them, they said, to affirm, that, while they were so few, they never followed more populous cities, or obeyed their commands, but were at their own disposal always; that they were made the leaders in the war against the Persians, of all the Greeks; that they attained this honour not without reason, but because, tho' they had fought more battles than any men in those times, had never been conquered in any one when their king was general, but had come off victorious in all: a greater sign no one can give of bravery, patience, and concord among one another, than that which shall now be mentioned: for tho' there be such a number of Grecian cities, it is impossible to find any one of the rest, which has not fallen into the calamities incident to cities. But no one can shew, that, in the city of the Spartans, unjust slaughters have been made, or plundering of money happened, or violation of wives and children, nay, a change of government, freeing from just debts, division of lands, or any other incurable evils: which when they reflect on, it cannot be but that they must remember you, who have collected and discoursed so elegantly upon these facts, and have a great gratitude for it. I have not now the same opinion of you which I had before; for, in former times, I admired your ingenuity, the order of
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your life, and chiefly your industry. Now, I emulate your fortune, and think it happy; for it seems to me, that you will enjoy, while living, a glory not indeed greater than you deserve (for that would be difficult) but almost so, and be more illustrious than you are at present; and when you are dead, you will be a partaker of immortality, not that of the gods, but such as propagates the memory of those to posterity, who have excelled in any noble actions: and this you will justly obtain; for you have praised both cities elegantly, as you ought; the one, according to the opinion of the vulgar, which none who were illustrious ever despised, but, to attain its honours, would undergo any dangers; and the other, according to the opinion of those who endeavour, by conjectures, to come at the truth; to be glorious amongst whom some would rather chuse than amongst others, though they were twice as many as they now are. Being fired at this time with incredible ardor, and having many things to say, both of you, the cities, and your oration, I will, notwithstanding, omit these topics; but I will declare my sentiment of what you assembled us for. I will advise you neither to burn this oration, nor suppress it; but if it has any imperfection, correcting it, and inserting all our dissertations, to communicate it to all who may be desirous of perusing it; if you would gratify the best of the Greeks, and such as are true philosophers, and who do not pretend to be so; and would affect those with grief, who admire you more than others, but cavil at your orations in assemblies (in which assemblies, though, there are more who sleep than hear), and who think, if they can deceive such persons, their orations will be equal to those written by you: not reflecting, that they are more inferior to your orations, than those are to Homer's glory, who have attempted to write in the same kind of poetry.

WHEN he had said this, and asked those present to give their opinion of what they were called about, they used no noisy applause, which happens often in hearing elegant discourses;

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courses ; but they cried out, that he had harangued admirably, and, standing round him, praised him, admired him, and esteemed him happy ; and had nothing to add, or take from his words, but declared themselves of his sentiment, and persuaded me to do as he had advised me : nay, I myself was not silent, but praised his ingenuity and studies. Of the rest I said nothing, whether he had hit on my design, or had mistaken it ; but I suffered him to think as he was inclined.

AND I think I have spoken sufficiently of what I proposed ; for it is not proper to recapitulate the particulars of such orations : but I will mention what privately happened to me in this oration ; for I began to write it so old as I have already spoke of ; but having finished the half, a disease seized me, not proper to mention, but which was capable of destroying not only old men in three or four days, but those who are in vigour. With this I struggled three years, while I passed each day so laboriously, that both they who knew it, and they who heard it from others, more admired me for that patience, than for those things for which I was praised before. When I now despaired on account of the distemper, and my old age, some of those who visited me, and had often read that part of the oration which was written, begged of, and persuaded me, that I would not leave it half-finished and imperfect, but labour at it awhile, and apply myself again to what remained. They did not speak this in a slight perfunctory manner, but so as they highly commended the writings, and said those things, which had any heard who were not intimate with us, or moved by some benevolence (it could not otherwise have happened), but such would have thought they designed to impose on me, and that I had lost my senses, and was a mere fool, if I believed them. Being in this state, as some perhaps have said of me, I obeyed them (why should I make more words upon this subject ?), when I wanted but three of being an hundred years old, and was so indisposed, that, had another been in such a bad state of health, he would have been

been so far from writing an oration, that, had another shewn him one he had written, he would not have read it.

BUT for what reason have I mentioned this ? not asking pardon for what I have said ; nor do I think I have written in such a manner : but because I had a mind to shew both what had happened to me, and praise such of the hearers who approved of this oration ; and I think those discourses, which teach and demonstrate some art, of more value and erudition than those which are written for ostentation, or disputes in the forum, and those which have in view truth, better than such as endeavour to deceive the minds of the hearers. Lastly, those which reprehend and admonish the culpable, of more worth than such as are spoken to please and flatter the hearers. And I would advise those who think the contrary, first, not to trust to their own opinions, nor judge those criticisms true, which are passed by indolent persons : in the second place, not rashly to decide of what they do not understand, but suspend their judgment, till they can assent to those who have a greater experience of such things ; if they do this, there is no one will think they act impertinently.

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THE THIRTEENTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

Against the SOPHISTS.

THE SUBJECT

~~W~~ISE men, and teachers of eloquence and philosophy, were at first in Athens called Sophistæ; and this name, in its genuine signification, was very honourable, as was that of Tyrannus, signifying formerly a king. Both lost their meaning in time, and had a quite different one. Thus it happened, that such as were full of arrogance, and pretension only to science, were called sophists; men who made a show and boasting of science a trade. Isocrates inveighs against such, as grossly deceiving themselves and others, and bringing true philosophy and learning into odium and contempt. There is a fine passage of the force of genius, and benefit of education.



THE THIRTEENTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
Against the SOPHISTS.

IF all those who undertake instruction, would speak the truth, nor make greater promises than they can perform, they would not be accused by the illiterate. Now, those who inconsiderately have dared to boast, have been the cause that those men seem to have reasoned better, who indulge their indolence, than such as study philosophy: for, first, who would not detest and despise those who pass their time in sophistic chicanery? who pretend indeed, that they seek truth, but, from the beginning of their promises, labour to speak falsities; for I think it manifest to all, that the faculty of foreknowing future things is above our nature: nay, we are so far from such prudence, that Homer, who, for his wisdom, has acquired the highest fame, has sometimes introduced gods in his poem, consulting about futurity; not that he knew the nature of their minds, but that he would shew to us, that this was one of those things which are impossible for man. These men are arrived at that pitch of insolence, that they endeavour to persuade the younger, that, if they will be their disciples, they shall know what is best to be done, and thereby be made happy; and, after they have erected themselves into teachers of such sublime things, they are not ashamed to ask of them four or five minas;

mines; tho', did they sell any other possession for much less than its value, they would not hesitate to grant themselves mad. But now exposing to sale all virtue and happiness (if we will believe them), they dare argue, that, as being wise men, they ought to be the preceptors of others; yet they say indeed, that they are not indigent of money, while, to diminish its idea, they call it pitiful gold and silver; tho' they require a trifling gain, and only promise to make those next to immortal, who will commence their disciples. But what is the absurdest of all, is, that they are diffident of those very persons from whom they are to receive their reward, though they themselves are to teach them justice; for they make an agreement, that the money shall be deposited with those whom they never taught. Doing right in regard of their own security, but acting contrary to their own promises: for it becomes those who teach any other thing, by a cautious bargain to avoid controversy (for nothing impedes, but that those who are ingenious in other respects, may not be honest in regard of contracts); yet how can it be but absurd, that they, who pretend to teach virtue and temperance as an art, should not chiefly trust to their own disciples; for they who are just towards other men, will certainly not trespass against those, by whom they were made both good and equitable.

WHEN therefore some of the unlearned, considering all these things, see those who profess teaching wisdom and happiness, indigent themselves of many things, requiring a small sum of their scholars, and observing contradictions in silly sentences, though they see them not in actions; professing likewise, that they know futurity, yet not capable of speaking or deliberating properly of things present; and that those are more consistent with themselves, and do more things right who follow common opinions, than those who say they are possessed of wisdom: when they see this, I say, they think such disputations mere trifles, a loss of time in idle things, and not a real improvement of the human mind.

NOX

NOR is it just to blame these men only, but those likewise who profess to teach civil science to the citizens; for they also disregard truth; and think it artful, if they draw as many as possible, by the smallness of the recompence, and the greatness of their promises, and so receive something of them: and they are so stupid, and imagine others so, that tho' they write orations more inaccurate than some who are unlearned speak extempore, yet they promise they will make their disciples such orators, that they shall omit nothing in the nature of things; nay, that they will teach them eloquence, like grammar; not considering the nature of each, but thinking, that, on account of the excellence of their promises, they will be admired, and the study of eloquence seem of higher value; not knowing, that arts render not those famous who insolently boast of them, but those who can find out and express whatever is in them. But I would purchase willingly, at a great price, that philosophy could effect this; perhaps, then, I should not be left the farthest behind, nor have the least share of its benefits: but as the nature of the thing is not so, I would have these triflers to be silent; for I see reflections not only cast upon the faculty, but that all are accused who are conversant in the same studies. I wonder when I see those thought worthy of having scholars, who perceive not they produce a fixed art, and bound down by rules, for example of that which depends chiefly on genius. Is there any one, excepting them, who is ignorant, that, as for letters and grammar, they are unchangeable, and the same, and that we always use the same words about those things; but that the nature of eloquence is quite the contrary: for what has been said by another is not equally useful to him who speaks after; but he is the most excellent in this art, who speaks worthily indeed of his subject, but also those things which never were invented by others. The greatest difference betwixt these arts is this: it is impossible orations should be good, unless there be in them an observation of time and decorum; but there is no need of this in letters.

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Wherefore those who use such foreign examples, ought rather to pay than receive money, because, wanting much instruction themselves, they pretend to teach others. But if I ought not only to accuse others, but explain my own sentiments, all wise men, I believe, will agree with me, that many, studious of philosophy, have led a private life; but that some others, tho' they never were the scholars of sophists, were skilled both in eloquence and governing the state; for the faculty of eloquence, and all other ingenuity, is innate in men, and is the portion of such as are exercised by use and experience; tho' instruction renders such more knowing in art, and better qualified for life; for learning has taught them to draw, as it were, from a store, what else perhaps they would but casually light on. But as for those who are of a weaker genius, it will never render them adroit pleaders, or good orators; but it will make them excel themselves, and become more prudent in many things. Since I am advanced so far, I will speak more clearly of this topic: I say then, it is no difficult matter to learn those forms or orders of things, by which we know how to compose orations, if any one puts himself under the care not of such as easily vaunt themselves, but such as have the real science: but, in regard of what relates to particular things, which we must first see, and mix together, and dispose in order, and, besides, not lose opportunities, but vary the whole discourse with arguments, and conclude it in a harmonious and musical manner: these things, I say, require great care, and are the province of a manly and wise mind; and the scholar must, besides his having necessary ingenuity, perfectly instruct himself in the different kinds of orations, and be exercised in the practice; but it becomes the master to explain all these as accurately as possible, so as to omit nothing which may be taught. As for the rest, shew himself such an example, that they who can imitate and express it, may be able to speak in a more beautiful and elegant manner than others. In whatever regard any thing of what I have mentioned is wanting,

wanting, it must follow, that his disciples will be less perfect.

AND for those sophists who have lately sprung up, and fallen into this arrogance, tho' numerous now, they will be forced at last to conform to my rules. Now, there remain those who were born before us, and have dared to write of arts, not to be dismissed without just reprehension; who have professed, that they would teach how we should plead under an accusation, chusing out the most odious expression of all, which their enviers ought to have done, and not they who preside over this institution; since this, as far as it can be taught, can conduce no more to the composing of law-orations than all others: yet the sophists are worse than those who grovel amidst contentions, because, while they recite such miserable orations, as did any one imitate, he must become unfit for all things, yet affirm, that virtue and temperance are taught in them; but the latter, exhorting to popular orations, and neglecting the other advantages they were possessed of, have suffered themselves to be esteemed teachers of bustling in business, and of gratifying avarice; yet they will sooner assist those who will obey the precepts of this learning, in the habit of equity than eloquence. But let no one think, that I imagine justice can be taught; for I do not think there is any such art which can teach those who are not disposed by nature, either temperance or justice; tho' I think the study of popular eloquence helps both to acquire and practise it. But that I may not seem to accuse other mens promises, and magnify things more than I ought, I judge I shall easily manifest to any one by the same arguments with which I have persuaded myself that these things are so.

THE FOURTEENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
FOR THE
CITY of PLATÆA.

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The S U B J E C T.

INTRODUCTION

PLATÆA was a city of Bæotia, memorable for the defeat of Mardonius, and the destruction of the Persians, which was always more inclined to the Athenians than to the Thebans. The Plataeans, in the time of a general peace, having had their city ruined by the Thebans, because they would not contribute to their public expences, desire of the Athenians to be restored. It is probable it was spoken in a council of the allies, and disputes about law, and is of an animated, vehement character. The Plataeans do not only contend, that an injury has been done them, but they prove their constant benevolence to the Athenians, and exclaim against the treachery of the Thebans. In the conclusion, there is a prolix enumeration of their calamities.



THE FOURTEENTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES:
FOR THE
CITY of PLATÆA.

K NOWING you, O Athenians ! to be accustomed willingly to assist the injured, and shew your gratitude to benefactors, we are come to intreat you not to suffer us, in time of peace, to be destroyed by the Thebans. Since many have fled to you, and obtained all they desired, we think it particularly concerns you to have a great care of our city ; for you will find none to have fallen more unjustly than us into calamities, nor longer to have behaved with fidelity towards your city. And, besides, to intreat you about such things, in which there is no danger, but for which all men, if you listen to us, will esteem you the most religious and just of all the Greeks. Now, did we see the Thebans alone ready to persuade you, that they have not trespassed against us, we should finish our oration in few words ; but since we are come to this point of misery, that we have not a contention with them, but with the most excellent orators, whom they have got for their patrons with our substance, there is a necessity that we should protract our oration.

AND it is difficult not to fall short of what we suffered. What eloquence can equal our calamities? or what oration,

is sufficient to accuse the Thebans for what they have perpetrated against us? But yet we ought to endeavour, in the best manner we can, to render their iniquity manifest. We are particularly filled with indignation on this account, that we are so far from being judged worthy of equal law with the rest of the Grecians, that tho' there be peace and a mutual covenant, we not only are not partakers of common liberty, but are thought undeserving of moderate servitude. We therefore desire of you, O Athenians! to hear us benevolently; reflecting, that what is most unreasonable must happen to us, if you have been the authors of liberty to the Thebans, who always had a mind averse to your republic; and yet we, who are your supplicants, cannot obtain what those have who were your greatest enemies.

AND I do not see why I need to speak more of what has been done. Is any one ignorant, that they have divided our lands, and destroyed our city? In respect of what they may deceive you in by eloquence, we will endeavour to inform you. They dare to say, that they have treated us in this manner, because we would not contribute to their ceremonial expences. In the first place, you ought to consider whether it be just, for so small faults, to exact such cruel punishments; then, whether you think, that the Platæans should not, by persuasion, and not by force, contribute in this manner. I cannot conceive an idea of any more audacious than such as overthrow cities, and will force those who have no need of it, to be partakers of their city's rituals. And, besides, they do not seem to have acted towards us as they have done towards others. It became them, when they could not persuade our city, to have obliged us, as the Thespians and Tanagræi, only to contribute to their sacrifices; and, by this means, nothing irremediable would have been our portion. But it is now evident, they did not design this, but were covetous of our country. I wonder, in view of what past actions, or how, if they regard what is just; they can pretend to command us such things. If they look into their country's customs, they will

will find they ought not to command others, but rather pay tribute to the Orchomenians ; for this was formerly their condition : but they would have treaties to be sacred, which they certainly ought. How can they then pretend they do not act unjustly ? for these treaties order, that both great and small cities should live by their own laws.

I JUDGE they will not dare to act impudently in this regard ; but will turn themselves to that subterfuge, how we fought along with the Lacedæmonians ; and that, by destroying us, they have done good to the whole alliance. I think, that no cause or accusation should have more validity than oaths and covenants : but if it is proper any should suffer calamities for their society with the Lacedæmonians, the Platæans are not justly chosen out of all the Grecians ; for we did not by choice, but force, serve them. Can any one believe we were arrived at such a pitch of frenzy, that we would esteem them more, who had reduced our city to a state of slavery, than those who had made us free of theirs. But I judge it would have been a difficult matter to have attempted novelties, when we had so small a city, and they so great a power ; especially when a president was constituted, a garison was within, and the Thespians had such forces ; by whom we should as easily have been ruined as the Thebans, and more justly : for it did not become these, while there was peace, to remember offences given then ; but they having been deserted in war, would have justly exacted the greatest punishments from us. I judge likewise, you are not ignorant, that many other Greeks were forced to follow them with their bodies, but were with you by benevolence : and of what disposition do you judge they will be, if they hear, that the Thebans have persuaded the Athenians, that none ought to be spared who have been subject to the Lacedæmonians ; for their oration can tend to nothing but to prove this : for have they not destroyed our city, under pretence of a new crime ; but such a one as may be alledged to them ? Concerning whom you ought to consider and reflect, lest the insolence of these men should
reconcile

reconcile those who hated the empire of the Lacedæmonians, and make them believe, that their only safety consists in their alliance. Reflect also, that you undertook the last war, not for your own or allies liberty (for you all enjoyed this) but upon account of them, who, contrary to oaths, had been deprived of it. Now, this would be most cruel, if you suffered that those very cities, which you thought it unjust should serve the Lacedæmonians, should be destroyed by the Thebans; who are so far from imitating your clemency, that it would be better to suffer what is thought most calamitous, to be taken by war, was it by your city, than to be neighbours to them; for they indeed, who were taken by you by force, immediately being freed by the president from servitude, are now partakers of their counsel, laws, and liberty: but as for those who inhabit near them, some of them have no less hard a servitude than bought slaves, and they will not desist to ill-treat the others, till they have reduced them to our condition; yet they accuse the Lacedæmonians, that they seized the Cadmea, and put garisons in towns; but they, tho' they do not put garisons in towns, overthrow the walls of some, entirely destroy others, and yet say, they commit no injustice: nay, they are advanced to that pitch of impudence and injustice, that they imagine all the allies should take care of their safety, but that they themselves should be the arbiters of others slavery. Now, who would not detest their ambition, who endeavour to lord it over the weaker, and think it just they should be equalled with the more powerful. They envy that land given by the Oropians to your city, and they divide by violence that of others; and they assert, what is beyond all their other improbity, that they have done this for the common good of the allies.

BUT it would be equitable, since there is a council here, and your city can deliberate more prudently than that of the Thebans, that they should have come hither not to excuse their actions, but to have deliberated with you before they had perpetrated any thing of this nature. Now, after
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they have plundered us, they come to make all the allies partakers of the crime ; which, if wise, you will avoid : for it is more reputable to force them to imitate your religion, than to let yourselves be forced to be accessary to their crimes ; for I think it clear to all, that it becomes wise men to consider in war by what means they may be superior to their enemies ; but, when peace is made, to esteem nothing more than oaths and treaties. They, at that time, in all their embassies, pleaded for liberty and their laws ; but since they have an impunity of doing whatever they please, neglecting all other things, they dare to plead for their own gain, and their own injustice ; and they say, that it is useful to the allies, that the Thebans should have seized on our fortunes : little reflecting, that nothing ever benefited those who acquired it by injustice ; but that many, who desired others properties unjustly, have fallen into the greatest dangers of losing their own possessions.

BUT they cannot say, that they have been faithful to their own side ; and that there is apprehension, lest, if we should recover our own country, we should desert to the Lacedæmonians. You will find us to have been ruined for the sake of your friendship ; but that they often trespassed against your city ; and to mention their antient treacheries, would be too long and tedious. When the Corinthian war had been raised on account of their injustice, and the Lacedæmonians had marched an army against them, and they were saved by you, they not only were ungrateful for such benefits, but, after you had finished the war, deserting you, they fought the confederacy of the Lacedæmonians : yet the Chians, Mitylenæans, and Byzantians, continued in their fidelity ; but they having such a city, would not even remain neuter, but were guilty of that degree of cowardice, of improbity and madness, that they promised, by an oath, they would follow the Lacedæmonians against you, who had saved their city. For which actions suffering punishment from the gods, the Cadmean castle being seized, they were forced to fly hither ; after which they most particularly shewed

shewed their perfidy : for again saved by your means, and restored to their country, they continued not the shortest time faithful, but immediately sent embassadors to Lacedæmon, shewing they were ready to serve, and change nothing of what they had promised. And need I use a long oration ? for unless the Lacedæmonians had ordered them to receive again the banished, and expel the desperate, nothing would have prevented them from joining an army against you their benefactors, made of the very persons who had injured them. And yet these very men, who were lately such toward this city, and formerly the betrayers of all Greece, these have been judged worthy of obtaining pardon for so great and voluntary crimes ; and yet they think it is not equitable we should obtain pardon for what we were forced to do : and though they are Thebans, yet dare to object to others a friendship for the Spartans, whom we all know to have been the longest slaves to them, and to have more vigorously carried on war for their dominion than their own safety. For what invasion were they absent from, which was made into this territory ? or to whom were they more enemies, or hostilely disposed than to you ? Were they not in the Decelic war authors of more evils than all others who invaded your territory ? Did not they of all the allies, when you had bad success, did they not decree by their voices, that your city should be reduced to slavery, and the country be divided into convenient pastures, as the Crisæan field ? Wherefore, had the Lacedæmonians had the same sentiment as they, nothing could have hindered, but that you, who had been authors of safety to all Greece, must have been condemned to servitude by those very Greeks, and fallen into the greatest calamities. What benefaction can they pretend, in apology, of such a nature as to extinguish that enmity, which must necessarily be in your minds for these causes ?

THEREFORE, those who have done such things, have no excuse. This apology alone is left for such as will patronize them, that Bœotia now fights for your country ;
and

and if you dissolve the friendship which subsists betwixt you, you will prejudice the interest of the allies; for there will be a great change of ballance, if this city join itself with the Lacedæmonians. But I neither think it beneficial for the allies, that the weaker should serve the stronger (nor in former time did we carry on wars for any other reasons but this) nor do I think the Thebans will be so mad, as deserting your society, surrender their city to the Lacedæmonians. I think not so, because I trust their tempers, but that I know one of these two is necessary, that they either must be slain in their city, and suffer what they have made others, or, betaking themselves to flight, be in want, and be deprived of all hopes: for are they, or can they be in concord with their citizens? some of which being killed, and others banished, they have rifled their substance: or, are they in amity with the other Bœotians? whom they not only endeavour to command unjustly, but have destroyed some, and plundered the lands of others. Nay, they cannot return to your city, which they have so egregiously betrayed so many times. Wherefore it can never happen, that they will become your enemies rashly for the sake of others, and indubitably lose their own city; but, in all their actions, they will behave themselves more moderately, and will more diligently pay you respect, in proportion as they are fearful for themselves. They have given you a proof in their behaviour at Oropum, how you ought to treat such tempers. While they thought they had the power of doing whatever they pleased, they did not behave towards you as allies, but trespass as against declared enemies. When you had decreed, that, on account of these insults, they should be excluded from the treaties, they came to you, with such abject minds, that they behaved themselves more humbly than we do in our present condition. Wherefore, if any of the orators should deter you, saying, there is danger, lest, changing, they should join with the Lacedæmonians, you ought not to believe them: for they are under such necessities, they would sooner suffer your government than

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than have the alliance of the Lacedæmonians : but should they do quite the contrary, yet still I do not think it becomes you to have more value for the Thebans, than your oaths and covenants ; reflecting first, that it is your custom not to fear danger, but infamy and disgrace ; and then, that it usually happens, that such conquer not in war, who overthrow cities by violence, but those who govern Greece in a more clement and religious manner. And any one may prove this by many examples. As for what has happened in our times, does any one not know, that the Lacedæmonians dissolved your power, which seemed invincible, when at first they were but weakly prepared for a sea-fight ? And by what opinion did they draw over the Greeks ? Again, who does not know, that you, in turn, snatched the power out of their hands, marching from an unfortified and weak city, but having justice, as it were, for your ally ? That the Persian king was not author of these changes, the latter times have declared ; for when Xerxes had enough to do, and your republic was deserted, when almost all the cities served the Lacedæmonians, you were yet so superior to them in war, that they willingly saw a conclusion of peace. Let none of you then be afraid, when you fight upon the side of justice ; nor think he will want allies, if he assists the injured, and not the Thebans only ; whom if you oppose, you will cause many to desire your friendship ; for if you shew yourselves equally ready to make war against all for the defence of the treaties, who will be so senseless, as to join rather with those who have oppressed Greece by slavery, than with you who fight for liberty ? But should you not be of this mind, with what arguments, should a war again happen, would you persuade the Greeks, if, while you pretend liberty, you suffer any cities to be laid waste by the Thebans ? How can you avoid contradicting yourselves, if you do not resist the Thebans in violating their leagues, and declare you make war with the Lacedæmonians on this account ? and if you have receded from large possessions, to make the alliance as great as possible, yet
suffer

suffer these to enjoy what belongs to others, and do all those things, for which all will think you the meaner. But this would be the absurdest of all, if you should judge it proper to be auxiliaries to those who have always been most friendly to the Lacedæmonians, if these command them to do any thing contrary to the covenants; and suffer us, who have persevered your friends for the longest space of time, only for being forced in the last war to obey the Lacedæmonians, to be exterminated from amongst men. Who can be found more miserable than we, who were deprived in one day of our city, our lands and substance, equally destitute of all necessary things; who are become wanderers, not knowing whither to turn ourselves? Driven from our country, filled with despair, and like vagabonds who wander over Greece, and see all habitations with uneasiness: if we find others miserable, we grieve to find ourselves, besides our other calamities, associated with them in misery; or, if we approach the prosperous, we grieve the more, not because we envy their happiness, but because we see more clearly our own misery in the light of our neighbours felicity. For which reasons, we pass no day without tears, but continue to lament our country, and this change which has been made in it. What, can you think, must be the situation of our minds, when we see our parents nourished in an unworthy manner in their old age, and our children not educated with the same hopes that they were begotten; but many of them serving for petty salaries, others employed in low offices, and others getting their daily livelihood in the best manner they can; which is unworthy of the actions of our ancestors, and of our own magnanimity. But this is the most cruel of all; to see not only citizens separated from citizens, but wives from husbands, children from parents, and all relationship dissolved; which has happened to many of our citizens on account of poverty: for common sustenance being wanting, makes every one look to private hope. I cannot suppose you ignorant of the other disgraces which attend poverty and banishment; which

which we bear with more difficulty than our other distresses, but omit to express them, because we are ashamed to look into our calamities.

WHICH you perceiving, we implore you to have some compassion on us ; for we are not aliens to you, but all related by benevolence, and most by affinity : for, by the permission of mutual marriages, we were born of women who were your citizens. Wherefore you ought not to flight the petition we come to make ; for certainly it would be inexpressibly cruel, if you made us formerly free of your city, and now judge us unworthy of being restored to our own. Besides, it is not equitable to pity particulars, who suffer injustice, and not allow a small portion of pity to a whole city unjustly ruined ; especially that which flies to you for refuge, to whom it was formerly no disgrace, but glory, to have pity on supplicants : for when the Argives came to your forefathers, and prayed, that they might carry off those who had fallen under the Cadmæa, your fathers, being persuaded by them, forced the Thebans to more equitable counsels, and were thereby not only famous in those times, but left immortal glory for their posterity to all futurity ; of which it does not become you to be the betrayers : for it would be a shame for you to glory in the actions of your fathers, and openly act the contrary to them in regard of supplicants. But we are come hither to plead for things more equitable, and of far greater moment. They made supplication to you, after they had led an army upon others territories ; but we, after having lost our own country : and they implored you to succour them in burying the dead ; but we, to save the remainder of our unhappy citizens. Now, the calamity is not equal or alike, for the dead to be denied burial, and the living to be deprived of their country, and all their fortunes ; for the first is more disgraceful to those who forbid it, than to those who suffer the inhumanity : but to have no refuge, but to be deprived of our city, to be afflicted every day, and be forced to neglect our fellow-citizens, when we cannot assist them ; I say,

say, to suffer this, why need I enumerate how far such a calamity exceeds all others. Wherefore, we implore, we humbly beg of you all, to restore us to our country and city, by admonishing your old men to consider men of their years miserable, and destitute of necessary daily food; by entreating of, and praying your young men, that they will assist their equals, nor let them suffer more than has even been already mentioned. You owe, as it were, to us alone of all the Greeks, this chiefly, to afford us succour; for it is said, our ancestors, when your forefathers had abandoned this country in the Persian war, were the only persons of all who inhabited out of the Peloponnesus, who were partakers with them of the dangers, and, together with them, saved this city. Wherefore we shall justly receive again the benefit which we first conferred on you.

BUT should you have decreed not to regard our persons, yet it does not become you to let our country be desolated, in which are left the greatest monuments both of your valour, and of others who fought with you: for other trophies have been erected by one city over another; but these were built for the conquest of all Greece over the collected powers of Asia, which the Thebans will justly destroy; for these monuments are their disgrace, and which, for that reason, you ought to preserve: for you were made, on their account, leaders of Greece. You must likewise make account of your ancestors, nor deny them the piety due to their merits; thinking what sentiment they would have (if there be any sense left in the infernal regions of what is done here) should they know, that, after you were constituted arbiters, those who refused not to serve the Barbarians, are become the masters of other Greeks; and that we, who fought along with you, are the only Greeks who are desolated; and that the monuments of such as faced those dangers, have not their annual funereal rites, for the want of persons to perform them. Remember, that you particularly accused the Lacedæmonians for this, that, gratifying the Thebans, who were the betrayers of Greece,

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they had destroyed its benefactors. Let not, then, **this** reproach be retorted on your city, nor prefer their insolence to your glory. Tho' many arguments remain, whereby you might be excited to have regard for our safety, **I** cannot comprehend them all in a short oration; but you ought yourselves, reflecting on what is omitted, and particularly remembering your oath and covenant, and then our **benevolence** and their enmity, decree us justice,

THE

THE FIFTEENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
On the Exchange of Estates.

Y 2

The S U B J E C T.

ISOCRATES had acquired considerable riches, and great glory, by instructing the young nobility in literature and eloquence; but he could not avoid envy, the sure attendant of distinguished merit. They therefore aspersed him, as corrupting the morals of the youth he taught with false principles, and to have heaped up money by teaching of fallacy; as if true eloquence was not the clearest and best reasoning. His enemies thus hoped to do him a prejudice. There was (as Libanius says) such a law at Athens: Three hundred of the most opulent citizens were to be what they called *Trierarchi*, who were to build, at their own expences, galleys for the defence of their country. But if any one pleaded inability of bearing such an expence, he was excused, could he prove another richer than himself: if such an one refused, he was obliged to change his estate with the other: and this kind of action or cause was called *permutation*, or exchange of fortunes. By this means our author was forced to pay this ship-money; which did not grieve him so much as to see himself exposed to such furious envy of his citizens. There are noble passages in it, and the whole oration is most worthy to be read with the greatest attention. Nothing can be stronger painting of the manners of the great and small vulgar, as Cowley poetically stiles them.



THE FIFTEENTH

ORATION of ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

On the Exchange of Estates.

IF this oration, which is now to be recited, was like to those which are written for the forum and ostentation, there would be no reason for making a preface to it. Now, upon account of its novelty and diversity, there is a necessity that I should explain the reasons, for which I have chose to write it in so different a manner. If this was not known, it would perhaps appear absurd to many. Tho' I know many of the sophists calumniate my studies, and say they are all employed in writing popular orations (and this they do just as wisely as if any one should call Phidias, who carved the statue of Minerva, a maker of poppets, or compare Zeuxis and Parrhasius with such as paint signs) yet I would never have revenged their depreciating me in this manner, because I should judge their trifles were of no moment, and that I had made this manifest to all, that I laid down institutes, have spoken and written, not about private contracts, but of so great and of such things as none before have attempted, besides those who were my disciples, or such as would imitate them. For, upon account of my advanced age, I thought, for the sake of my profession, and likewise my never having meddled with other business, I had the friendship of my fellow-citizens; but now, when

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the conclusion of my life approaches, an exchange of estates being proposed, and a dispute being founded on it, I have perceived some of them not so disposed towards me as I expected; and others much deceived about my studies, and inclining to believe whatever is said against me; and others indeed, to know sufficiently in what studies I am conversant, but yet to envy me, and be of the same temper as the sophists, and to take pleasure in those who have a false opinion of me. They have declared themselves of this mind; for when my adversary objected nothing equitable about what was to be decided, but calumniated the power of my orations, and spoke, in an ostentatious manner, many things of my wealth, and the multitude of my disciples, they decreed I should perform this office. And we so bore the expence, as it becomes those who are neither too much struck with things of this nature, nor too prodigal and negligent of money. When I had found, as I have said, that there were more than I thought, who entertained unkind sentiments of me, I reflected by what means I might shew to them, and posterity, my habitual manners, the life that I lead, and the nature of the learning which I profess; nor suffer myself, by negligence, to be condemned without a hearing of the cause, nor let it be in the power of calumniators, as it has hitherto happened. When I had considered this, I found I could not finish it by any other method, than by writing an oration, which might serve as a picture of my mind, and all my actions. By this I hoped, that whatever belongs to me, would be more honourably known than by any monument in brass. But if I should endeavour to praise myself, I foresaw I could not comprehend all those things I designed to discourse of; nor be able to speak with favour, and without envy. But if I supposed a judgment and danger, and he that accused me, a sycophant using those arguments which were brought against me in the trial of the exchange of estates, and myself pleading in appearance of defence, by this means I thought I should have an opportunity of disputing about
whatever

whatever I pleased. While I was thinking in this manner, I wrote this oration not in my vigour, but when I was in the eighty-second year of my age. Wherefore, it is but just I should be pardoned, if it appears weaker than those orations which I have hitherto published. Nor was this discourse easy, or of a simple nature, but such as required much care and labour ; for some of these things which are written in it, are proper to be said in court, some are not proper for such disputes, but are spoken freely of philosophy, and explain its excellency. There is something likewise, which may benefit those youths who love discipline and erudition, if they listen to it. Many things likewise of what I said before are inserted, not rashly or unseasonably, but as far as corresponded with my design. Now, it was not a small labour to have in one view the prolixity of such a discourse, to join together so many and different forms, to unite what follows with what went before, and make all consistent with itself : yet I did not desist, tho' I was of this age, until I had finished it, and spoke, at least, with truth, but, in other respects, as it shall appear to the hearers. Now, it becomes those who read it over, to attend to it, as if it was a mixed oration, and written for all these subjects ; and then fix their thoughts rather on what ought to be said, than on what has already been spoken by me. Besides, not to be eager to run it all over at once, but such a part of it as is not incommodious to the hearers. If you observe this, you will more easily perceive if I speak in any degree worthily of myself. This was what I judged necessary by way of preface.

Now read the defence, which is written as a defence in judgment, but with design to explain the truth, and make the ignorant know better, and those who envy me, be tormented more than ever with the same distemper. I cannot exact a greater punishment from them. But I judge those the worst of all, and worthy of the greatest punishment, who dare to accuse others of the very faults which they are guilty of themselves ; which Lyfimachus has done : for he,

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in his written discourse, makes more words about my orations than about all other things; acting just in such a manner, as if, while a person accuses another of sacrilege, he should be found to have what belonged to the gods in his own hands. I should heartily wish he thought me so powerful in eloquence, as he has pretended to you: he would then have never given me trouble. Now, he says, I am capable of making inferior causes seem the better; and yet so far has despised me, that he hopes he can overcome me, tho' I speak the truth. And all things have happened to me so unfortunately, that others indeed refute calumnies by their orations; but Lyfimachus has made mine the subject of his accusation: with this design, that, if I seem to you to speak accurately enough, I may be judged guilty of what has been said by him of my dexterity. But if I should speak worse than he has made you expect from me, that then you may judge my actions still liable to more blame. I therefore desire of you neither to believe or disbelieve those things which have been spoken, until you have considered what I shall say to the conclusion; reflecting, it would not be necessary that the accused should have liberty of self-defence, if what is just could be determined from the accuser's oration. Now, whether there be, or not be, any one who is present at this judgment, with an accusatory or malicious intention, none shall be left in ignorance. But if he speaks the truth, yet it is no easy matter for the judges themselves to determine from what he has said in the first place: and we ought to be contented, if they can attain a knowledge of the truth and equity by both our orations. Now, I wonder not at those, who dwell longer on the accusation of deceivers, than on the defence of themselves; nor at those, who say calumny is one of the greatest evils: for what can be imagined more malicious than it? which makes those who lye appear illustrious, those who have done no injustice seem injurious, and the judges forswear themselves; which, by introducing a false opinion into the minds of the hearers, absolutely extinguishes all truth,

truth, and destroys unjustly the citizen it falls on. In which respect it concerns you to take care, that nothing of this nature happens to you, or you yourselves be guilty of what you object to others. I judge you are not ignorant, that our city has oftentimes before repented of judgments which have been passed out of anger, and not after a due examination: so that, no long time intervening, it desired to take vengeance on such as deceived it, and wished the accused to live better than before. Remembering which, you ought not rashly to believe the accusers words, nor hear, with tumult and cruelty, those who defend themselves; for it would be a shame you should be esteemed the most clement in other regards, and most merciful of all the Greeks; and yet, in judgment here, act openly in contradiction to this opinion; and that tho', amongst some others, an advantage in ballots is given to the accused, yet, among you, such as are brought into danger, should not be on an equal footing with calumniators; but that you should swear yearly to hear with impartiality both the accusers and accused, and yet be so far from this equity in actions, as to approve what accusers say, but not even tolerate the voice of those who endeavour to confute them, so long till you can hear them out; and think those cities not fit to be inhabited, wherein some citizens are put to death without the liberty of pleading, but be ignorant that they do the same thing, who do not afford both contending parties in law the same benevolence. But this is the most iniquitous of all, that every one thinks, if he is brought into danger, it is just to accuse his calumniators; but when he is to give sentence in law in regard of another, has not the same opinion about these men. But it becomes those who are prudent, to be such judges towards others, as they would desire others to be in their own case; reflecting, that, on account of calumniators, it is a thing uncertain, who, by being brought into danger, will be obliged next to plead the same things which I do, before those who are to pass their sentences on him: for no one, by reason of his having lived a good and moderate

moderate life, ought to confide that he will have the liberty of living in security in the city; for those who chuse to neglect their own affairs, but watch insidiously those of others, do not refrain from such as live modestly in the city, and bring those who have committed some crime before you: but shewing their power against those who have committed no injustice, they receive more money for silence from such as are manifestly guilty: which Lyfimachus having in view, has brought me into this danger; thinking, that if this judgment passed against me, it would be, as it were, a revenue for him from others; and expecting, should he be thought to have surpassed me in eloquence, who, he says, is the master of others, his power would seem insuperable. Now, he hopes to attain this easily; for he sees you too hastily listen to accusations and calumnies, and that I cannot make an apology worthy enough of my reputation, on account of my old age, and ignorance of such contests; for I have so behaved myself in my past life, that no one ever, in the oligarchy or democracy, either objected to me, that I had been guilty of contumely or injustice; nor can there be found either judge or arbitrator, who ever decided of any actions done by me: for I was sufficiently apprised of this piece of prudence, never to trespass against others; and if I was injured myself, not to take revenge in a court of law, but to put an end to the dispute in the company of friends: nothing of which has benefited me; but though I have lived blameless to this age, I am brought into as much danger as if I had injured all mankind: yet I am not quite cast down with despair on account of the greatness of the fine; but if you will vouchsafe to hear me with benevolence, I have great hope, that those who are deceived about my studies, and inclined to such as speak disadvantageously of me, will change their minds immediately, and those who judge of me as I really am, will be more confirmed in their opinion. But that I may not give you trouble by speaking more at large before I come to the subject, omitting what you are to decide, I will immediately endeavour

endeavour to inform you better. Wherefore let my accusation be read.

The ACCUSATION.

My accuser therefore endeavours, by this, to charge me with corrupting youth, by teaching them eloquence, and to prevail in courts of justice over equity. In other respects, he makes me such a person as no one ever was, either of those who bustle in courts of judicature, or those who are conversant in the studies of philosophy; for he does not say, that only private persons have been my scholars, but orators, generals, kings, and tyrants; and that I have partly already received many presents from them, and do still receive. He made his accusation in this manner, because he thought, that by what he boasted of me, of my riches, and the multitude of scholars, he might bring me into odium with the populace; and, by his skill in litigations, he might affect you with resentment and anger; which as soon as judges are affected by, they become less equitable to the accused. Now, I believe I shall easily demonstrate to you, that he has exaggerated some things beyond measure, and has been guilty of absolute falsity in others. But I humbly intreat of you, that you attend not to those things which you have heard from such who endeavour to speak ill of, and calumniate me to others, nor give credit to what has neither been said with any proof or just judgment; nor regard those opinions which have been iniquitously infused into you, but judge me to be such as I appear by this present accusation and defence; for, by thinking in this manner, you yourselves will judge uprightly, and according to the laws, and I shall attain my just rights.

AND I think that my present circumstance of danger is a sufficient proof, that none of my fellow-citizens have been injured by my art or writings; for had any one been so, tho' he had laid quiet in former time, he certainly would not neglect the present occasion, but would come hither
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either to accuse me, or give in some false witness ; because, since he who was never ill-used by me, has exposed me to such danger, certainly those who had suffered by me, would endeavour to be revenged in turn ; for this, doubtless, is neither congruous nor possible, that I should have offended many, and that those who have fallen into calamities by my means, should lie dormant, nor dare to accuse me, but be made milder to me in my danger than those whom I never offended : when it is permitted them, would they declare such facts, to take what vengeance they please of me. But never was there before, nor will there now be found any one, who will object aught of this nature to me. Wherefore, were I to grant to the accuser, and and confess, that I was the acutest of mankind, and a writer of those orations which grieve you, more than any other, I should rather seem humane than deserving punishment ; for if I excelled others in eloquence and artful apologies, any might justly attribute the cause to fortune ; but all ought to praise my manners for this, that I have with reason and moderation employed my ingenuity. But tho' I should allow this superiority of art in myself, yet I shall not still be found conversant in composing such orations ; for I judge no one is ignorant of this, that all men are frequently in those places where they chuse to get their livelihood. Now, as for those who live by contracts, and the business which arises from them, any one may observe they almost inhabit the forum. But no one ever saw me either in assemblies, at judgments in courts, or amongst arbitrators ; I shunned all those more than any citizens. Again, you may find such, who can only gain amongst you ; but if they fail to any other place, are indigent of the very necessities of life : but as for those riches which he has objected to me, they were all rather acquired from abroad. Besides, you will find their familiars to be either such as are under misfortunes, or those who have a mind to give trouble to others : but you will find those to have been conversant with me, who live the most at ease of all the Greeks. You have

have likewise heard from the accuser, that I have received many and great gifts from Nicocles king of Salamis. Now, to whom of you can it seem credible, that Nicocles should have given me such rewards for teaching him pleadings, who, as lord, is accustomed to end the disputes of others? so that from what the accuser has said, it is evident, that I have always been remote from that bustle and business which arises from contracts. Yet this is clear, that there are many who write orations for those who pursue law-contentions in the forum; yet, of all this crowd, not one of them will be found to have ever been judged worthy of disciples: but I, says the accuser, will be found to have had more than all who are conversant in philosophy. Now, how is it equitable to judge, that those who differ so widely in their studies and affections, are concerned in the same actions? Tho' I have many things to say, whereby it will appear, that my life is very different from the lives of those who live by the forum; yet, I think, you will most easily be brought from such an opinion, if it be once proved to you, that I never had any scholars of that kind which the accuser has mentioned; and that I am not expert in composing such orations as relate to private contracts; for I judge, that this accusation being refuted, you will willingly entertain another notion, and be desirous of knowing, by an application to what other kind of orations I have acquired so great a reputation. Whether it will benefit me to speak the truth, I know not; for it is a difficult matter to reach your sentiments by conjecture: but I judge I ought to speak with freedom before you: for I should be ashamed of seeing my own disciples, if, having often said to them, that I desired all the citizens should know both the life I lead, and what kind of orations I deliver, I should not, on this occasion, shew it, but be found to conceal them. Wherefore, be attentive, as persons who are certainly to hear the truth.

In the first place, you are to understand, that there are no fewer kinds of writing in prose than in numbers. Some have

have spent their whole lives in inquiring into the families of the demigods ; some have written commentaries on the poets ; some have collected together actions in war, and others have employed themselves about interrogations and answers, who are called disputants. But it would be no small trouble, should I number up all the species of orations. Again, there are some who are not ignorant of what I have been mentioning ; but have not chosen to compose orations about private contracts, but such as concern Greece, and the state of republics, and are adapted to general assemblies, which all will allow to resemble more such compositions as are formed to music and numbers, than such as are recited in the forum ; for they use a more poetic style, contain a greater variety of actions, and seek after more new and sublime arguments ; and, besides, decorate the discourse with more florid figures and ornaments ; with all which the hearers are no less delighted than with poetry. Many are willing to become disciples of such as excel in this kind ; judging them to be wiser and better than the others who plead causes, and capable of doing them more good ; for they know, the first, out of a love of business, are skilled in controversies and law-suits ; but that the latter have acquired their eloquence by the study of philosophy ; and that those who are skilled in contests and chicanery, are only tolerable on the day they are heard ; but that the others are honoured in all assemblies, and at all times, and acquire a good reputation. Besides, they perceive, that the first, if they be seen twice or thrice at judgments, become odious and are blamed ; but that the others, the oftner and with the more they are conversant, are the more esteemed and admired : that likewise such as are skilled in popular pleadings, are very inept for orations of a philosophic kind ; but that the others, should they please, would soon be capable of controversial harangues. They thus judging, far prefer this institution, and are desirous of being acquainted with this erudition, which I cannot seem to any ignorant of, but to have acquired by it distinguished glory. And
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you have heard now all the truth, either about my faculty; philosophy, or exercise.

I WILL lay down a more severe rule concerning myself than others, and use a bolder assertion than suits my years; for I not only desire, should I appear to have written pernicious discourses, to obtain no pardon, but, unless I compose such for their utility as no others, that I undergo the severest punishment. I should not make so bold a promise, if I could not easily demonstrate this, and shew you the distinction of these orations. The case is such: I judge that defence the most rational and just, which effects, as far as possible, that the judges thoroughly understand about what they are to give their suffrages, nor mistake, by opinion or doubt, which of the parties speak truth. Now, was an accusation brought against me as one who had trespassed in some actions, I could not expose them to your sight; but there would be a necessity, that, by conjecture, you passed a probable judgment of what had been done. But since I am accused on account of my orations, I think I shall make the truth more evident to you; for I will shew them to you which have been spoken and written by me, that not by opinion only, but the knowledge of their nature, you may give your sentence. I cannot recite them all to the conclusion (for the allotted time is short) but I will endeavour to give you, as of fruits, a specimen of each of them; for a small part being heard, you will easily know my manners, and the purpose of all my orations. Now, I desire of those who have often perused these which are to be recited, not to require of me at present new orations, nor think me tedious, that I repeat those which before have been publicly and frequently read to you: for did I do this out of ostentation, I should deserve just reprehension; but being now called before this court, and exposed to danger, I am obliged to use them in this manner: for I should be most preposterous, if, while the accuser says, that I write such orations as prejudice the city, and corrupt its youths, I should make my defence in any other manner, when I can,

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can, by producing my orations, dissipate the calumny : I therefore desire you will give me this leave, and assist me. I will so abridge, as presently to finish the orations, having first made a short preface, that you may the better comprehend what is said ; for that oration, which will be first shewn you, was written in those times when the Lacedæmonians ruled over the Greeks, and we had but a weak power. It exhorts all the Greeks to undertake an expedition against the Barbarians, and disputes with the Lacedæmonians about the principality. This hypothesis proposed, I shew our city to have been the cause of all the felicity which has happened to the Greeks : but, after I have given the proofs of these benefits, I designed still more evidently to demonstrate, that the sovereignty belonged to our city, and proceed to inform the hearers, that it is just our city should be even more honoured for its warlike exploits, than its other benefactions. I thought indeed I could yet have recited these things, but I find old age hinders me, and forces me to despair of it. But that I may not entirely fail by weakness, since many things are yet to be said by me, beginning from the marginal note, read what was written upon the sovereignty.

From the P A N E G Y R I C.

“ I judge our ancestors ought no less to be honoured for
 “ their dangers undergone in war, than for their other be-
 “ nefits done to Greece ; for they hazarded not themselves
 “ in slight or obscure battles, but in various, sharp, and
 “ great ones, partly for their own country, and partly for
 “ the liberty of others.——

“ AND how should we not suffer injustice, if we, who
 “ sustained the greatest share of evils, be judged only wor-
 “ thy of the smallest part of felicity, and be now forced
 “ to obey others, we who in those times were at the head
 “ of all.”

Now, it is easy to judge by what has been said, that the principality belongs to our city. Reflect with yourselves, if I seem to corrupt youth, or exhort them to virtue, and risking dangers for the republic; or if I ought to be punished for what has been said, and not rather receive the greatest favour, who have so praised both the city and your ancestors, and dangers bravely faced in those times, that all those who had written on this subject before, destroyed their orations, being ashamed of their own inventions; and even those who are at present skilled in this art, dare speak no more on the same topic, but find fault with their own capacity. Yet tho' this is so, there will be some found, who can neither invent or say any thing of value, but who yet study to reprehend and blame others writings; who will confess, that these things are elegantly expressed (for they will not envy that praise) yet will assert, that those orations are far more useful and better, which criticize on those things which are now done amiss, than such as praise ancient transactions; and those which give counsel about present affairs, than these which recount past heroism. That therefore they may not even have this to say, omitting the defence of what was said before, I will repeat to you as much of another as has been recited to you already; in which I shall be perceived to have taken great care of all these things. It is that which was spoken in the beginning of the oration, upon making peace with the Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantians. When I had shewn that it would benefit the city, would we put an end to the war, I blame the new dominion constituted amongst the Grecians, as likewise the sovereignty of the sea; shewing, that it is no ways different from monarchies as to actions or slaughters. I commemorate what upon this account has happened to our city, the Lacedæmonians, and all others. When I had discoursed on these heads, and deplored the calamities of Greece, and admonished our city not to commit negligently such injustice; in the conclusion, I exhort to the observance of justice, reprehend public transgressions,

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and

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and give counsel about the future. Beginning therefore where I speak of these things, I will recite likewise to all this part.

From the O R A T I O N on P E A C E.

“I judge you should not only after having decreed peace, leave this assembly, but after considering the means of preserving it; nor should we do what we are wont—after a small interval, let ourselves be reduced to the same calamities; nor seek a prorogation of, but not a freedom from our present evils.—

“WHAT delivery will there be from this disorder? and how shall we amend the manners of the city, and make them better? First, if we cease thinking sycophants lovers of the people, and the good and virtuous lovers of an oligarchy; tho’ we know, that no man is either by nature, but in whatever form of government particulars are honoured, they desire its establishment. If therefore you employ and embrace the good before the bad, as was done formerly, you may have both the leaders of the people, and others who administer the commonwealth, better disposed towards you. Secondly, if you endeavour to acquire alliances, not by wars and sieges, but benefactions; for it is natural that amities should arise from hence, but enmities from what we now do. Thirdly, if you esteem nothing more (exclusive of piety towards the gods) than to be celebrated among the Grecians; for they voluntarily confer power and authority upon those who have such a disposition, &c.”

You have therefore heard two orations; I will likewise recite a few things out of a third, that it may still be more manifest to you, that all my orations have a regard to virtue and justice. That which now will be recited, is that which advises Nicocles the Cyprian, who then reigned, how he should govern his citizens; but it is not written in the same

same manner as those which have been read. In them there is a perpetual coherence and connexion betwixt what goes before and what follows ; but the contrary happens in this : for as if I wrote what they call general heads, the preceding sentences not being relative to what follows, but distinct, I endeavour to express in few words the subjects of my exhortation. And I took this method, because I thought, that, by admonition, I should both most benefit his mind, and best indicate my own morals. For the same reason I have resolved to shew it you, not as being the most elaborately written, but, because by it, it will most manifestly appear in what manner I have been accustomed to converse with private persons and princes. I shall be found in it to have reasoned freely, and worthy of the dignity of our city, nor to have flattered him on account of his riches or power, but to have patronized the subjects, and rendered as much as I could his government mild and gentle. If when I spoke to a king, I espoused the cause of the people, certainly I must strongly incline such as govern the commonwealth, under a democracy, to consult the good of the people. In the exordium therefore, and amongst those things which are said in the beginning, I blame princes for being worse instructed than others, tho' they ought more than all others to cultivate their talents. After I have reasoned on this head, I admonish Nicocles not to be indolent, or of as remiss a mind as if he had received a kingdom as a priesthood ; but, despising pleasures, to apply himself to public affairs. I likewise endeavour to persuade him to this, that he should think it absurd, did he see worse men governing better, and the more foolish prescribing to the wiser ; adding, that the more he despised the ignorance of others, he would certainly more earnestly exercise his own mind.

HAVING so many things to say, I know not how to dispose them ; for I am persuaded, all those things which I have in my mind, were they expressed, would appear just and modest ; but should I do so at present, they would cause much trouble to myself and hearers. And in regard of

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those things which have been said, I am not without some apprehension, lest they may be attended with some such inconveniency on account of their multitude; for we all are carried away with such an insatiable desire of speaking, that we praise indeed proper season and method, but no sooner have we in our minds something to say, but neglecting moderation, and always adding something, we expose ourselves to the greatest impertinence. And I now, who speak and know this, would still discourse a little longer with you; for I am filled with indignation, when I see calumny in a better condition than philosophy, and the first accusing, while the latter is brought before justice. Which who of the antients would have thought ever could happen? especially amongst you who glory above others on account of philosophy. For things were not so in the time of our ancestors: they admired such as made profession of wisdom, and declared those happy who converse with them; but they judged sycophants the authors of many evils. Of which this is a signal proof; for Solon, who first had the name of sophist, or professor of wisdom, they thought worthy of being at the head of the city: but they enacted more severe laws concerning calumnies than all other crimes; for they appointed judgments only in one court for the greatest injuries, but against sycophants they allowed citations before the six (or those called Thesmothetes), prosecutions before the senate, and accusations before the people; believing such as used this artifice, exceeded all others in improbity: for that others, while they do ill, endeavour to be concealed; but that these expose openly before all their cruelty, hatred, and inhumanity. They judged of them in this manner; but you are so far from punishing such, that you make them accusers of, and law-givers to others. But it is just they should at present be more hated than even then; for, at that time, they only hurt the citizens in daily business, and what regarded the city; but now the city is increased, and has acquired the sovereignty which our ancestors held before, made bolder than becomes them, they

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envy good and excellent men, on account of their power, who have so greatly benefited the city; and they have desired wicked and audacious men, thinking, that, by their boldness and animosity, they will be sufficiently qualified to preserve the democracy; but that, on account of their base circumstances at first, they will not become proud, or seek a new state of government. In this unhappy change, what bitter and great calamities have befallen the city, which those of such disposition, by their words and actions, have been the cause of? Who never have ceased objecting to the most praise-worthy citizens, and such as were able to do some good to the city, an affection for an oligarchy and the Lacedæmonians, till they forced them to be obnoxious to the crimes they were accused of; and, by vexing and calumniating our allies, and driving the best men from their possessions, they have rendered them so disposed, as to be quite estranged from us, and to seek the friendship and alliance of the Lacedæmonians. By which conduct being forced into a war, we have seen many citizens partly slain, partly brought under the enemy's power, and partly reduced to the want of necessaries; besides, the popular government twice dissolved, and the walls of our country destroyed; and, what is most grievous of all, the city brought into danger of captivity, and the enemy possessing the citadel.

BUT I perceive I am transported by anger out of myself; and, tho' time fails me, am hurrying into a discourse of a day-long, and a full accusation. Omitting therefore the multitude of calamities, which have arisen from these men, and rejecting that croud of proofs which might be given of their calumnies, after I have mentioned but a few, I will conclude this oration. I see others indeed, when they are brought into danger, and come near the end of their defence, to supplicate, beseech, and produce their children and friends; but I think nothing of this becomes a person of my advanced years; and, besides this, I should blush, should I owe my safety to any thing else but those orations which have been written and spoken by me before; for I

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know I have made a virtuous and just use of eloquence both in respect of the republic, our ancestors, and especially the gods ; so that, if they have care of human things, there will nothing be concealed from them which happens to me now : wherefore I fear not what by your means may befall me ; but I trust and have great hope, that the end of my life will then happen when it is expedient for you ; and this, methinks, is a sign, because I have lived my past life to this day, as it becomes pious men, and such as are beloved of the gods. Of me therefore, as being of this sentiment, that whatever you determine will turn out a good and benefit to me, let every one pass his sentence as he pleases and inclines.

T H E

THE SIXTEENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES;
ENTITLED,
Upon the PAIR of CHARIOT
RACE-HORSES.

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The S U B J E C T.

THE Athenians had prosecuted Alcibiades to death, who, tho' no model of integrity, was a person of many noble qualities. The popular envy likewise fell on his son ; and, amongst other calumniators, one Tifias accused him concerning these chariot-horses, to conquer by which, in the Olympic games, was esteemed highly glorious among the Greeks ; as if they had been extorted from him by Alcibiades, and demanded to be indemnified. This oration is properly an encomium of Alcibiades, and contains a fine passage concerning excellent virtue, and its liableness to envy and calumny.



THE SIXTEENTH

ORATION of ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

Upon the PAIR of CHARIOT
RACE-HORSES.

YOU have heard from those embassadors who are come hither, and others who have known it, that my father had not this pair of horses by extortion from Tifias, but by purchase from the Argives. All have calumniated me in this manner. They lay their charge against me about private affairs, but make their accusation up of what belongs to the state, and employ more time in reproaching my father, than in explaining those things which they were sworn to ; and they so far despise the laws, that they would exact punishment from me for those injuries, which, they say, you received from him. But I think, crimes against the state have nothing to do with private controversies ; yet, because Tifias often objects to me the banishment of my father, and is more solicitous about what concerns us than himself, there is a necessity I should defend myself on this head : and I should be ashamed, should I seem to any citizen less regardful of my father's fame than my own danger.

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As for the old citizens, a short discourse would suffice me; for they all know, that by the same men the democracy was dissolved, and he banished. But I will begin to inform the hearers from remoter circumstances, on account of the younger, who were born afterwards, and have often heard these calumniators; for they, who before had plotted against the people, and constituted the four hundred, because my father, tho' invited, would not join the conspiracy, perceiving him of great abilities for public affairs, and faithful to the people, thought they could make no change in the government of that time, until he was removed out of the way. But knowing the city was apt to be most inflamed by what concerns the gods, if any one was proved to have violated the mysteries, and to be likewise violently provoked in other regards, did any one attempt a dissolution of the popular state; joining those two accusations, they laid a charge before the senate, saying, that my father held counsels for innovations in the government; and that the partisans supping together, celebrated the mysteries in the house of Polytion. The city being in commotion for the greatness of such a crime, and an assembly being suddenly called, he so evidently shewed their falsity, that the people would willingly have punished the accusers, and, by their votes, appointed him general in the expedition to Sicily. After this, he sailed from his country, as being free of the accusation; but they again, by soliciting the senate, and binding the orators to their party, brought on the affair, and suborned witnesses. Why should I say more? for they did not desist till they had both recalled my father from the army, and had put to death some of his friends, and banished others: but he having heard of his enemies power, and the calamities of his friends, and judging he suffered oppression, because, while he was present, they had not brought him before justice, not even in this situation would he desert to the enemy; but took such care of not trespassing against the city, that retiring to Argos, he remained there in quiet. But they arrived at that height
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of insolence, that they persuaded you to banish him all Greece; to write it upon a column; and demand him of the Argives by ambassadors. Being doubtful what he should do in his present misfortunes, and excluded on all sides, nor seeing any other safety, he was at last forced to fly to the Lacedæmonians. And this is a faithful narration of what then happened.

BEING thus unjustly deprived of his country, as if he had committed some atrocious crime, they accuse and endeavour to calumniate him, as if he had fortified Decelea; had persuaded the islands to revolt; and was become the instructor of our enemies: and sometimes they pretend to despise him, and say, he no ways excelled others. Now they accuse him of all that has been done, and say, that the Lacedæmonians learnt from him how to carry on war, who may even teach others that art. But I could easily, did the time allow me, shew, that he did some things justly, and that he unjustly bears the blame of others: but this certainly would be most unjust of all, if, when my father received a reward after banishment, I should now suffer for that very banishment. Now, I think he ought to obtain a full pardon from you; you, who being banished by the thirty tyrants, struggled with the same calamities: wherefore you ought to remember how each of you was then affected, what disposition he had, and what danger he would not have underwent to have ceased wandering, to have returned into his own country, and taken punishment of those who had expelled him? And to what city, to what friend, to what stranger did you not apply yourselves, to pray them to assist you in the recovery of your country? What did you abstain from? Did you not, after seizing the Piræus, waste the corn of the country, plunder the fields, set on fire the suburbs, and at last scale the walls? You judged so strenuously this to be right, that you were provoked against those companions of your banishment, who remained quiet, more than even those who had been the authors of those calamities: wherefore it is not just to
blame

blame those of the same sentiments with yourselves, nor think them wicked men, who, driven from their country, endeavoured to return; but much rather those, who remaining at home, did actions worthy of exile: nor beginning hence, judge of my father what a citizen he was when he was cut off from the city, but consider how he was affected towards the people in the times before he went into banishment; and remember, when, with two hundred armed men, he withdrew the greatest cities from the Lacedæmonians, made them your allies, and into what dangers he brought the Lacedæmonians, and transported the army into Sicily. You ought to be grateful to him for these actions, and think those the authors of what happened in his calamity, who had expelled him the city. Remember likewise, I pray, that, after his return, he conferred many benefits on the republic; and this in particular, in what condition of your affairs you received him, the popular state abrogated; the citizens labouring under sedition; and the soldiers at variance with the magistrates appointed here; and both brought to that point of penury, that neither had any hopes of safety: for the one thought those who held the city greater enemies than the Lacedæmonians; the others sent for those in Decelea, imagining that it was better to deliver the country to the enemy, than to give the right of the city to those who had fought for the republic. When therefore the citizens had such dispositions, the enemies were conquerors by sea and land, and you had no more money; but the Persian monarch sufficiently supplied them: besides, when ninety ships came from Phœnicia to Aspendum, and were ready to assist the Lacedæmonians; the city being in such dangers and calamities, as soon as the leaders had sent for him, he neither boasted nor blamed any for the past, nor deliberated about the future; but immediately chose rather to suffer any thing with the city, than be happy with the Lacedæmonians; and he made it manifest to all, that he had contended with those who were the authors of his banishment, and not with you, and was desirous of returning,

returning, and not of sacking the city. Joined with you, he persuaded Tissaphernes not to furnish the Lacedæmonians with money; and caused the allies to cease deserting from you; but he divided money of his own amongst the soldiers, restored the commonwealth to the people, reconciled the citizens together, and averted those ships which had come from Phœnicia. And to mention what ships he afterwards took, in how many battles he defeated the enemy, how many cities he stormed, or made your friends by persuasion, would be an arduous labour to enumerate. Tho' many battles happened to our city in those times, yet the enemy never erected a trophy over us, when my father was general.

AND as for the things done by him when general, I know I omit many; but I have not spoken accurately of them, because almost all of you remember those transactions. They reproach likewise, and with too much indecency and confidence, another part of my father's life, nor are ashamed of using that liberty of speech about him now he is dead, which they would have been afraid of was he living. But they are arrived at such a pitch of madness, that they think they will gain honour from you and others, if they make as many invectives against him as possible; as if all did not know, that it is in the power of the most worthless of mankind, not only to speak reproachfully of the most excellent men, but outrageously to blaspheme the very gods. Perhaps therefore it would be impertinent to heed all that has been said; yet I have a particular inclination to speak of my father's studies, taking this topic something higher, and making mention of my ancestors, that you may understand, that long ago we have had one of the greatest and noblest shares of glory among the citizens; for my father, on the male side, was derived from noble persons, which is easy to know from his surname; and by the female, from the Alcmaionidæ, who have left one of the greatest proofs of their riches; for Alcmaeon was the first of the citizens who conquered in the Olympic games. But they shewed their
affection

affection to the people especially in tyrannical times; for tho' they were relations to Pisistratus, and his most intimate friends of all before he ascended to supreme power, yet they would not be partakers of his tyranny; but they thought it fitter to fly their own country, than see their fellow-citizens enslaved. That sedition lasting forty years, they were so odious to the many tyrants that then rose, that when their parties prevailed, they not only pulled down my forefather's houses, but digged up their sepulchres: but they constantly had that trust put in them by the exiles, that they always continued the leaders of the people. Lastly, Alcibiades and Clisthenes, the one my great-grandfather by my father's, and the other by my mother's side, being chosen their generals, brought back the people from banishment, expelled the tyrants, and constituted that democracy, in which the citizens were so brought up to fortitude, that they alone conquered in battle those Barbarians, who were come against all Greece: and, on account of justice, they were so famous, that the Greeks, by free consent, entrusted them with maritime sovereignty; and they rendered the city so great in power, and other advantages, that men called it the metropolis of Greece; and those who were wont to use such exaggerations, seem to say nothing but truth. Therefore this sincere love of the people, so ancient and confirmed, and proved by the greatest benefits, my father received handed down from his ancestors. But he himself being left a pupil, was educated under Pericles, whom all will confess to have been the most moderate, just, and wise, of all the citizens. I look upon this to be singularly glorious, viz. after having been derived from such parents, to have been educated, brought up, and thoroughly instructed in such manners. When he was adult, he fell not short of what has been said before; nor did he think it just to lead an inactive life, and glory in the virtue of his ancestors; but he was immediately so magnanimous, that he thought it proper he should be praised on his own account, and not celebrated for their noble actions. And, first,

first, when Phormio led a thousand armed Athenians against the Thracians, after he had selected the best, my father marching with them, so behaved himself in battle, that he was honoured with a crown, and presented by the general with a complete coat of armour. Now, what shall we judge him to have done afterwards, who was then thought worthy of the greatest honours? Certainly, fighting along with the noblest of the city, to have deserved precedency; and leading an army against the bravest Grecians, to have been superior in every battle. Wherefore, when he was a youth, he obtained such honours, and advancing in years, performed such actions.

AFTERWARDS he married my mother. I judge that he received her too as a reward of his virtues; for her father Hipponicus was the first of the Greeks in riches, and inferior to none by his family; honoured likewise and admired the most of all his contemporaries. Designing to marry his daughter with the greatest fortune, and suitable glory, tho' all desired to have obtained her, while none but princes pretended to it, he chose my father, selected from all others, for his son-in-law.

ABOUT this time, my father observing that the Olympic games and assemblies were loved and admired by all, and that the Greeks made in them an ostentation of their riches, strength, and education; and that the Athletes were celebrated, and their cities rendered famous; besides, thinking the private expences on these occasions due to the public, and what was conferred upon this assembly, contributed for our city, to all Greece; thinking this, I say, tho' no one was stronger in body, or more dextrous than himself, he despised gymnastic conflicts, because he knew that some of the wrestlers were meanly born, dwelt in small cities, and were sordidly educated: wherefore he resolved to keep horses, which is the lot of the most fortunate, and not in the power of any vulgar person; and in this he surpassed not only those who contended with him, but all who ever conquered in this kind; for he sent so many pairs, as
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even the greatest cities did not furnish, and so excellent, that he was the first, second, and third : besides, he was in those sacrifices, and other magnificences of the feast, of so liberal and munificent a mind, that the public riches of cities seemed less than his private : and he so finished that spectacle, that the felicity of the chiefest persons seemed less than his ; and that the glory of those who had conquered in his time was eclipsed : so that he left no possibility to those who should succeed him in the same of surpassing him ; for he so far excelled in all munificence, that they who had performed less generous offices, praised themselves still on that account ; and should any one, in my time, require favour on this score, he would renew the idea of my father's merits.

Now, as for what regards the commonwealth (for this is not to be omitted, since he did not neglect it) he so far surpassed in beneficence the most celebrated, that you will find others to have moved seditions for their own sakes, but that he exposed himself for you to dangers ; for he was not then popular only, when he was repelled by the oligarchy, but was popular when he was invited by them ; and when he had it in his power not only to have reigned with a few, but be superior to them too, he refused it, and chose rather to suffer injuries from the city, than betray the republic. And no one could have persuaded you by his eloquence of this, while you constantly lived under a republic ; but the seditions since risen, have evidently shewn you who were lovers of the people, who of an oligarchy ; who desired neither state, and who would be partakers of both. And, first, they had no sooner removed him, but they deposed the popular government. Lastly, they had scarce oppressed you by slavery, but they condemned him to banishment ; so greatly did the city partake of my father's felicity, and he share in its calamities. Of a truth, many citizens were averse to him, as if he had affected tyranny, not forming their judgment from his actions, but judging it was what all desired, and that he could most easily attain it : wherefore you should be more grateful to him, since he alone of all

all the citizens was thought worthy of such an imputation, and yet always thought it just to be on an equal footing with others in claim of equity.

ON account of the multitude of things, which present themselves to be said of my father, I doubt which in particular I should mention at present, and which I should omit; for that which is yet unmentioned, seems always greater to me, than what has been said before. Now, I judge it manifest to all, that he must be the best-affectioned towards the city's happiness, to whom the greatest good or evil in it belongs: who therefore, while the republic flourished, was happier, or more admired than he? But when it was distressed, who was deprived of greater hope, of greater wealth, or more splendor and glory? In fine, as soon as the Thirty had got the supreme power, were not others only banished the city, but he expelled all Greece? Did not Lyfander and the Lacedæmonians take as much pains to slay him, as they did to destroy your power? thinking that they could have no security of holding our city in subjection, tho' they destroyed the walls, unless they destroyed him, who was capable of restoring them; so that not only from those benefits which he conferred upon you, but from those calamities which he suffered, it is easy to perceive his benevolence: for it is evident that he assisted the people, desired the same state of the republic as you did, was distressed by the same persons, was unhappy with the whole city, judged the same his and your enemies, and underwent all kinds of dangers, partly under you, partly with you, and partly for you; for he was a citizen quite different from Charicles, my accuser's relation, who was desirous of serving the enemy, but of governing his citizens: and when he was banished, remained quiet; but, on his return, prejudiced the city. How could there be a baser friend, or a more worthless enemy? You, acknowledging yourself his relation, and having been a senator under the thirty tyrants, dare you recal to mind ancient injuries? And are you not ashamed to violate the covenants, by

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which you yourself inhabit the city? nor reflect, that should a decree be made to take revenge for what has passed, you would, in the first place, and far more than I, be exposed to danger; for they certainly will never inflict punishment on me for those things which my father did, and at the same time pardon you the crimes, which you have perpetrated: for it will be clear, that you had not the same cause as he; you not being banished, but governing, with others, the state; not forced, but on your own accord, not a revenger, but as aggressor, injured your citizens; so that you can plead nothing in apology for such crimes.

BUT of what was then transacted in the state, perhaps hereafter, in this man's own danger, I shall have occasion to make a diffuser narration. I beg of you not to give me up to my enemies, nor afflict me with incurable calamities; for I have already experienced them sufficiently, who was even born an orphan, my father being banished, and my mother dying. Not four years old, I was brought in danger of my life, on account of my father's banishment: the others being returned from the Pyræus, and the rest recovering their estates, I alone was deprived of my lands by the power of enemies, which the people had given us for money we furnished the public with. Tho' I have been involved in so many calamities, and have twice lost my estate, I am now forced to defend myself against a fine of five talents. The action, indeed, is laid for money; but I plead in fact for my continuance in the city: for tho' the same fines are noted in the public books, the same danger hangs not alike over all; but those who are rich, are only in danger of the penalty; but those who, like me, are in narrow circumstances, run the risk of incurring infamy, which I esteem a greater misfortune than banishment; for it is more miserable to live ignominiously amongst citizens, than to live among foreigners: I therefore intreat you to assist me, nor suffer me contumeliously to be evil-treated by my adversaries, or to be deprived of my country, or rendered famous by my ruin. I justly may obtain pity from
you,

you, by the nature of the things themselves, tho' I did not endeavour to persuade you by words: if it be just to pity those who are undeservedly in danger, contend about things of the greatest moment, but suffer what is unworthy of themselves and ancestors, and have been deprived of the greatest riches, and experienced the greatest changes of life.

THO' I have many reasons to deplore my case, I am particularly filled with indignation for these things: first, should this person take revenge on me, who ought to do it on him: then, should I suffer disgrace for my father's Olympic victories, for which I see others have received rewards: besides, if Tisias, who never did any good to the city, be so powerful in a popular state, as well as in an oligarchy, while I, who injured neither, shall be ill-treated by both: and if you shall have acted contrary to what was the wills of the thirty in other regards, but have the same sentiments of me as this person; and if then deprived of the city along with you, I should be now by you deprived of my country.

THE SEVENTEENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
The B A N K E R.

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The S U B J E C T.

A Certain youth of Pontus, the son of Sopæus, who had the particular friendship of Satyrus, the prince of Pontus, moved by a desire of seeing Greece, having sailed with two ships laden with corn to Athens, made use of the banker Pasio in paying and receiving his moneys. It happened in the mean time that Sopæus, being accused to Satyrus of affecting the kingdom, was thrown into prison; and his son, for whom this oration was written, being accused of having conspired with the exiles, was recalled into Pontus, with orders, that he should deliver all his money to the ambassadors. He therefore, by the advice of Pasio, whom he thought his best friend, obeyed, and what could not be concealed, gave to the ambassadors; but denied he had any money in his hands, and added besides, that he was considerably indebted to Pasio, that he might obtain from the tyrant some relief of his indigence. When Pasio saw the young man distressed on all sides, judging he had a fine opportunity of secreting the money, when the youth re-demanded it, he denied that he had any thing of his. He was thus forced, for the present, to be patient; but a little after, Sopæus, upon the discovery of the truth, being restored to Satyrus's favour, his son, having been often deluded, lays his charge against Pasio, and demanded his money. The state of the cause is conjectural; for the hinge of all turns upon this, if the plaintiff has money repositied with Pasio. The most distinguished topics in it are the inconstancy of the favour of tyrants, and the danger of pretended friendship.



THE SEVENTEENTH
 ORATION of ISOCRATES:
 ENTITLED,
 THE BANKER.

THIS dispute is not of small moment, O judges ! for I am not only exposed to the danger of losing a great sum of money, but of seeming to have coveted another's property, which gives me a greater concern : for I shall have sufficient money, tho' I be defrauded of this ; but should I appear to have desired, without a just cause, so much money, I shall be for ever disgraced. Now it is, O judges ! one of the greatest difficulties to have such adversaries ; for contracts with bankers are made without witness, and there is a necessity that those who are injured by them must run a great hazard, because they have many friends, handle much money, and are esteemed creditable persons on account of their profession ; yet, though these things be so, I think I shall make it evident to all, that I have been defrauded of so much money by Pasio.

I WILL therefore, as well as I can, relate to you all that happened : My father, O judges ! is one Sopæus, whom all know, who have failed to Pontus, to be in so great favour with Satyrus, that he governs a considerable country, and has the care of all his forces. Having heard of this city, and all Greece, I was desirous of travelling. Now, my father, filling two ships with corn, and furnishing me with money, sent me abroad, both on account of

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merchandize, and seeing foreign places. Pythodorus the Phœnician having recommended to me this Pafio, I made use of him in exchange. But my father being afterwards accused to Satyrus of affecting the kingdom, and I, that I was united with the exiles, he seized my father, and sent to those, who are come from Pontus, to receive the moneys of me, and order me to return home again; but, if I would do neither of these, that they should then demand me of you. Being in these calamitous circumstances, O judges! I lamented my fortune to Pafio; for I was so familiar with him, that I did not only trust him with my money, but chiefly likewise with all my other concerns. Upon this, I thought, if I should lose all my money, I should be brought into danger, should my father happen to suffer, of being deprived both here and there of all I had, and of falling into the last poverty; but if, confessing I had wealth here, and Satyrus having sent the fore-mentioned message, I should not give it up, I judged, that I should expose both my father and myself to grievous calumnies with Satyrus. Deliberating therefore together, it seemed best, that I should say, I would do all that Satyrus required, and should deliver up that money which was known of, but should not only conceal that which was repositied with him, but declare, that I had taken up upon interest, both with him and others, several considerable sums, and do every thing in such sort, as to make them believe I had no money at all. And I thought, O judges! that Pafio counselled me to this out of benevolence; but when I had transacted the affair with those whom Satyrus had sent to me, I observed, that he had laid snares for my property: for when I would have received my own, and sailed to Byzantium, he, thinking he had got a most convenient opportunity; that there was a great sum of money repositied with him, which was worthy of impudence; and that I had, in the hearing of many, denied I was possessed of any thing, and it was manifest to all, that when money was demanded of me, I confessed myself indebted to others; besides, imagin-

ing that if I attempted to stay here, I should be delivered up by the city to Satyrus, and that, if I turned myself elsewhere, he should not regard my complaints; or, if I did fail to Pontus, that I should perish with my father: thinking, I say, these things, he resolved to deprive me of my money; and at first he feigned to me, that he had not money; but afterwards, having a mind to know the truth, I sent Philomelus and Menexenus to him, when he denied that he had any thing of mine. So many calamities at once surrounding me, what must have been the situation of my mind? who, by my silence, was in danger of being defrauded of my money, and, did I make my declaration, was not likely to receive it, but should thereby render both myself and father suspected by Satyrus of a great crime: I therefore judged it best to be quiet. After this, O judges! they came and told me, that my father was freed; and that Satyrus so repented of all that was done, that he had given him the greatest pledge of it, increased the government which my father had before, and had taken my sister for wife to his own son. When Pasio heard this, and knew I would declare my case, he concealed the youth Cittus, who was privy to what was done with the money; but afterwards, when I, coming to his house, had asked for the boy, he thinking he would be a most evident proof of those things which I accused him of, he asserted one of the most impudent falsities, that I and Menexenus, after we had corrupted and persuaded the youth, who sat at his counting-table, had defrauded him of six talents. But that there might be no question or torture upon this score, he added, that after we had hidden this youth, we accused him, and demanded whom we ourselves had concealed; and saying these things, flying into passion, and weeping, he dragged me to Polemarchus, requiring bail: nor did he let me go, till I had given bail to six talents. Call those who are my witnesses,

Witnesses,

You

YOU have heard the witnesses, O judges ! But I, when I had thus lost one sum of money, and had a shameful accusation lodged against me for another, went into Peloponnesus to get more. In the mean time, Menexenus caught the boy here ; and after that he had seized him, he demanded that he should undergo the question, both about the depositum, and the crime which we were accused of. But Pasio arrived at that pitch of arrogance, that he rescued him as a free person ; nor blushed to affirm his freedom, who he had said was carried away by us into slavery, and from whom we had so much money, and hindered him from being tortured. But this is the most grievous of all ; Menexenus offering to Polemarchus security for producing the boy, Pasio gave a security of six talents, as for a free person. Let the witnesses of these facts appear.

Witnesses.

THESE things having been done thus, and judging that he was manifestly liable to condemnation for what had passed, he still imagined by what remained, he could correct all ; and he came to us, saying, he was ready to deliver the boy to torture : and choosing examiners, we came to the temple of Vulcan. I desired the officers to lash him, and torture him, until he seemed to speak the truth. But Pasio said, that he had not chosen them as public torturers ; and ordered, that they should ask the youth in words whatever they pleased. While we quarrelled, the inquisitors said, they would not apply tortures to the youth ; but they decreed, it was but just Pasio should deliver the boy to me. But he was so afraid of his torturing, that he would not obey them in the delivery of the boy ; but said, he was ready to pay all the money, if they condemned him. Call the witnesses of these facts.

Witnesses.

WHEN after these meetings, O judges ! all condemned him of injustice, and of acting iniquitously ; in the first place, for saying, that the boy, who I had declared knew of the money, and whom he had hidden himself, was concealed

cealed by us ; then, when he was found, for preventing him, as being free, from suffering the torture ; afterwards, when he had given him up as a slave, and had chosen torturers, for ordering him verbally to be tortured, but, in fact, forbidding it. On this account, judging that he should not have a possibility of an escape, if he should be brought before you, by a messenger he desired I would meet him at the temple. When we were met in the citadel, covering his head, he burst into tears, and said, he had made a denial of my money, being urged by poverty ; but that he would endeavour to repay me in a small time. He begged of me that I would pardon him, and hide his calamity, lest he, who was accustomed to receive depositums, should be convicted of having done such things. I thinking he repented of his actions, granted this, and bid him find out his own methods, whereby affairs might be made up easily, and I receive my money. Three days after, meeting again, we pledged our faith, that what had been done should be suppressed in silence (which faith he kept, as you shall hear in succeeding discourse) ; and he promised he would sail into Pontus, and pay the gold there, that he might discharge his agreement as far off as possible, nor any one here know the terms of our reconciliation, and that he having undertaken a foreign voyage, might say publicly what he pleased. But if he did not do this, he would grant, upon certain conditions, an arbitration to Satyrus, whereby he might condemn him to the penalty of the entire sum, and an half more. When we had mutually written this, and had met in the citadel, Satyrus the Pheræan, who was accustomed to sail to Pontus, we gave him our contracts to keep, ordering him, should we be reconciled, to burn the writing ; but if not, to deliver it to Satyrus. And our affairs, O judges ! passed in this manner. But Menexenus being provoked for the crime alledged to him in part by Pasio, had recourse to justice, and demanded Cirtus, requiring, that the same fine should be laid on the forgery of Pasio, which he must have suffered himself, had he been.

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convicted of such actions. But Pasio, O judges! begged of me to appease Menexenus, saying, his case would be no better, should he, according to agreement, go into Pontus, and pay the money, and yet be exposed no less to derision here; for, he added, should the youth be tortured, he would declare the whole truth. But I desired he would transact with Menexenus what he pleased, and perform his covenant to me. At this time he was humble, not knowing how he should manage in his present straits; for he was not afraid only about questioning the boy, and the charge lodged against him, but for the writing, lest Menexenus should happen to come at it. Being filled with these doubts, nor finding any other remedy, by persuading the sailors, he corrupts the writing which Satyrus was to have received, unless he satisfied me. He had no sooner done this, but he became a most audacious fellow; and said he would sail with me into Pontus; and that there was no covenant betwixt us, ordering the writing to be opened before witnesses. Why should I detain you with many words, O judges! There was found in the writing, that he was freed from all engagements with me. Now I have recited all that happened, as exactly to you as I possibly could. But I believe, O judges! that Pasio will defend himself by corrupted accounts, and particularly trust to that resource. Do you therefore be attentive to me; for I judge I shall be able, even from them, to make evident his improbity. First, reflect upon this: when we gave our agreement to the stranger, by which, he pretends, he is freed from all my demands, I still affirm, I ought, even by it, to receive my gold; for both ordered the stranger, should we be agreed, to burn the writing; but if not, to give it to Satyrus: and it is allowed, that this was spoken by both. Now, with what view, O judges! did we bid him give the writing to Satyrus, except we were reconciled, if Pasio was already free from my demands, and the affair was concluded? But it is evident that we had made this agreement, as the affair was yet unfinished; and he must satisfy me, accord-

according to our mutual accounts. Besides, O judges ! I can give the reason why he promised he would restore the gold ; for seeing that we were freed from accusations to Satyrus, and that he could not conceal Cittus, who was conscious of the depositum, judging, should the youth be given up to torture, that he would be found out to have had a malicious intention, and if he did not do it, that he must lose his cause, he therefore resolved to determine the affair with me. Ask of him, what gain I had in view, or what danger I was afraid of, that I freed him from all prosecution ? But if he can shew nothing of this nature to you, why should you not rather trust to me, than him, about our accounts ? For it was easy for me, O judges ! as you must perceive, was I apprehensive I might be refuted about what I accused him of, to have dropped, without any agreement, the whole affair ; but it was impossible for him, both on account of the question put to the boy, as well as the charge brought before you, to be freed when he pleased from trouble, unless he pacified me, who had accused him. Wherefore it did not concern me to be freed, but him to make agreement for payment. Besides, this would be absurd, if, before our accounts were written out, I was so diffident of my case, that I did not only free Pasio from all pleas, but likewise entered into a covenant about it ; yet, when I had written a testimony against myself, I then would come before you : but who would thus act in his own affair ? This is one of the strongest arguments of all, that Pasio was not acquitted by agreement, but had promised that he would pay the gold ; for when Menexenus had commenced a suit against him, while the writing was not corrupted, having sent Agyrius to us, who is familiar to both, he begged, that I would appease Menexenus, or annul the covenant with himself. But can you think, O judges ! that he would desire that covenant to be made void, whereby he might prove us both guilty of falsity ? When the writing was changed, he did not then use the same words, but appealed to the covenant, and ordered the writing to be opened.

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That he at first desired the writings to be annulled, I will produce Agyrius for witness. Come up.

The witness.

Now I judge it is sufficiently evident to you, that we made a covenant, not as Pasio pretends, but as I have told you. It is not to be wondered, O judges ! if he adulterated the writing, not only because many such things have already been done, but because some of those, who are familiar with Pasio, have committed far more grievous things ; for who knows not that Pythodorus, who is wont to say or do any thing for Pasio, the foregoing year opened the urns, and took out thence the judges names, which had been thrown in by the senate ? But if a person dared, for a trifling gain, at the peril of his life, to open these, which were sealed by the consuls, ædiles, and questors, and were kept in the citadel, what wonder is it if they changed the writings left with a stranger, when they were to gain by it such a sum of money, whether by corrupting his men, or any other stratagem ? I do not know there is need of saying more on this subject.

Now, Pasio has endeavoured to persuade some, that I had no money at all here ; saying, I borrowed of Stratocles three hundred stateres. It is therefore worth while that you should hear of this, that you may know, in reliance upon what arguments he defrauds me of my money : for I, judges, when Stratocles was sailing into Pontus, having a mind to transport as much money thence as I could, asked of Stratocles that he would leave his gold with me, and receive it again in Pontus of my father ; thinking I should have a considerable advantage if my money was in no danger by the voyage ; especially as the Lacedæmonians were at that time masters of the sea. I therefore think this is no sign that I had no money ; but I hope those things will be most firm proofs, that I had money with Pasio, which was transacted with Stratocles ; for Stratocles asking who would repay him his money, if my father did not perform what was mentioned in the letters, or he, returning hither, should not find me, I brought Pasio into conversation with him ;

him; and he said, he would, in that case, give him both principal and interest. But, had there been nothing of mine deposited with him, do you think he would have been such a ready security for so much money? Let the witnesses come forth.

The witnesses.

PERHAPS, O judges! he will produce witnesses, that I denied, before the agents of Satyrus, that I had any thing besides what I had delivered to them; and that he had seized my goods on my own confession, that I owed him three hundred drachmaes; and had permitted Hippolaides, my guest and friend, to borrow of him. I indeed, O judges! reduced to those difficulties which I have mentioned, and spoiled of what I had at home, and forced to give up to those who were come hither what I had here, upon consideration that nothing would be left me, if I did not conceal something, I deny it not, that he retaining the gold which was trusted with him, I confessed, that I owed him besides three hundred drachmaes; and, in other respects, I so acted and spoke, as, I thought, would most easily persuade them that I had nothing here. You will easily understand, that this was not done by me out of poverty; but that I might gain credit with them. In the first place, I will produce you witnesses, who know that I brought with me many riches from Pontus; then those who saw me use his exchange-table; those besides, with whom, at the same time, I changed above a thousand stateres. Add to this, that a tribute being laid, and other orders given, I and mine contributed the most of all strangers: and I subscribed my name to the largest contribution; but apologised to the questors for Pasio, because he used my money. Let the witnesses of this stand forth.

Witnesses.

BUT I will shew Pasio giving the same testimony to these actions with others. A certain person declared a ship of burden, on board of which I had put a great many goods, to belong to one of Delos; I contending for the contrary, and requiring that it should be brought into port, they who
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love to calumniate, so disposed the senate, that I had almost been ruined without a hearing of my cause. But at length they were persuaded to take securities for me; and Philip indeed, my father's guest, being sent for, and appearing, frightened with the greatness of the danger, withdrew himself. But Pasio procured for me Archestratus the banker as security, who was bound for me in the penalty of seven talents; but had he been in danger of losing but a small matter, and known I had nothing here, he certainly would never have been my security for so great a sum. Now, it is evident, that, to gratify me, he had demanded of me three hundred drachmaes; but became thus responfor for seven talents, because he thought he had a sufficient pledge in his own hands, the gold which was deposited with him. I have therefore proved, that I had a large sum of money here, and that it was deposited in his bank, by Pasio's actions, and you have heard it from those who were privy to it.

It seems to me, O judges! that you will best comprehend what we contend about, if you remember those times, and in what situation our affairs were, when I sent Menexenus and Philomelus to require the depositum, and Pasio for the first time dared to deny it; for you will find, that my father was then spoiled of all, and cast into prison; and that it was not then permitted me to stay here, or sail into Pontus. Now, which is more probable, that I, plunged in so many calamities, should have accused him unjustly, or that he, on account of the greatness of my misfortunes, or of the largeness of the sum, was tempted and pushed on to the commission of such a piece of fraud? For who ever arrived at that pitch of calumny, that while he was in danger of his own life, he would lay snares for the life of others? But with what hopes, or with what view, could I be an unjust aggressor? What! hoping that, out of fear of my power, he would immediately pay the money! But this could not be so. Or did I think, by bringing him unjustly before court, I should have the advantage in your favour over him? I, who was preparing to be gone, for fear Satyraus should demand me of you. What! was it, that,

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tho' I should gain nothing by it, I would make him my enemy, whose friendship I had used above any others in the city? Will any one amongst you condemn me of such madness or ignorance?

IT is worth while, O judges! to consider the absurdity and incredibility of those things, which Pasio endeavours to advance; for, when I was in such circumstances, that had he confessed he had defrauded me of money, I could not then have prosecuted my right, at that time he accused me of bringing an unjust suit against him: but after I was freed from accusations to Satyrus, and all men thought he would be convicted in judgment, he asserts, that I had freed him from any claim of mine whatsoever. Now, what can be imagined more absurd than these things? But not only in these regards, but in other things, he evidently appears to speak and act in contradiction to himself, who has said, the boy was carried into foreign places by us, whom he had concealed himself, and, when a poll was taken, had written him down a slave with his other servants; but, when Menexenus required he should be tortured, he forced him from us, as if he had been a free person: besides, tho' he had defrauded me, he dared to accuse us of having six talents, which we received at his counting-table. But how is it fitting to believe him for what he transacted with me in private, when he endeavours so openly to lye in what is manifest? Lastly, O judges! having promised to sail to Satyrus, and do what he decreed, in this likewise he deceived me; for he refused himself to sail, tho' I often required him; but he sent Cittus, who being come thither, said, he was a free man; by his race a Milesian; and that Pasio had sent him to inform him about the controverted money. But Satyrus having heard both of us, would not give his judgment of contracts made here; especially as Pasio was not present, nor disposed to do what he should decree. But he judged I suffered such a signal injury, that calling the sailors, he desired of them to assist me, nor permit I should be so wronged; and writing a letter, he gave it to be delivered to Zenotimus the son of Carcinus. Read it.

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The letter.

AND now, tho', O judges ! my cause is so equitable, I think this the strongest testimony that Pasio defrauded me of money, because he would not give up the boy to torture : and what proof can be greater than the torture, in regard of such contracts with bankers ? for witnesses are not used in dealing with them. I likewise see you, both in private and public affairs, think nothing more deserving of credit, or truer, than confessions in torture ; for that it so may happen, that witnesses may be suborned to things that were never done : but that tortures evidently shew who speaks truth ; which he well knowing, chose rather that you should judge by conjecture, than be better informed. For he cannot pretend this, that if the question had been put to the boy, he would have had the disadvantage ; and that therefore he would not deliver the youth up : for you all perceive, that if he said any thing against Pasio, the boy would, all the remainder of his life, perish by degrees in the most cruel manner ; but did he persevere, that he would be made free, and partaker of the other's fraud : yet though Pasio was to have had such an advantage, being conscious of what he had done, he ventured to decline the judgment, and undergo more accusations, that no examination by torture might be made into this affair.

I THEREFORE beseech you, that remembering these things, you will condemn Pasio, nor judge me guilty of so great improbity, as that living in Pontus, and possessing such riches, and in a capacity of benefiting others, I am come hither to calumniate Pasio, and accuse him falsely of violating his trust. It is likewise just you should have a regard to Satyrus and my father, who at all times esteemed you preferably to all other Greeks, and often have granted you to export corn, when they sent away the ships of others unladen ; and, in private judicatures, you have not only equal law amongst us, but even superiority in your favour. I therefore beseech you, both on my own account, as well as theirs, to decree justice ; nor believe the false oration of Pasio truer than mine.

T H E

THE EIGHTEENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
Against CALLIMACHUS.

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The S U B J E C T.

LYSANDER, the Lacedæmonian general, having conquered the Athenians at *Ægospotomi*, took their city, demolished its walls, and changed the democracy into an oligarchy: he appointed thirty magistrates for the government of the city, who afterwards, on account of their cruelty, were called tyrants, and a sedition arising, were made private men again by *Thrasybulus*. After the troubles of the city were settled, he made a law for the oblivion of injuries, which had been done in former times by both parties. A certain person, therefore, being accused by a sycophant called *Callimachus*, of having in those times extorted money from him, the other denies any suit should be commenced against him for actions done in those times; and, in the second place, proves, that if *Callimachus* might plead, yet that no injury had been done him; and offers to demonstrate it, declining all advantages of the passed law.



THE EIGHTEENTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
Against CALLIMACHUS.

IF any other had pleaded in a like cause, I would have taken my exordium from the subject. But there is now a necessity I should speak of the law, by which we come for judgment; that being informed about what we contend, you may give your suffrages. Let no one of you admire, that I, who am accused, speak before the accuser; for after you returned from the Pyræum into the city, you saw some of the citizens excited to calumny, and endeavouring to break the covenants. Having a mind therefore to restrain these, and shew to others, that you had not done these things by compulsion, but because you judged them beneficial to the city, Archinus proposing it, you enacted a law, “that if any, contrary to oath, should commence a
“suit, it should be permitted the accused to use the plea of
“translation of the cause; and that the prætors should, the
“first opportunity, propose the cause; and that he who
“used the fore-mentioned plea, should speak in the first
“place; and whoever lost his cause, should pay a fine:
“that those who endeavoured to recal to mind old injuries,
“should not only be convicted of perjury, or expect only
“punishment from the gods, but likewise be punished on
“the spot.” I therefore thought it unjust, when the law

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ran thus, to suffer the calumniator to begin a suit against me at the peril only of thirty drachmaes, while I must be brought into the danger of all my substance. But I will shew, that Callimachus does not only commence this suit against the agreements, but is guilty of falsity in his accusations; and that there has already passed betwixt us an arbitration. I will explain to you from the beginning how things were done; for if you know this, that he has suffered no evil from me, I judge you will the more willingly defend the amnesty, and be more incensed against him.

THE Decemviri governed, who succeeded the thirty tyrants: Patrocles being my friend, who then reigned, I happened to be walking with him. Now, he who was an enemy to Callimachus, who prosecutes me, met him as he was carrying money. Having a mind to extort it from him, he told him he should keep his money; but on condition he would appropriate it to the public: but while they were contending about this, and abusive words arose betwixt them, many others ran up to us, and by chance Oinon, one of the Decemviri, came likewise. Patrocles therefore immediately referred to him the determination about the money; but he carried both of them before his colleagues; and they referred the whole affair to the senate. A judgment being given, the money was declared to belong to the public. But afterwards, when the exiles were returned from the Piræus, he accused Patrocles, and lodged a suit against him, as the cause of his calamity. But when he had made the matter up with him, and had extorted from him ten minaes, he accused Lysimachus. Having likewise received from him two hundred drachmaes, he gave me trouble. And, first, he accused me, saying, that I had assisted them. At length he arrived at that pitch of impudence, that he accused me of all that had been done, which, perhaps, he will dare to calumniate me of at present. But I will produce you witnesses; first, such as were present from the beginning, that I neither took or touched the money; then the colleagues, who will say, that it was Patrocles,

cles, and not I, who had referred the affair to them, that they might pass their sentence ; besides the senators, who will say he was the accuser. Call the witnesses of these things.

Witnesses.

THO' so many were present at these actions, yet, as if no one had been, he mixed himself with crowds, and sitting in shops, made discourses, as if he had suffered grievous injuries from me, and had been deprived of his money. Some of those who were his friends coming to me, persuaded me to end the controversy with him, nor chuse to be defamed, nor hazard by it a great sum, altho' I might trust much in my cause ; adding, many things happen in judgments contrary to expectation ; and that the causes which are brought before you, are rather determined by fortune than equity : wherefore, they said, it was better for me, at a small expence, to be freed from a heavy charge, than that tho' I should pay nothing, yet once to be brought into danger about things of such moment. Why should I in particular mention to you those things ? Most of them I have omitted, which are wont to be said on such an occasion. I was therefore persuaded (for I will confess to you all the truth) to give him two hundred drachmaes ; but, lest he should endeavour again to calumniate, we committed the arbitration, under certain conditions, to Nicomachus the Batenian.

Witnesses.

AND at first he kept his agreement ; but afterwards he machinated a new fraud, with Xenotimus, who adulterates writings, corrupts judgments by bribery, gives trouble to the magistrates, and is the author of all manner of evils ; and thus lodges against me a suit of ten thousand drachmaes : but when I had produced witnesses that the suit could not be carried on, because an arbitration had interceded, he did not continue that action ; for he knew, that should he have but the fifth part of the suffrages, he must pay the fine. But when he had won over the magistracy, he again lodged the same charge against me, as

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being now in danger only of the *sportulæ*, or a smaller *fine*. Being doubtful in these streights what I should do, I thought it most adviseable to come before you, with equal danger to both. And these are the real facts, which I have related.

Now, I hear that Callimachus has not only a design of speaking untruly about the crimes, but of denying the arbitration, and being ready of making such a discourse, that he never permitted an arbitration to Nicomachus, whom he knew to be our ancient friend ; nor was it congruous that he would take two hundred drachmaes in lieu of ten thousand. But do you reflect, that we permitted the arbitration to Nicomachus, not engaged together in a suit, but upon certain prudential conditions : wherefore it was no absurdity in him to chuse Nicomachus for arbitrator ; but he would have done more absurdly, if, after he had agreed about the matter, he had made difficulty about the arbitrator. Again, had ten thousand drachmaes indeed been owing to him, it is not probable he would have accepted of two hundred to stop the proceedings : but seeing he unjustly calumniated and accused me, it is no wonder, if he was willing to accept so small a sum. Besides, if after he had required a great deal, he accepted of a little, he cannot draw hence a firm argument in his own favour, that this arbitrator never was ; but it is rather a certain proof, that he accused me unjustly from the beginning. But I wonder that he thinks he sufficiently knows it is not probable he would accept two hundred drachmaes for ten thousand, and yet imagines I could not have been cunning enough to say, had I been disposed to speak a falsity, that I had given him more. I desire at least, that as great an argument as it may seem that there was no arbitration, because (as he says) he refused the money mentioned by the witnesses, it may seem as great an argument in my favour, that I speak the truth, because it is certain he never laid any charge to the witnesses ; but I think, that if there neither was an arbitration, nor witnesses of what was done, and you were only to consider the affair by probabilities, that even so it would be no
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difficult

difficult matter for you to find out the truth ; for if I had even dared to have injured others, you might justly condemn me as if I had trespassed against him : but I shall be found to have injured no one of the citizens in his money, or exposed him to the danger of his life, or to have blotted out the names of any who were partakers of the government, or have inscribed them in Pisander's catalogue. But the wickedness of the Thirty forced many to commit such things ; for they did not only give impunity to the flagitious, but even ordered some to commit crimes : but I shall be found clear of any such actions, even under their government ; yet, he says, he received an injury from me, when the Thirty were cast out, the Piræus was taken, the people in power, and when discourses were held of a pacification. Now, can it seem credible to you, that he who had behaved himself with moderation under the thirty tyrants, should have deferred doing injury to these times, when it even repented those who had transgressed before ? But this is the greatest absurdity of all, if I would not then punish any of my enemies, but should have attempted to injure those now, betwixt whom and me there never had been any commerce. Now, I judge I have sufficiently demonstrated, that I was not the cause of Callimachus his money being confiscated.

BUT you will understand, that tho' I had done all those things at that time which he has alledged to me, he could not still, by the public covenant, cause me a law-suit. Read the codex.

The covenant.

HAVE I then, with small plea in law, put in my exception to his prosecution ? Have I not rather the strongest right, since the treaties openly acquit those who accused any one, or brought him before a magistrate, or did any thing of a like nature ? Whereas I can prove, that I have neither done so, nor transgressed in any thing else. Read me the oath.

The oath.

Is

Is not this atrocious, when the treaties are of this nature, and such an oath has been taken, that Callimachus should so rely upon his eloquence, as to persuade himself he can prevail upon you to decree the contrary? And indeed, did he see the city repent of what has been done, it would not be reasonable for any one to wonder at him. Now, you have not only shewn, by the enactment of a law, that you highly esteem the treaties; but you have thought proper to dismiss Philo the Cælian, who was accused of a false embassy, tho' he had nothing to plead in his defence, but the treaties; nor would you pass judgment on him: and the city even does not think it proper to inflict punishment on those who acknowledge their misdeeds; but this man dares to calumniate those who have done nothing amiss. Nor is this concealed from him, that Thrasybulus and Anytus, who at that time particularly flourished in the city, and were spoiled of a great deal of money, and knew the prevaricators who had proscribed their goods, dare not lodge a prosecution against them, nor make mention of the injuries. But altho', in other respects, they can effect more than others, yet, in what regards the treaties, they judge it equitable that they should have the same law as their fellow-citizens; nor have they only thought so, but no one amongst you has dared to begin such an action. Now, it would be unjust that you should keep your oath in your own regard, and yet violate it for the sake of Callimachus, and, by public authority, cause private contracts to be ratified, and yet suffer any one to break thro' the city's covenants. But this would be the most wonderful of all, if, while it was doubtful whether this reconciliation would be beneficial to the city, or not, you took such an oath about it, that there should be a necessity of standing to the agreement; but that after it succeeded so well, that tho' there had been no security given, yet it would be reasonable that you should preserve the present state of the republic, you should now violate your solemn engagement; and if you are incensed at those who say you ought to annul your covenants, and yet
let

let him pass with impunity who has dared to transgress them when written. You would, by this means, neither act justly, nor do what is agreeable to your former decrees. Reflect likewise, that you are assembled to judge of things of the highest importance; for you will give your suffrages about the public treaties, which it never benefitted you to have violated in respect of others, or others in respect of you. Now, they have that force, that most things which are done in human life, both amongst the Greeks and Barbarians, are transacted by covenants; for by relying on them, we approach one another, and have mutual commerce in regard of what we want; by them we make contracts betwixt ourselves, and compose private quarrels, and mutual wars; and all mankind use this method continually, as an universal good: wherefore it is proper for all to maintain treaties, and for us particularly; for of late, when we were conquered in war, and brought under the power of our enemy, many being desirous of ruining our city, we had recourse to oaths and covenants, which should the Lacedæmonians violate, there is none of us but would be filled with indignation. But how can any one accuse another for what he is guilty of himself? To whom should we seem to suffer injustice, if we should be, contrary to covenants, ill-treated, if we appear to have no regard for them ourselves? Or what credit shall we gain with others, if we so rashly break through the faith that has been mutually interchanged amongst ourselves? It is likewise worthy of consideration, that tho' many and noble things have been done by our ancestors in war, yet our city is not, in the least degree, rendered famous for this reconciliation; for we shall find many cities to have fought bravely, but no one to have better consulted public concord and agreement. Besides, we may ascribe the greatest part of those things, which are done with danger, to fortune; but no one can imagine any thing else to have been the cause of our moderation amongst ourselves, but our prudence: wherefore it is no ways just that we should be betrayers of this glory.

Nor

Nor let any one think, that I exceed reason, or speak more than truth, because I have said this in my private cause. This action is not brought against me alone, but against you, by what has been lately said before, for which no one can speak suitable to the occasion, nor appoint a sufficient fine; for this dispute differs from all others in this, that it does not only concern those who dispute, but the whole community. You are to determine about this, obliged by two oaths; the one such as you take in common affairs, but the other such as you take in a public treaty. If you judge wrong in this case, you will not only violate the laws of the city, but violate the common law of all nations: wherefore it becomes you the least of all, neither to pass that judgment by favour, by lenity, or any thing else, but your own solemn agreement about the case in question: I say, it is both becoming for you, expedient, and just, that you should so decree about the covenant; nor do I think, that Callimachus himself can deny it.

I JUDGE, that he will deplore his present indigence, and the calamity which has befallen him; and say, that he has suffered cruel injustice, if, for that money which he was deprived of in the oligarchy, he should pay a fine in the democracy; and that if he was then, for his wealth, forced into banishment, he should now, when he ought to take punishment of others, be rendered scandalous. He will accuse those actions which have been done in the change of the republic, hoping thereby to raise your indignation. Perhaps he has heard such a report, that, when you cannot find the guilty, you punish the innocent. I neither think you of such a disposition, nor do I think it in the least difficult to answer the fore-mentioned discourses. As for what regards moving lamentations, I affirm, you ought not to assist those who shew themselves to be miserable, but those who speak what seems more equitable about what they have sworn. But as for the fine, was I the author of these things, you would deservedly condole with him, was he to suffer a penalty; but he himself is the very person who calumniates another:

another: wherefore you cannot in justice approve any thing while he alone speaks it. Then, you ought to consider this, that all those who returned from the Piræus, may hold the same discourse as he, none of whom commenced such a suit. Now, you ought to hate those, and think them bad citizens, who have suffered the same calamities as the multitude, but would take a peculiar and different revenge. Besides, it is yet permitted him, before he runs the hazard of your sentence, by dropping the suit, to be free from all trouble; and how can it be otherwise than absurd to desire pity from you in his danger, which is entirely in his own power, into which he casts himself, and which it is now in his option to avoid? But if he calls to mind what was done in the oligarchy, require of him not to bring his accusation of such things as none will give an answer to; but prove to you that I took his money, about which you are to pass your sentence: nor shew that he has undergone unworthy treatment; but demonstrate me to have been the cause, and that therefore he thinks it just to recover damage of me: for should he litigate with any other citizen, he might dwell on his hard circumstances; but those accusations should not have weight with you, which may be laid against those who have done nothing amiss; but such as cannot be made but of such as have done injustice. Wherefore, to refute his allegation hitherto, perhaps these things may suffice, and I shall have an opportunity of speaking shortly more.

BUT reflect (tho' I may seem to some to handle twice the same topic) that a great many will be attentive to this judgment, not heeding my affair, but thinking sentence is to be given of the whole league, whom you will cause to dwell in the city with safety, if you decree justly; but if otherwise, what courage do you think these will have, who stay in the city, if you seem alike angry with all who have been partakers of this republic? And what security will they think themselves in, who are conscious to themselves, of even a small crime, when they see, that those who have behaved

behaved themselves with moderation, cannot obtain common equity? What tumults are these not to be expected, when some are excited to calumniate, as if you had decreed such things in their favour; and others fear the present state of the city, as if there was no refuge for them in it? Is it not to be apprehended, lest the oath being violated, we again fall into those calamities, on account of which we made this league? It certainly is not necessary you should learn from others what a good is concord, and what an evil is discord; for you have experienced both in so great a degree, that you may, even in the perfectest manner, teach others these truths.

BUT that I may not seem to continue a long time upon the topic of covenants, because it is easy to say many and just things about them, I only desire you will remember this one thing when you give sentence, viz. that before they were concluded, we made war together, some of us inhabiting the circuit of the city, and others having seized on the Piræus, having a greater hatred of one another than of those who were left us hereditary enemies by our ancestors; but no sooner had we pledged our faith to one another, than re-uniting, we so humanely and civilly lived together in the city, as if no dissention had ever happened amongst us; and that before, all thought us the most foolish and miserable of mankind; but we now seem the most prudent and happy of the Greeks: wherefore it is just to punish those who break through our league, not only with these punishments, but with the extremest, as being authors of the greatest evils; especially such as have lived like Callimachus, who, tho' the Lacedæmonians carried on war with us for ten years without intermission, yet gave in his name to no captain to be ranked in battle with his fellow-citizens; but he continued in that time to abscond, and hide his riches. But when the Thirty were established, having returned to the city in a ship, he calls himself popular. Though he was so much the more desirous than others of sharing in their government, that tho' he was ill-treated,

created, yet he would not depart, and was so far from it, that he suffered himself to be shut up in a siege with those who had injured him, than live with you who had been injured by them, and continued partaker of their republic to the very day that you were going to attack the walls; and he came forth, not because he hated the then state of government, but because he feared the imminent danger, as he afterwards declared: for when the people were again shut up in the Piræus, by the invasion of the Lacedæmonians, escaping thence, he sojourned amongst the Bœotians: wherefore he ought rather to be numbered with renegadoes, than be called one of the exiles. And tho' he has been such a man both towards those who returned from the Piræus, as well as those who remained in the city, he is not content to be on an equal footing of law with others, but seeks a better condition than yours, as if he alone was injured, or was the best of citizens, or had suffered the greatest calamities on your account, or had been the author of the greatest benefits to the city. I would have you know him as well as I do, that you may not condole with him for what he has lost, but rather regret what he has still remaining.

Now, should I mention his other actions, how many he has laid snares for, against how many he has begun suits and written actions, with whom he has conspired, and against whom he has given false witness, this hour-glass, were it twice as large, would not suffice me; but when you have only heard one more action of his, you will easily conceive the rest of his improbity. Cratinus had a suit with his kinsman about a farm; a battle happening betwixt them, hiding a female servant, they accused Cratinus of having broke her skull; and after having asserted the woman was dead of the wound, they brought an action against him in the Palladium. Cratinus having heard of their ambush, continued quiet, lest they might change the affair, or invent some other crimes, and that their villainy might not be proved by the very facts. As the accuser was his relation,

tion, and he had witnessed before you, that the woman was dead, they who were friends to Cratinus, entering by force the house, and seizing her, brought her into court, and presented her alive before all; so that there being seven hundred judges, and fourteen of them giving sentence, he had not so much as one suffrage. Call the witnesses of these things.

Witnesses.

WHO therefore can sufficiently excuse those things which were done by him? or who find an example of more flagrant improbity, injustice, and calumny? Some injustices do not disclose all the disposition of the delinquents; but it is easy to comprehend mens whole lives by such horrid actions: for what villainy will they abstain from, who will assert the living to be dead? Or, if a man be wicked for another's interest, what would he not do for his own? And how can any one believe this man, when he speaks for himself, who is convicted of having perjured himself for another? For who ever was more clearly proved to have given a false witness? You judge of others by what is said to refute them; but the judges saw with their own eyes the falsity of this man's testimony; and will he dare, after having been guilty of such improbity, to accuse us of falsity? acting just in such a manner, as if Phrynonidas should object fraud, or Philergus, who stole the statue of Gorgon, should call others sacrilegious; for whom can we imagine more likely to suborn false witnesses, than he who dares to give a false testimony for others?

BUT it will be permitted often to accuse Callimachus, he has led such a life in the republic. As for what regards myself, I shall omit all my other public offices; but I will make mention of this, on account of which you ought not only to have gratitude to me, but may use it as a testimony of all my others; for when our city had lost its ships in the Hellespont, and was deprived of sovereignty, I so far excelled most of the captains, that I, with a few, saved my ship; nay, so far surpassed them, that I alone returning
with

with my ship into the Piræus, did not lay down my commission; but when others willingly evaded public offices, and despaired about the present state of things, and it repented others of what they had expended; others hid what remained them, and thought that the public was ruined, and consulted their own private interest; I had not the same sentiments as they, but after I had persuaded my brother, that he, along with me, would perform the office of trierarch, having paid the sailors with our money, we infested the enemy. Lastly, when Lyfander had decreed, that if any should import corn to you, he should be punished with death, we were so affectionate to the city, that when others durst not bring in their own corn, we, intercepting that which was carrying to them, brought it to the Piræus; for which benefits you decreed we should be honoured with crowns, and be celebrated by heraldry before the statues of Hercules, as authors of great and singular benefits.

BUT you ought to esteem those popular, who not only while the people enjoyed the power desired to be partakers of the state; but who, when the republic was afflicted, chose to risk their lives for you; and ought to be grateful, not because a person has been calamitous, but because he has done you signal benefits; and not pity such as are become poor by losing their substance, but such as are so by having employed their money in your service, one of whom I shall be found to be; who would be the most unhappy of all men, if, after having been at great expence for the state out of my own private purse, I should seem now to lay snares for that of another man, and set light by suffering a public ignominy before you, who not only will appear to have postponed my private fortune, but my very life, to be esteemed and praised by you. Whom of you would it not grieve, if not immediately, yet in a short time, if you should see this calumniator become rich, but me deprived even of what I had left myself from expences in public offices; and that he who never would undergo any dangers for you, should have more power than the laws and treat-

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ties;

ties ; and I, who was always so affectionate to the city, should not be thought worthy of common equity ! Who is there would not blame you, if persuaded by the words of Callimachus, you should condemn me of so great improbity, whom, after mature judgment from the facts themselves, you crowned for bravery, when it was not so easy as now to obtain such an honour ? There is something very different happens to me and others ; for they renew the memory of those who have received benefits ; but I desire that you would remember the benefits which you have conferred, that they may be a testimony to you of all my words and institutes : for it is clear, that we did not render ourselves worthy of this honour, that the oligarchy being established, we might plunder the substance of others ; but that the city being saved, both others might hold their own, and gratitude might be owing to us from the multitude of citizens : which we now desire, not in a view of having more than our right, but declaring we have done no injury, but stand to public oaths and covenants ; for it would be absurd that they should be ratified for those who have injured others, and free them from dangers, and be made void for us, who have deserved so well of the city. It is worth while to observe the state of things, and to reflect, that covenants have been the cause that some cities have been vexed with seditions, but have been the cause that ours has enjoyed greater concord ; which you remembering, ought to decree what is just and equitable.

THE

THE NINETEENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
The ÆGINETIC.

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XX

The S U B J E C T.

I*t was called the Æginetic, from its being spoken in the island of Ægina, where this controversy was brought before the judges. The question is about the inheritance of one Thrasyllocbus, who adopted a friend who had deserved particularly well of him, made him his heir, and gave him his sister for wife. The bastard-sister of Thrasyllocbus puts in her claim of consanguinity, demands the inheritance, and endeavours to invalidate the will; and relates her kind actions, and the friendship which she had for Thrasyllocbus and his family.*



THE NINETEENTH
ORATION of ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
THE ÆGINETIC.

I THOUGHT, O men of Ægina! that Thrasylochus had taken such prudent measures about his affairs, that no one would oppose his gifts by will: but since the adversaries have the intention of contending for what he had so strongly ratified, there is a necessity that we should endeavour to obtain justice from you. And though I see others take it heavily to be brought upon any account unjustly into danger; I am almost disposed to give them thanks that they have commenced this suit against me; for if the affair had not been brought before the judge, you would not have known after what merits I became the dead person's heir; but after the exposition of all the facts, you will perceive, that I was worthy of a still greater reward. Now, it would be but just, that she who contends for these goods, should not only endeavour to obtain Thrasylochus's substance, but shew, that she is deserving of succeeding to his inheritance, upon account of her behaviour to him; but she is so far from repenting of what she did against him in his life-time, that when he is dead, she endeavours to make void his will, and ruin his family. I wonder if those who plead for her think this strife reputable, because they are to pay nothing, tho' they be confuted; for I think this a great mulct, that persons are convinced, by their unjust

pretensions, of meditated improbity; and you will know their malice from the facts themselves, when you have once heard them to the end.

I WILL begin from those things, whereby, I judge, you will most quickly understand the state of our question. Thrasylochus, the father of him who constituted me heir by will, left no estate received from his ancestors; but becoming a guest of Polemænetus the prophet, he lived with him so friendly, that this prophet, at his death, left him his books of divination, and gave him likewise a part of those goods which now remain. Now, Thrasylochus having received such advantages, used this art; and becoming a traveller, dwelt in several cities, and had intimacy with several women, some of whom had children, whom he never esteemed legitimate; and in those times took to him the mother of my adversary: but after he had acquired great wealth, and desired again his own country, he quitted both her and all the rest; and having sailed into Siphnos, he married my father's sister, one of the chief amongst the citizens for riches, knowing that our family excelled others in dignity and other precedencies. Now, he so vehemently loved the friendship of my father, that she dying without children, he married again my father's cousin, because he would not have that affinity dissolved betwixt us; but when he had not long cohabited with her, the same fate attended her as the former. After this, he married a wife from Serippos, of parents more noble than might be expected in that island; from which marriage was born Sopolis, Thrasylochus, and my present wife: wherefore Thrasylochus judging those his only legitimate children, having made them his heirs, finished his life; but I and Thrasylochus having received so great a transmitted friendship from our parents, as I lately mentioned, made it still greater than it was before. While we were still boys, we esteemed one another more than brothers; nor did we celebrate a sacrifice, spectacle, or any other festival, separate; but after we became men, we never acted any thing in opposition
to

to one another, but we communicated our private sentiments, and were of the same disposition in regard of the public. Why need I dwell longer on our domestic familiarity, when we could not be torn asunder by banishment itself? But he falling into a consumption, and being sick a long time, his brother Sopolis being dead, and his mother and sister not yet come, in the midst of such sollicitude, I so well and diligently took care of him, that he thought he never could return me sufficient gratitude; yet he omitted nothing to that purpose, but, being grievously tormented by his distemper, nor having any hopes of life, calling in witnesses, he adopted me, and gave me his sister, and all his substance. Take the will.

The will.

Recite me likewise the Æginetic law; for, according to it, the will must have been made, as we were come hither from our own country.

The law.

ACCORDING to this law, O men of Ægina! Thra-sylochus made me his son, who was before his fellow-citizen and friend, and educated and brought up in the same manner as he himself: wherefore I do not see how he could have acted more by the law, which orders persons of the same condition to be adopted. Take likewise the law of the Siphnians, by which we have been governed a long time.

The law.

IF indeed, O Æginetians! they had opposed those laws while they had that of their own people on their side, it would have less deserved wonder; but it is unanimous with the other. Take the book.

The book.

WHAT have they now to say, since they confess Thra-sylochus left a will; and you see no law patronizes her's, but all of them my plea? In the first place, that law which prevails amongst you, who are to judge; then the law of the Siphnians, amongst whom he was born who made the will; lastly, that which is in force amongst those,

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who controvert the right with me. And what crime do you think those would abstain from, who endeavour to persuade you, that you ought to render null a will, tho' the laws are in favour of it, and you have sworn to judge by those laws? Now, I think, as for the fact itself, I have sufficiently demonstrated all I desire.

BUT lest any one should imagine, that I obtained the inheritance for slight reasons, or that she, tho' she had behaved herself towards Thrasyllochus as she ought, was defrauded of his fortune, I will explain myself on these heads; for I should be ashamed for the dead, unless you all believe, that he has not only done this by law, but likewise, in the nature of the thing, justly. I think the proofs are ready; for they were so at variance, that this woman, who pleads her consanguinity, continued always to carry on enormous disputes with him, with Sopoldis, and their mother: but I shall not only be found to have deserved well in regard of Thrasyllochus and his brother, but likewise in regard of the estate in controversy, above all his other friends; tho' it will be troublesome to speak of things a long time passed; for when all the substance which he had ready and together, was lodged with my guests (for we judged that island the safest), others doubting, and believing the goods lost, I passing by night in a vessel, exported those sums, not without the hazard of my body; for the place was guarded by the king's garrison, and some of our exiles had entered the city, who, in one day, slew with their own hands my father, uncle, and besides those, three cousins: but nothing of this deterred me, but I passed over in a ship, thinking I ought to undergo danger for them, as well as myself. Afterwards, when there was a general flight of the inhabitants from the city, with such tumult and trepidation, that some deserted friends and relations, even in such calamities I did not think it sufficient to save my domestics; but knowing Sopolis was abroad, and sick, I carried off safe his mother, sister, and all the riches with them. Now, who is it more equitable

equitable should possess them than he who then preserved them, and has now received them from the owners?

AND those things I have now mentioned are such, as in regard of which I ran hazards indeed, but received no harm; but I have still to mention, that, by endeavouring to gratify him, I fell into the greatest calamities: for when we were come to Melos, and he perceived we were to stay there, he begged of us that we would sail to Træzene, and not leave him; mentioning the infirmity of his body, and the multitude of his enemies, and how, without me, he could determine nothing about his affairs. Tho' my mother was afraid, because she heard that place was unhealthy, and friends advised me to remain there, yet we judged proper to comply with him; and we no sooner reached almost Træzene, but we were seized by distempers, and I had like to have perished: but as for my sister, who was fourteen years old, I buried her within thirty days, and my mother not five days after. What must the disposition of my mind be, do you think, upon such a change in my life? who formerly was unexperienced in calamities, but lately had been forced into banishment, to be a sojourner, and pass without the assistance of my own wealth. Add to this, that I saw my mother and sister driven from their country, and ending their lives in a foreign land, and amongst strangers: wherefore none can justly envy me, if I have received some benefit from the estate of Thrasylachus; for in a view of gratifying him, living abroad at Træzene; I was afflicted with such calamities, as I shall never forget. But my enemies have not this to say of me, that while Thrasylachus was well, I underwent this, but, when he became burdensome, I deserted him. This they cannot say; for, in his adversity, I shewed more evidently the love I had for him. After he went abroad to Ægina, and fell into that distemper of which he died, I took such care of him, as I know not whether any other ever did of a friend; tho' he was very ill most of the time, not able to appear in public, and confined for six months to his bed; and none of his relations would

would be partakers of such misery, or even come to see him, except his mother and sister, who increased the other calamity; for they came so sick from Træzene, that they stood in need themselves of a cure, and attendance. But tho' others proved such towards him, I was never absent, or wearied; but I watched by him, with one boy, during his illness, no one of the domestics being able to endure it; for being naturally morose, he became more so in his distemper: wherefore it is no wonder they would not continue in such service; but it is more to be wondered at, how I could suffice in attending him through so long a stage of sickness, who laboured a long time under a consumption, and could not be moved out of bed, and suffered so much, that we passed not one day without tears; but continued lamenting one another's labours, our exile, and daily sollicitude: and this was never intermitted; nor could I go away any where, for fear of seeming to neglect him, which was more grievous to me than the present calamities. I wish I could make evident to you my behaviour towards him. Now, all the greatest difficulties in attendance during sickness, the particular troubles which have the most displeasing tediousness, and the closest care, cannot be conveniently mentioned; but do you consider with yourselves, what watchings and miseries I must have suffered in so long a care and attendance during his illness; for I was so indisposed myself, that all those friends who came to visit me, said they were afraid lest I should perish with him; and counselled me to take care, for that many who had waited on persons in such a distemper, have died with them. To whom I answered, that I had far rather die, than let him die before his time for want of due care.

AND tho' I was such in his regard, dares this woman contend with me for his estate? she, who did not once vouchsafe to visit him, tho' he was sick so long a time, and she daily heard how he did, and the journey was easy for her? Will she attempt to call him by the name of brother? as if, the more familiarly they stile him now he is dead,

dead, they will not seem to have committed the more atrocious and heinous crimes against him. This woman, when he had ended his life, having seen as many of our citizens as were at Træzene sailing to Ægina, that they might bury him, came not even at that time; but behaved herself so cruelly and inhumanly, as not to deign to be at his burial; but, in less than ten days, she came to begin a controversy about his substance, as if she had been not so much related to him as his money. But if she will confess, that there was such variance betwixt them, that she did this justly, Thrasylachus did not imprudently consult his own interest, if he chose rather to leave his estate to friends, than to an enemy; or if, when there was no enmity betwixt them, she was so negligent and wicked towards him, it is certainly more reasonable that she should have been deprived of his goods, than to have been made his heir. But do you consider in yourselves, that, as much as it depended upon her, he neither would have had attendance nor a decent funeral; and that he had both by my means. Now, it becomes you to pass your sentence, not so much regarding if some say they are the nearest relations to him, while in fact they were enemies, as considering those, who, tho' they had not the name of relationship, yet behaved themselves more friendly in calamities than relations themselves.

THEY say, they do not deny that Thrasylachus left this will; but that it is not well and lawfully made. But, O men of Ægina! how could any man have with greater prudence consulted about his affairs than he, who neither left his family destitute, nor neglected gratitude to his friends? who, besides, made his mother and sister possessors not only of his own, but of my estate likewise, having given me the one for wife, and, by adoption, made me the son of the other. Had he done more wisely, if he had appointed no one to take care of his mother; had made no mention of me, but had trusted his sister to fortune, and suffered his family to be deprived even of a name? But, perhaps, I was unworthy of being adopted by Thrasylachus,

chus, and having his sister in marriage. Now, all the Siphnians will witness, that my ancestors were the chief of their citizens in nobility, riches, and honour. For who were judged worthy of more honourable magistracies? who conferred more on the city, more splendidly acquitted themselves in their ædileships, or behaved more magnificently in other public offices? Wherefore Thrasylochus, tho' I had never spoken with him, would justly have given me his sister; and I, tho' I had had none of these advantages, but had been the lowest of the citizens, would, upon account of the benefits I did him, have been justly esteemed worthy of the greatest recompences. I believe, that he particularly gratified his brother Sopolis when he disposed things in this manner; for he hated her, and thought her his enemy, while he esteemed me the most of all his friends. He shewed this both in many other regards, and when it was agreed by the partners in exile, to endeavour, with the auxiliaries, to regain the city; for having been chosen leader with the greatest power, he made me his secretary and his pay-master; and when we were going to give battle, he placed me by himself. And do you now consider of what service it was to him; for we having had success in the attack of Siphnos, and our retreat not being such as we could wish, bearing him with a servant on my shoulders, after he was wounded, and began to faint, I brought him to the ship: wherefore he said frequently, and before several, that I was the only man of all, who had saved his life. Now, what benefaction can be greater than this? Afterwards, when having sailed to Lycia, he died there, this woman, a few days after the news of his death, sacrificed, and had a festival; nor was ashamed, tho' the brother of him was living, whose death she so little regarded. But I lamented him, as is customary to mourn for relations; and I did all this by my own inclinations, and for the friendship I bore him, and not in fear of this judgment; for I did not think at that time, that both would die without children, and leave this estate to shew, how each of

us had behaved towards them. And you have almost sufficiently heard how I and she were affected towards Thrasyllochus and Sopolis.

PERHAPS they will have recourse to that pretence which remains them, that Thrasyllochus, the father of this woman, will think it an atrocious injustice (if the dead have any sense of what is done here), should his daughter be deprived, and I rendered heir of what he had got together. But I judge it equitable, that we should not reason from those who have been a long time dead, but from those who are lately so; for Thrasyllochus (the father) left whom he chused masters of his estate. Now, it is just you should allow Thrasyllochus (the son) the same right; and that those should be constituted (not she) his successors, whom he appointed. Nor do I think we need decline the judgment of Thrasyllochus himself; for, I suppose, he would be the severest judge of all against her, did he know her behaviour to his children, and would be far from resentment that you give your sentences according to the laws; but would resent it highly did you make void the wills of his children: for had he transferred his riches to my family, they might have blamed him for it; but he has conferred them upon his own family in such a manner, that they have not received less than he gave. Besides, it is probable no one is less favourable to my adversary's plea than Thrasyllochus; for he learned his art from Polemætus the prophet, and was heir to his money, not on account of relationship, but of merit: wherefore he of all others will least envy, if another, having well deserved of his children, should obtain the same benefit, which he himself was judged worthy of. You should remember likewise those things which were spoken in the beginning; for I shewed you there, that he so highly esteemed our friendship and alliance, that he married my sister and cousin. Now, to whom would he sooner have given his daughter, than to that family, in which he married his own wife? And in what family would he more willingly have seen a son adopted according to law, than in that

that, from which he would have had his own children derived? Wherefore, if you decree the inheritance mine, you will gratify him, and all whom his interest concerns; but, should you be persuaded and deceived by her, you will not only do me an injury, but Thrasylochus, who left the will, Sopolis, and his sister, who lives with me, as well as his mother; who will be the most wretched of women, if she is not only to be deprived of her children, but suffer this additional grief, to see their wills made null, her family deserted, and this woman insulting in her calamities, carry away the money from this judgment, and myself obtaining no equity, who have conferred so many benefits on those who saved him: wherefore, if any one should not consider her, but those who ever contended about a donation, I shall be found inferior in right to no one; and it is certain, that such ought rather to be honoured, and greatly esteemed, than have free gifts extorted from them. It is just likewise to defend the law, by which we are permitted to adopt children, and determine as we please of our own possessions, reflecting, that this law is to childless persons instead of children. By this means, those who are related, and those who are not so, take more care of one another.

BUT to conclude, nor delay time any longer, consider upon what just and equitable pretences I come before you. In the first place, my friendship for those who have left the inheritance, which friendship was ancient, and handed down from our forefathers, and continued always. Secondly, those many and great benefits which I conferred on the calamitous. Thirdly, the will acknowledged by the adversaries. And, lastly, the law, which seems to the Greeks justly established: which this is the greatest sign of; for they think differently of other laws, but all think the same concerning this. I therefore beseech you, that, for these reasons, and those given before, you will decree what is just, and be to me such judges, as you would desire others to be to yourselves.

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THE TWENTIETH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
Against LOCHITES.

The S U B J E C T.

A Certain person having been beaten by Lo-chites, he exaggerates the injury, and endeavours to persuade the judges severely to punish him, a contemner of the laws, and overturner of the popular state. The beginning is abrupt, whereby we may judge it spoken in the second place as a peroration. It is more like a youthful declamation than a pleading, on account of its frequent hyperboles.



THE TWENTIETH
 ORATION of ISOCRATES:
 ENTITLED,
 Against LOCHITES.

THAT Lochites first laid his wicked hands on me, and struck me, all who are present have borne witness. You ought not to think this crime of a similar nature, nor judge the hurt of the body worthy only of the same punishment as an injury in money. You know that the body is most closely united to us; and that we have made laws, contend for liberty, desire a democracy, and do all those things which concern life, on its account: wherefore it is just that you should inflict the severest punishment on those, who violate that which you most esteem. You will find those who have instituted laws to have taken the greatest care of the body. In the first place, on this account only, in regard of all injuries, they would have both private and public causes prosecuted without any pledge of satisfying for the issue, that as every one of us could, and had a mind, he might take vengeance on those who do such an injury. Besides, in all other accusations, the guilty is only obnoxious to be prosecuted by him, who has suffered prejudice; but, in regard of contumely, as for a crime against the public, it is permitted any of the citizens, by proposing the affair in writing to the six magistrates, to come before you: for they judged it such a

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heinous crime that any one should be struck by another, that they made such a law about abusive words only, viz. that he who spoke any thing forbidden, should be fined five hundred drachmaes. Now, what punishment then is it just to take of those, who have made others suffer by action, when it is certain you are so inflamed with indignation against those, who have only injured others in words: and it would be wonderful if you judged those who were thus injurious in the oligarchy worthy of death, but let those go free, who do the same as they in a democracy. But these should undergo deservedly a greater punishment; for they certainly prove more clearly their improbity: for he who dares to trespass contrary to law against citizens, when it is not permitted, what, I pray, would he not have done, when those who governed it, would have thought themselves obliged to those who did such things?

PERHAPS Lochites will endeavour to make this appear a small matter, by ridiculing the accusation, and saying, that I suffered nothing of harm by the blows; but that I make more words about them, than the subject requires. Was there no disgrace added to what I have suffered, I would never have come before you: but now I do not come upon account of the damage done me by blows, but upon account of the infamous injury, to demand justice from you; for which it is reasonable that free men should have the greatest resentment, and take the severest vengeance. I see that you, when any one is guilty of sacrilege or theft, do not inflict punishment according to the value of the things he has taken away; but punish all equally with death; and think, that those who have attempted the same actions, should be liable to the same penalties. You ought likewise to be of the same disposition towards the contumelious, nor consider this, whether they have violently beaten any one, but whether they have violated the law; nor punish them by the measure of what is done, but punish them for the manner in which it was so; reflecting, that small motives have been the causes of great evils; and that many foreigners,

foreigners, as well as citizens, on account of those who dared to strike them, were so inflamed with anger, that they proceeded to slaughter, death, and the cruelest assassinations. Nothing of which was avoided as far as lay in the power of this man: for, as to him, all that has been said before was done; but by fortune, and my moderation, nothing of an irremediable calamity happened.

I JUDGE you will be justly filled with indignation, if you reflect with yourselves how much greater this injury is than any other: you will find, that other injuries are impediments only in regard of a part of our livelihood; but that this contumely prejudices us in all; that many families have been ruined for it, and many cities overturned. And why need I mention at large foreign calamities? We have twice seen the democracy dissolved, and have been twice deprived of liberty, not by such as were guilty of other crimes, but by those who despised others, and would serve the enemy, while they insulted over their fellow-citizens; of whom this man is one; for tho' he is younger than those times, yet he has the disposition of them; for such were their tempers who betrayed the city's power to the enemy, destroyed its walls, and put to death fifteen hundred citizens, without hearing their causes. All which you ought to remember, and not only punish those who hurt you, but likewise those who would reduce the republic to the like condition. And you should more severely punish those, who will probably become wicked, than those who have done profligately before, as it is far better to find a remedy of future evils, than to take punishment for those already done. Nor ought you to wait till such men getting together, and finding an opportunity, trespass against the whole city; but punish them severely for whatever causes they are brought before you; thinking it an advantage, when you have caught some person, who, in small matters, has shewed all his improbity. It would be a most happy thing, was there some other mark of wicked citizens, that you might punish them before they had injured any other citi-

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zens ; but because this cannot be found out before *some* one has suffered harm from them, certainly, after they are known, they ought all to be hated, and judged common enemies. Reflect also on the dangers which occur in regard of private fortunes, that the poor have no share, and yet they are equally liable to the injuries of their bodies : wherefore, when you punish defrauders, you only assist the opulent ; but when you restrain insults, you benefit yourselves, and all. Wherefore these judgments should be highly esteemed, which, in regard of contracts, condemn one party to the payment of as much as it is just the accuser should receive ; but, in cases of insult, to so much as will restrain the guilty from ever committing the like : wherefore, if you abolish that custom of only fining those in money, who offend by youthful insolence, and determine no chastisement severe enough for those who commit injustice against others bodies, you will have performed all that becomes those who judge wisely ; for you will give sentence justly in the present case, will render other citizens more modest, and make your own lives more secure. Now, it is the part of prudent judges, by giving their voices in others causes, to secure their own affairs.

AND let no one of you think, regarding this, that I am poor, and one of commonality, that he should lessen the full penalty ; for it is not just to take less punishment for the sake of obscure men, than for the sake of more noted ; nor to judge the poor worse by nature than the rich : for you will fix a mark of ignominy on yourselves, if you judge so. Besides, it would be the highest injustice, if, now a democracy is constituted, we should not all have one common law ; but think ourselves even worthy of the magistracy, and yet deprive ourselves of those rights we have by our country's constitution ; and if all of us are equally disposed to die in battle for our country, and yet, in passing our sentences, attribute more to those who are richest. But, if you will listen to me, you will not thus be affected towards yourselves, nor will be authors, that young men

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contemn the body of the citizens, nor judge such causes unrelated to you ; but, as if each pleaded his own cause, will give in your verdict : for they equally injure all, who dare to violate that law, which contains the safety of all. Wherefore, if you are wise, mutually encouraging one another, shew your resentment against Lochites, conscious that all such despise those laws which have been enacted, but esteem what is done here of the highest sanction. I have expressed myself as well as I was able on the present occasion ; but if any one of my advocates present has any thing which may further help my cause, let him come forth, and speak before you.

THE TWENTY-FIRST
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
ENTITLED,
The CAUSE without a WITNESS.

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The S U B J E C T.

IT is so called, because it is grounded upon no witness; but the truth is to be judged of by conjectures; for when the thirty tyrants were in power at Athens, Nicias being proscribed, deposited three talents with Euthynus, without any witnesses, who, upon his re-demand of it, received but two, and Euthynus kept back the other. The controversy consists in this, which is more probable, that Nicias should claim what he never trusted, or Euthynus reserve what he had received? This oration is very ingenious, and has been justly admired on that account.



THE TWENTY-FIRST
 ORATION of ISOCRATES:
 ENTITLED,
 The CAUSE without a WITNESS.

I HAVE a just reason for pleading this cause of Nicias; for he is my friend, has desired it of me, has been injured, and is ignorant of pleading: wherefore, by all these reasons, I am obliged to speak in his stead. How his contract with Euthynus happened, I will explain to you in as few words as I am capable.

THIS Nicias therefore, after the thirty tyrants were established, and his enemies had expunged him out of the city, and written him down, amongst others, in Pisander's catalogue, diffident of his safety, he deposited his substance, sent his servants abroad, brought his furniture to me, and entrusted three talents to Euthynus; and retiring into the country, continued there. But not long after, having a mind to go thence in a ship, he asked his money of Euthynus. Euthynus, upon this, restores two talents; but denies the third. Nicias therefore had nothing more that he could do at that time; but coming to his friends, he accused him, complained to them, and told them what he had suffered; but he so valued him, and was so apprehensive of the circumstances of those times, that, if he had been deprived of a little, he would much sooner have held his tongue, than, had he lost nothing, ever accused him: and these were the things just as they happened. Our cause is involved

involved in difficulty ; for neither free person nor slave was present with Nicias, either when he deposited or received the money : wherefore it is not possible that you should know the truth either by questions or witnesses ; but it is necessary that we should plead by probable arguments, and you judge thereby which of us speaks truth.

I JUDGE all know, that those who are skilled in speaking, but possess nothing, are most subject to calumniate others who cannot or cannot so readily argue, but are able to pay money. Now, Nicias possesses more than Euthynus ; but is less knowing in eloquence : wherefore there is no cause why he should be incited to accuse Euthynus unjustly ; but, by the nature of the thing, one may perceive, that it is more probable that Euthynus would deny what he had received, than that Nicias would require what he had not given ; for it is a certain truth, that all men commit injustice for the sake of gain : and those indeed, who defraud others, have those things for which they act unjustly ; but they who accuse, know not whether they shall receive any thing by it. Besides, when things were uncertain in the city, and there were no judgments, no advantage could have accrued to Nicias, had he accused him ; whereas the other could have been in no fear, tho' he had defrauded : wherefore it is no wonder, if, when those who had borrowed money before witnesses, denied it, he should at such a time deny what he alone received from the other in private. But it is not congruous that this person (when even those to whom money was justly owing could not exact it, should imagine he could acquire any thing by accusing Euthynus ; but it is easy to perceive, that if nothing had hindered, and that he both could and would have calumniated, he would the last of any have accused Euthynus ; for those who design such things, begin not with their friends, but, with them, invade others, and accuse such as they neither respect nor fear, and such as are indeed rich, but destitute of friends, and unfit for business and contention. But the contrary is found in Euthynus ; for he is the cousin of Nicias, and has
more

more elquence and experience than he. Besides, Euthynus has a small fortune, but many friends; wherefore there is no person whom Nicias would not sooner have attempted than him; nay, it seems to me, who have known their familiarity, that Euthynus would not have injured Nicias, if he could have defrauded another. But there is one simple cause of this affair; it is permitted to accuse any one you please to pitch on; but it is not possible to defraud, except the person who has trusted a deposit: wherefore, I say, Nicias, had he had an inclination to calumny, would not have attacked him; but Euthynus, with such a disposition, could not find any other to defraud. This is the strongest sign, and sufficient for a judgment of the whole; for, when the accusation was first made, the oligarchy prevailed, under which their circumstances were such, that Nicias, had he been accustomed in former times to calumniate, would have then desisted; but Euthynus, though he had never thought of such a thing before, would have been tempted to do this injury: for Euthynus was then honoured for his vices; but the other laid in wait for on account of his riches. You all know, that, in those times, it was thought more atroce to be rich, than unjust; for these seized the properties of others, but the former lost their own possessions: for they, in whose power the republic was then, punished the innocent, and spoiled those who were possessed of riches; and thought the unjust faithful to them, but the wealthy their enemies. Wherefore Nicias was not in such a situation as to seize on others goods by calumny, but rather to suffer harm himself, tho' he had done no evil; but it was permitted Euthynus in such power to defraud another of what he had received, and accuse those he had no commerce with; whereas those who were in a like condition with Nicias, were forced to forgive their debtors their just debts, and let calumniators plunder them. And that these things are true, Euthynus himself can witness; for he knows that Timodemus extorted from Nicias thirty minae, not by demand of debt, but by threatening to carry him to prison.

prison. But how is it probable that Nicias was arrived at such a pitch of phrenzy, that, while he was in danger of his life by it, he would calumniate others ; and while he could not protect his own, should lay snares for the substance of others, and raise up to himself other enemies to contend with besides those which he already had ; and accuse those unjustly, against whom, tho' they had confessed they had wronged him, yet, at that time, he could have obtained no redress by law ; or, when he was obliged to give what he had never received, he should then hope to gain what he had never entered into a contract about ? What has been said, suffices (methinks) on this subject.

PERHAPS Euthynus will repeat what he has long ago said before, that if he had had a mind to commit an injustice, he never would have restored two parts of the deposit, and retained a third ; but whether he would have been just, or the contrary, he would have been the same in regard of the whole. But, I think, you all know, that when men go about acting unjustly, they at the same time think of an excuse ; wherefore it is not reasonable to wonder, if by those very arguments Euthynus committed this injustice in such a manner. Besides, I could mention many, who upon the receipt of money, have restored the greatest, and retained a small part ; and such likewise as have defrauded in small contracts, and yet been just in regard of great ones : wherefore Euthynus has not been the first, or alone done this. You ought also to observe, that if you approve those who plead thus, you will constitute a law or method, whereby men may, with impunity, defraud others ; so that for the future, they will restore a part, and keep back the rest ; for this will be lucrative to them, if using what they have restored for argument, they shall escape punishment. Reflect also, it is easy to make for Nicias the same defence with Euthynus ; for when he received two talents, no one was present with him ; wherefore if he had a mind, and judged it convenient to calumniate, it is manifest he would not have confessed he had received these ; but he would
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have pleaded for all. Euthynus thus would have run the hazard of a greater sum, and could not use such arguments as he now does. Moreover, there is not one person can shew any reason why Nicias should falsely accuse Euthynus; but it is easy to imagine for what reasons Euthynus has done this injustice to him, and in this manner; for when Nicias was oppressed with calamities, all his relations and friends knew, that he had deposited with this man money; therefore Euthynus knew, that many had heard that money was deposited with him; but what sum, no one knew: wherefore he thought, did he subtract from the sum, he should not be found out; but that if he should detain the whole, he should be proved guilty. Wherefore he chose rather to defraud him of as much as sufficed, than, restoring nothing, to be left without a possibility of denial.

The END of the ORATIONS.

THE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

RESEARCH REPORT

NO. 100

1955

BY

JOHN D. COLEMAN

AND

ROBERT H. DICK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO

1913

THE

INTRODUCTION

EPISTLES

OF

ISOCRATES.



THE EPISTLES of ISOCRATES.

E P I S T L E I.

T H E I N S C R I P T I O N.

Isocrates wishes happiness to Philip king of Macedonia.

IF I was younger, I would not send this letter, but rather fail myself, and upon the spot discourse with you ; but as the season of my life does not agree with labour, and I am now wasted with age, I will endeavour to write to you as prudently as I can about the present state of things. I know indeed it much concerns those, who would persuade others not to explain their mind in letters, but in private conversation, not only because any one may more easily transact business present, than declare his thoughts by letter ; nor that all credit words rather than writings, and think the first, as it were, friendly deliberations, and the latter but as fictions ; but because, besides this, in conversation, if any thing spoken be not understood, or not believed, he that makes the discourse may apply a remedy to both inconveniencies ; but, in sent discourses, if any thing of this nature happens, there is no one to obviate it ; for he being absent who wrote them, writings are deprived of him who should supply their deficiency. But, as you are to be their judge, I have great hope that I shall appear to have spoken to the purpose ; for I judge that you, setting aside all impediments, will apply your mind to the things themselves.

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SOME of those who have been with me, have endeavoured to deter me, saying, that you respect flatterers, but condemn admonitors. Had I believed their words, I would have remained quiet. Now, none shall persuade me that any one can so far excel others as you do, both in actions and wisdom, unless he be the scholar of some, the hearer of others, the benefactor of many, and on every side seek and collect those helps, whereby he may exercise and improve his understanding. I therefore was thus induced to write to you; for resolving both to speak of great things, and of such subjects as it is convenient no one living should sooner hear than you, methinks I ought so earnestly to exhort you, that you must per force become the hearer of such a written oration. Nor am I ambitious of praise, or ignorant that you must be satiated with orations and men. This likewise is evident, that public assemblies are proper for such as are desirous of ostentation; for there they may display their eloquence and ability to the greatest numbers: but that those who would effect any thing, should direct their discourse to him, who can the most expeditiously put in execution what is spoken of in their oration: wherefore, was I to counsel a city, I would direct my discourse to the chief of it; but when I have resolved to give counsel for the public safety of Greece, to whom can any say it is so proper I should direct my discourse as to him, who excels in nobility, and is possessed of the greatest power? Nor shall I seem to speak unseasonably of this subject; for when the Lacedæmonians held the sovereignty, it would not have been easy for you to have patronised us, and resisted them; but they have now such bad success, that they will be content to possess their own territory. But our city will readily be your ally, and partner of your labour, if you will act for the common good of Greece. How then can there a more glorious opportunity happen?

NOR wonder, tho' I am neither orator or captain, nor powerful in any other regard, I undertake so momentous an affair, and attempt two of the greatest things, viz. to speak

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of

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of the state of all Greece, and give you counsel. I indeed abstained soon from all public affairs (for what reasons it would be troublesome to mention here) but it is evident, that I was not ignorant of the institutes of that philosophy, which despises small things, and hastens to great undertakings : wherefore it will not be incredible that I should perceive something profitable sooner than those who are conversant in government, and have acquired glory. I shall immediately demonstrate if I have any merit ; but this will be shewn by what I design to speak of.

NOTE, This letter, with the oration sent to Philip, and the letter to Alexander, probably inspired and animated those great men to undertake the Persian war ; so that Isocrates's eloquence may be said, perhaps, to have produced one of the greatest events in the world.

EPISTLE II.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Isocrates wishes happiness to Philip.

I KNOW well, that kings are wont to have more gratitude for those who praise, than those who admonish them. I, had I not before admonished you with a great deal of benevolence of those things, whereby it appeared to me, that you would do what most became you, perhaps, should not now address this letter about what has befallen you. But because I have chosen to be solicitous for your affairs, as well on account of my own as other Grecian cities, I should blush, should I seem to have given you counsel about less necessary affairs, but should make no mention of those that are more urgent ; and this when the others only concern your glory, but these your safety, which you seem to all those, who have heard the reproaches made of you, to have neglected : for there are none but say, that
you

you expose yourself to danger more than becomes a king; and that you more regard the praise of fortitude, than the event of all. But it is alike disgraceful, when the enemy is pressing on all sides, not to excel others, as, when no necessity calls upon you, to expose yourself to such hazards; wherein should you come off victor, you will gain no great advantage; but, should you lose your life, you will overturn all your present happiness. Now, we ought not to think all deaths in war are honourable; but that those which happen for our country, our parents, and children, are worthy of praise; and that those, which prejudice all these, and give a blot to former successes, ought to be thought by us disgraceful, and be avoided, as the causes of infamy. But I judge you ought to imitate, and consider how cities administer their affairs in war; for they all, when they send out an army, are wont to put in safety the public, and the general council: whereby it happens, that if some calamity befalls them, their power is not annihilated, but they can sustain many losses, and again recover themselves; which you ought to have in view, and think no good greater than safety, that you may use the victories you gain with prudence. You may see what great care the Lacedæmonians take of the safety of their kings, and appoint the most famous of their citizens for their guards, to desert whom when slain, is more infamous than to throw away their shields. But neither are you ignorant of what happened to Xerxes, who formed the design of enslaving Greece; and to Cyrus, who disputed for the Persian kingdom: for the former, tho' he fell into so many calamities and distresses, as no one knows the like of by history, yet, because he had saved his life, he recovered his kingdom, and delivered it to his children; and it is no less terrible now than it was before. But Cyrus, after he had conquered all the king's forces, and had gained supreme power, by his own temerity, did not only deprive himself of so great a dominion, but he brought all his friends into the extremest danger. I could mention many more, who being the generals of great armies, because

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they were slain immaturally themselves, were the cause of the destruction of millions.

CONSIDERING which, you ought not to desire that fortitude which is joined with imprudence, and unseasonable ambition; nor, while so many dangers hang over monarchy, invent for yourself others of an ignoble, common, military nature; nor contend with those, who would either be freed from a miserable life, or rashly face dangers, in the hope of a larger stipend; nor desire even such a glory as others, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, have obtained; but that which is of such sublimity, that no one living, but yourself, can acquire; nor as much love those virtues which mean men may be partakers of, as those which no bad man can have a share in: nor carry on ignoble, dangerous wars, when you may undertake honourable and safe ones; nor, in fine, such whereby you may throw your friends into the greatest grief and sorrow, and give the greatest hope to your enemies, as you have now done. But it will suffice so far to conquer these Barbarians you now fight with till you have secured your own kingdom, and then attack and endeavour to overthrow him, who is now called the great king, thereby to exalt your own glory, and shew to the Grecians against whom they ought to make war. I very much wish I had sent you this letter before you had undertaken your expedition; for, if you had been persuaded, you would not have been exposed to such dangers; but, if you had not listened to me, yet I should not seem to counsel you to such things, as now, upon account of what you have suffered, are manifest in their nature to all; but the event would have proved, that those words were true which I had spoken about such enterprises.

THO' I have many things to say on the subject, yet I will conclude; for I judge, that you and the best of your friends can easily add as much as you please to what has been said by me. Besides, I am afraid of appearing to affect too great copiousness; for having thus proceeded by degrees, I did not observe that I had not preserved the brevity

vity of a letter, but had indulged the length of an oration : but should this be so, yet those things which regard our city, ought not to be neglected ; but I ought to endeavour to persuade you to cultivate its amity and friendship: for I judge there do not want many persons, who will tell you not only the most odious things which are said of you here, but will add something of their own ; whom it is not just you should listen to : for it would be unreasonable that you should blame our people for easily giving credit to accusations, and yet you yourself believe those who practise such fallacy. And you must be sensible, that the more any prove our city to be credulous, they prove it more disposed for your purposes ; for if those who can effect no good, obtain by words of it whatever they please, it is certainly congruous that you, who in fact can so greatly benefit it, must of course obtain whatever you judge proper. Now, I think, to those who most bitterly reproach our city, may be opposed those, who say it has a right to all, and never did amiss in things of a greater or less moment. But I shall imitate neither of them ; for I should blush, if, while others think not the gods themselves impeccable, I should dare to assert, that we had never transgressed in any thing : but I have this to say of it, that you can find no other more serviceable to Greece, or useful for your own affairs, which ought particularly to be considered by you : for, not only as a declared ally, it will be the cause to you of much good, but if it only seems friendly disposed ; for by this means you will more easily keep those in their duty, who are already subject to you, if they have no refuge ; and you may more easily conquer what Barbarians you please. Why should you not willingly desire that friendship, by which you will hold securely your present power, and will acquire an ample additional one without danger ? Now, I wonder at those potentates, who hire great armies of mercenaries, and expend much money upon them, tho' they know that such men have injured more of those who confided in them than they have saved ; but yet do not endeavour to gain the friend-

ship of a city possessed of such power, which has already preserved both singular cities and all Greece. Reflect also, that you seem to many to have consulted rightly in acting justly by the Thessalians, and as was convenient for them, tho' not tractable men indeed, but magnanimous, and prone to sedition. You ought therefore to be such towards us, knowing, that the Thessalians have only their country, but we a great power neighbouring to you, which you must by all means endeavour to reconcile: for it is much more glorious to gain the benevolence of cities, than to force walls; and the latter has not only envy for its attendant, but men are wont to attribute such achievements to armies; whereas, if you acquire benevolence and friendship, all will praise your prudence.

You may justly credit me about what I have said of our city; for I am not accustomed to flatter it in my discourses, but to have reprehended it more than any one; nor ever to have been esteemed by the vulgar, and those who take rash counsels, but not unknown or odious to such as you are. But this is the difference betwixt us, that they are of this disposition towards you on account of your felicity and power; towards me, because I profess myself wiser than they, and they see more are willing to converse with me than them. I wish it was equally possible for both to avoid the opinions which they have conceived of us; but you, if you please, without much difficulty, may blot them out in respect of yourself: but I am under a necessity, on account of my old age, and many other reasons, to be contented with my condition. Wherefore I see not why I should say more, but only this, that it is permitted you to recommend your empire and fortune as a pledge to the friendship and benevolence of all Greece.

EPISTLE III.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Isocrates wisheth happiness to Philip.

I DISCOURSED with Antipater concerning those things which would be advantageous to our city and you, with sufficient copiousness, as I have persuaded myself. But I chose likewise to write to you about those things, which, as it seems to me, you should do after the peace, of a like nature indeed with those written in the oration, but in a much briefer manner. At that time I counselled you, after you had reconciled our city, that of the Lacedæmonians, and of the Argives, to unite all the Greeks in concord. I imagined, that if you persuaded the principal cities to be of such a disposition, the others would easily follow. Then the state of affairs was different; but it has now so happened, that persuasion is unnecessary: for, on account of the battle which has been given, all are forced to be wise, and desire those things, which, I believed, you thought and had a desire of, viz. leaving all phrenzy and avarice whereby they plagued one another, to transfer the war directly into Asia. Besides, many ask of me, whether I persuaded you to an expedition against the Barbarians, or, when you had determined it first, if it had my approbation? I answered, I do not know for certain; for I never hitherto had your conversation: yet I can say, that I believe you had purposed the design; but that I seconded your intention. When they had heard this from me, they desired I would admonish and exhort you to continue in the same intentions, there not being a possibility of more noble achievements, more useful to Greece, or likely to be more favoured by opportunity. If therefore I had the same faculty which I had formerly, and was not enfeebled quite by age, I would not thus exhort you by letters, but, in your presence, would counsel and excite you to the enterprize. Now, I exhort you in that manner I can, not to neglect

these things till you have compleated them. Besides, it is not reputable insatiably to desire any things else. Moderation of them is approved by most ; but to desire great and distinguished glory, and never to be fatiated with it, is becoming those who far excel others, which is your case. Do you therefore judge you will have acquired a transcendant degree of it, and worthy of your actions, when you have forced the Barbarians to serve the Grecians, except such as fight on your side ; and reduce that king, who is now stiled Great, to such a condition, that he obey your orders. This is much easier to be done by you in your present state, than for you to have arrived at that power and glory which you now enjoy, beyond that kingdom which you had at first : nor will any thing remain for you, but to attain divinity. I have a grateful sentiment for old age on this account only, that it has so far prolonged my life, that, I hope, what I thought of when I was young, and began to write of in the panegyric, as well as in that oration which I sent to you, I see partly compleated by what you have done, and hope to see the rest accomplished hereafter.

F P I S T L E IV.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Isocrates wishes health to Philip.

I THO' it is dangerous to send a letter into Macedonia, not only now when we are at war together, but even when we are at peace, yet have chosen to write to you about Diodotus, thinking it but just to highly esteem my disciples, and those who have been worthy of my friendship, and not in the least degree this person, both on account of his benevolence to me, and equity in all other things. Now, I should particularly desire he should be recommended by me ; but, since he is known to you by others, what remains is, that I bear testimony of him, and
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confirm the knowledge you have of him already. I have had the familiarity of many and various persons, some of whom were distinguished by great glory, others by eloquence, and some again by prudence, and the management of affairs; some for their modesty and affable behaviour, tho' useless for the other purposes and customs of life. But this person received such a happy genius from nature, that he was wonderfully perfect in all these qualities; and I should not dare to speak this, if it was not that I had most certain experience, and you will have the same, partly when you yourself converse with him, and hear his praise from others who have had his acquaintance, none of whom, except he be envious, will deny, that he is, both in eloquence and counsel, inferior to none, yet very just and moderate, and abstinent in respect of money, besides a most agreeable and facetious companion, let me add, and of a great deal of liberty in his conversation; not such tho' as is improper, but which is justly the greatest mark of benevolence towards friends, which those princes, who have a greatness of soul worthy of empire, honour as beneficial; but those who are of a weaker genius than is suitable to their power, take ill, as if it forced them to act against their inclinations, ignorant, that in regard of that utility which we are speaking of, those who dare most freely contradict, afford them the greatest opportunity of acting with full liberty: for it is probable, that, by means of those, who chuse to speak for the pleasure only of others, not monarchies alone cannot confirm their power (which certainly are exposed to many dangers), but that even republics cannot, which are governed with more security. Now, it is not unlikely, they who persist freely in delivering the best counsel, may save many states that would otherwise perish: wherefore it is just they should be in greater esteem with kings, who declare the truth, than those who speak every thing to please, but nothing worthy of gratitude; but it happens, that such are generally in less favour with the powerful, which Diodotus happened to suffer from
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some of the Asiatic potentates, to whom he had been very useful, not only by counsels, but actions and dangers, because he spoke freely about what would have benefitted them, he was both deprived of his domestic happiness and a great variety of hopes; and some mens flattery had greater prevalence than his real services; on which account, tho' he always designed to pass over to you, yet he delayed, not because he thought all alike in superior power, but because, by reason of the difficulties they laid in his way, he was of a less chearful mind in entertaining the hopes you offered him. He seems to me to have suffered something of a like nature with some who go to sea, who, when they have at first met with a tempest, scarce go to sea with courage any more, tho' they know navigation may be performed with great security. But, since he is recommended to you, all things seem to him to have happened well. I judge it will happen so to him, by a conjecture drawn from your humanity, which you are thought possessed of even by strangers and foreigners; and then, that you are not ignorant that it is the most pleasant and profitable of all things to acquire, by benefits, faithful and useful friends, and deserve well of those, for whose sakes many others will be grateful to you; for all elegant-minded persons praise and honour such as converse equitably and benevolently with virtuous men, as if they themselves had received kindnesses from them. But I judge Diodotus himself will be the greatest motive to you of providing for him. I likewise exhorted his son, that he would espouse your interest, and, by devoting himself to you as a disciple, endeavour to make greater proficiency. While I was speaking this, he declared he was desirous of your friendship; but that he found himself much in the same manner affected towards it, as he was towards honorary crowns gained in gymnastic games: he wished indeed to win them; but that he dared not descend into the area, because he had not sufficient strength: that thus he desired to obtain honours from you, but despaired of deserving them; for, he said, he feared his own inexperience, and
your

your splendor: besides, that his person was not advantageous, but liable to blame, which, he thought, would prove an impediment to him in business. He therefore shall do whatever he judges convenient; but whether he be with you, or indulging quiet, I would desire you to take care of him in all he needs; but particularly take care of his and his father's safety, thinking you have in him, as it were, a trust of my old age, which justly merits regard, both from my authority, if I may be judged worthy of any, and also from my benevolence to you, which has been perpetual thro' my life. Nor ought you to wonder if I have written too prolix a letter, and have said something superfluous, or like the old man, in it; for neglecting all other things, I only took care of this, that it might appear I have been solicitous for my friends, and those who are valued by me.

EPISTLE V.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Ifocrates wishes happiness to Alexander.

WHEN I wrote to your father, I thought it would be imprudent, if I did not at the same time address myself to, and salute you, who are in the same place; and write something of such a nature, as may be the cause that those, who do not know me, may not think I am become childish, or quite foolish by old age; but perceive, that what of genius remains me, is not unworthy of the faculty I was possessed of in my youthful days; for I hear from all, that you are humane, affectioned to the Athenians, a lover of wisdom, and never act rashly, but with consummate prudence: and they say, you approved not of such of our citizens who have neglected themselves, and desire dishonourable things, but such, in whose conversation you felt no tediousness, but, had you taken counsel with them, would have suffered no injury or detriment;

ment; with whom, and such like, it certainly becomes wise men to have familiarity. It is likewise said, that, amongst the various kinds of philosophy, you do not reject that, which is employed in disputations; but judge, that it too has its use in conversation: but that it is not proper for those who preside over the people, or are monarchs; for that it neither is convenient or decent, that those who are of sublimer minds than others, should either wrangle with their citizens, or give others the liberty of contradicting them. They therefore say, you love not this study like that of eloquence, a science we put in practice on daily occurrences, and, by its means, deliberate about affairs of state; by which you now seem to lay down just rules for your subjects, and prescribe what each ought to do; and to judge wisely of honourable and just actions, with their contraries; besides, chastise and reward both according to merit. Whereby you give hopes to your father and others, that, if you persevere in such institutes, you will as far surpass others in wisdom, as your father has surpassed all.

E P I S T L E VI.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Isocrates wishes happiness to the sons of Jason.

ONE of the ambassadors, who were sent to you, told me, that being called aside, he was asked by you, if I might be persuaded to go abroad, and stay with you. I should indeed, upon account of Jason and Pelyacus's hospitality, willingly come to you; for I know such a mutual conversation would benefit us all: but many things are impediments to me, especially because I cannot travel, nor does it become persons of my years to go abroad; and besides, because all who heard of my voyage would justly blame me, if, having chosen to pass my former life in tranquillity, I should attempt to travel into distant places in
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my old age, when it is becoming for me, tho' I had passed my days before in foreign places, now to hasten home again, when the conclusion of my life is so near. Moreover, I am afraid of our city, (for I ought to speak the truth) because I see alliances made with it soon dissolved; and should any thing happen of a like nature betwixt you, how could I avoid accusation and danger (which would be very difficult) and not blush besides, whether I should seem to some, upon account of our city, to neglect you, or, on your account, to undervalue our city; for when your interests were no longer common, I do not see how I could please both. Wherefore, there are so many causes, you see, for which I cannot do what you desire.

NOR do I yet judge, that while I write to you only about my own circumstances, it is becoming me to neglect your interest; but what I would have spoken present, I will endeavour now to explain to you as well as I can: yet do not imagine this, that I have written to you this letter, not on account of your hospitality, but because I had a mind to make shew of my ingenuity; for I am not arrived at that degree of deliriousness, as to be ignorant, that I can never write better than what has been already published by me, when I am now so remote from the flower of life; and that, if I should produce what is inferior, I shall lessen my own reputation by it. Besides, if I shewed ostentation, nor acted sincerely, I would not have chosen out of all, a subject that is easy to be spoken on, but would have found out some other that was more brilliant, and would have furnished me with greater variety of discourse: but I never even before pleased myself on such a score, but on quite different motives, which are concealed from most; nor do I now write with such a view. But seeing you involved in many and great affairs, and having a mind to declare what sentiments I have about them, I thought I had, respectively to them, the fairest opportunity of giving my best counsel and advice; for experience teaches persons of my age, and they seem to know what is best better than others.

others. But to speak upon a proposed subject with harmony, elegance, and accuracy, is no longer to be expected from my years; and I shall be contented, if I seem not to speak altogether negligently: but do not wonder, if I appear to say some of those things which you have heard before; for I, perhaps, shall unwillingly fall upon some of them, and knowingly chuse the others, as judging them most proper; for I should be ridiculous, if, while I see others make use of what I said before, I should alone abstain from, and avoid my own thoughts.

I HAVE prefaced so much upon this account, viz. because what I shall first mention is a very trite direction; for I am wont to say to those who study eloquence, that we ought particularly to consider what we are to do throughout the whole oration, and its parts: but, after we have found out this, and accurately disposed all, that then we are to seek out those ideas and figures, whereby we may acquire our proposed end. This is the ground-work or rudiment of all other things, and your affairs; for nothing can be done prudently, unless you first reason accurately, and determine how you ought to conduct yourself in time to come, and what should be the tenor of your whole life; what glory you ought to have in view, and what honours you ought to love, whether such as are conferred upon you by willing or unwilling citizens. When you have come to a resolution about this, then those singular actions, which daily occur, are to be considered, that they may conduce to that plan which was laid down in the beginning. And if you thus maturely reflect and resolve, you will constantly aim at utility, as at a mark, and will the sooner hit it. But if you propose no such scope to yourselves, but endeavour to regulate what casually happens, there will be a necessity of your frequently mistaking, and being disappointed in many things.

PERHAPS some of those, who chuse to lead their lives by chance, will endeavour to invalidate such reasonings, and will require, that, after I have clearly defined what I mean,

mean, I should then give my counsel about what has been said before. I think, therefore, I should not delay to give my sentiments. A private life seems to me both preferable and safer than that of monarchs; and I judge those honours sweeter that are given by free and magnanimous persons, than by such as are oppressed by slavery. I will endeavour to explain myself; but I am not ignorant that I shall have many adversaries, and especially such as are conversant with you. I know they do not a little exhort you to retain despotic power; for they do not consider the nature of the whole thing, but deceive themselves. They see power, lucre, and pleasure, and hope they shall enjoy them; but they do not see those disturbances, fears, and calamities, which befall both princes and their friends. They are in the same condition of blindness with those who commit the basest and most atrocious actions; for they are not ignorant of the deformity of those things, but they hope they shall obtain whatever there is of gain or pleasure in them, but shall shun their troubles, avoid their evils, and live remote from danger, while they enjoy all their possible utility. I therefore envy not those who are of such a mind, upon account of their sloth and indolence. But I should blush, if, while I give counsel to others, having no regard for them, I should only have in view my own interest, and should not, without respect of my own advantages, and all other things, counsel what was best. Wherefore, be attentive to this letter, as from a person entirely of those sentiments.

EPISTLE VII.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Isocrates wishes happiness to Timotheus.

I SUPPOSE you heard from many mention made of our mutual friendship. Now I congratulate with you, first, that you use your power more justly and prudently than your

your father ; and then, that you chuse rather to obtain true glory, than great riches. You give not a small sign of virtue, but the very greatest, when you are of this mind : wherefore, if you persevere in what is said of you, you will not want persons who will praise both your prudence and philosophy : and I think, that what is said of your father, is a sure argument that you are both wise, and excel others ; for men are wont not so much to praise and honour those who were born of praise-worthy parents, as those who were born of cruel and barbarous ones, if it is evident that in nothing they resemble them : for in all things, the good which happens beyond expectation, is more grateful to mankind, than that which happens as it is probable and fitting it should : which things being well considered, you ought to think and seek out, by using what means and what counsellors, you may amend the calamities of the city ; may exhort your citizens to beneficence and moderation, and cause them to live with more pleasure and security than they did in times past ; for this is the duty of such who govern justly, and with equity and prudence : which some neglecting, have nothing else in view, but to live themselves in the greatest licentiousness, and banish and plunder the best of citizens ; not reflecting, that it becomes the prudent who are in supreme power, not to acquire themselves pleasures from others calamities, but render their citizens, by their own care and sollicitude, more happy ; nor be of a harsh and savage disposition towards them, and neglect their own safety, but preside over others so mildly and gently, that no one will dare to conspire against them ; but yet guard their lives with as much care, as if all designed to assassinate them. For those who have such conduct, will be themselves out of danger, and made glorious over all Greece ; a greater good than which, it would be a difficulty to have an idea of. It came into my mind while I was writing, how happily all events have befallen you ; for that affluence of riches, which must necessarily be gotten tyrannically, with a deal of odium and violence, has
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been left you by your father ; but to make a good and humane use of them is in your own power ; concerning which you ought to take singular care and caution. Which I think is of this nature ; for the thing is thus : if you love money and great power, and those dangers by which they are acquired, you must call in other counsellors ; but if you have already enough of these, but desire virtue, true glory, and the love of the people, then you ought to be attentive to my counsels, and contend with those for fame, who have governed their cities well, and strive to excel others. I hear likewise, that Cleomis, who holds the government of Methymnæ, is, in his actions, just, virtuous, and prudent, and so far from putting any to death, or banishing them, proscribing their goods, or doing them any other prejudice, that he gives great security to his citizens, restores those who return to their possessions, and pays those who had bought them, the full of what they had given for them ; besides, arms all the citizens, as if none could possibly have any bad designs against him ; but that, if any dared, judging it better to die, while he shews such an example of virtue to all, than live longer than other men, by being author of the greatest calamities to his city.

PERHAPS I would have discoursed with you thus, longer, and more accurately, unless I was under a necessity of finishing this letter in a short time ; but I will send you my counsel again, if old age does not prevent me. At present, we will discourse about private affairs ; for Autocrator, who brings this, is my friend. I have been conversant with him in the same studies, have made use of his rules, and have often persuaded him to undertake a voyage to you ; for all which I desire you will treat him honourably, and as is becoming both ; and that it may be clear, I have faithfully discharged myself of a part of what is due to him. Nor wonder that I so readily write to you, and yet never desired any thing of Clearchus ; for almost all they who sail to you say, that you are like the most excellent of those who have conversed with me : but as for

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Clearchus,

Clearchus, all confess, that, during the time that he was with us (whoever knew him) he was the most liberal, mild, and humane of all, who devoted themselves to my discipline; but, as soon as he had supreme power, that he was so changed for the worse, that all wondered, who had any part of his acquaintance. I am therefore become estranged from him on these accounts; but I esteem you, and vehemently desire your friendship. You will shortly shew if you are in the like disposition; for you will please to take care of Autocrator, and send me a letter, that you may renew our ancient friendship and hospitality. Farewel; and if you would have any thing else done by me, let me know.

E P I S T L E VIII.

THE INSCRIPTION.

To the magistracy of Mitylenæ.

THE sons of Apharcus, and my grandsons, who have been instructed in music by Agenor, desired I would send a letter, to prevail with you, as you have recalled several exiles, to receive him again, his father, and brothers. But tho' I said I should appear absurd and ridiculous, if I asked things of such moment from persons, with whom I never spoke, nor had any familiarity, they, upon hearing my reply, pressed me the more eagerly; and when they could obtain nothing of what they hoped, they shewed to us all that they were grieved, and bore my denial with great uneasiness. Perceiving they grieved more than was convenient, I at length promised I would write a letter, and send it you: wherefore, that I may not seem impertinent and troublesome, I have this for my apology. I think you have consulted prudently to return again into friendship with your citizens; endeavour to diminish the number of exiles, encrease that of citizens, and imitate our city in a sedition: for you shew thereby, and make it manifest

refest to all, that you decreed their expulsion, not because you desired their goods, but that you were apprehensive for the city: But tho' you had done nothing of this nature, nor received any of the exiles, I judge it would be proper you should restore those; for it would be shameful to you, that all should allow your city to excel in the art of music, that those, who have surpassed others in it, were born in that city, and that yet he, who excels all artists of this kind at present, should be banished such a city; when other Grecians make those who are eminent in any reputable studies, tho' they be no ways related to them, citizens, while you suffer those to be sojourners amongst foreigners, who are most famous amongst you, and of the same blood. And I wonder that many cities more reward such who excel in gymnastic games, than those who, by genius and industry, find out what is conducive to real happiness; nor consider, that the qualities of strength and swiftness are of such a nature, that they perish with the body; but that sciences continue, and are in all times a benefit to those who study them: which being so, it becomes those who are endued with reason, to esteem those most, who preside with justice and virtue in their city, and then those who can procure it glory and fame by their knowledge; for all men considering such as specimens, judge the rest of their fellow-citizens resemble them.

BUT, perhaps, some will say, that it becomes those who would obtain any thing, not only to praise it, but shew, that it is but just they should acquire it. The case is this: I indeed have abstained from public offices and harangues, because I neither had a sufficient voice or boldness; but yet I was not quite useless, or of no value; but it will be evident that I was a counsellor and abettor to all those who would speak well of you and the other allies; and that I have composed more orations for the liberty and rights of the Greeks, than all who have ascended and almost worn out the rostrum: for which you ought to be in the highest degree grateful to me. You desire particularly such

a state of all Greece; for I judge, that if Timotheus and Conon were now alive, and Diophantes returned from Asia, they would desire I should be successful in my intentions. But it is not necessary I should say more on this topic; for there is no one amongst you so young, or forgetful, but he knows you have received the greatest favours from them: wherefore it seems to me you will consult most prudently about this affair, if you consider who he is that entreats you, and for what persons; for you will find me to have been the most intimate friend to those who were authors of the greatest good to you and others; and that those, for whom I do entreat you, are neither offensive to their elders or magistrates, and teach an useful and pleasant science to youth, and those who are of a proper age for it. Do not wonder if I am so easily persuaded to write a recommendatory letter both for others, and my own particular friends; for I would both gratify my grandchildren, and make it manifest to all, that tho' they never meddle with the government; but only imitate my institutes, that they will not be worthless citizens. One thing remains; I further desire, that if you judge proper to do any thing in this kind, you will signify to Hegenor, and his brothers, that they obtain, partly by me, what they so vehemently wish for.

EPISTLE IX.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Isocrates to Dionysius.

FORERUNNERS, arm-bearers, heralds, and pompous thrones, are the eclipse of true philosophy, and the widest separation from virtue. You have not changed with fortune your nature: you have still a skin-cloathing; for you was made a mortal in the beginning. Why therefore should a vain-glory so far puff up a frail bladder? Unhappy wretch!

wretch ! you are replete with phrenzy, and are deprived of the knowledge of your own nature. What ! have the favours of fortune made you so far desert philosophic contemplations, as to cause you to abandon that sacred enthusiasm ? Your condition was formerly illustrious ; but now it is abject and groveling. The mountain of fortune is high and precipitous ; wherefore fly from false happiness, and shun fugitive fortune : for thus you will prevent her ingratitude, and not impatiently bear a change.

THE END.

THE JOURNAL OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
VOLUME LXXV. PART I. 1905.
LONDON: PUBLISHED BY THE INSTITUTE,
21, BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C. 1905.
PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE.
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