LO

ARISTOTLE
ART OF RHETORIC

Translated by

J. H. FREESE

Revised by

GISELA STRIKER

Aristotle (384–322 BC), the great Greek thinker, researcher, and educator, ranks among the most important and influential figures in the history of philosophy, theology, and science. He joined Plato's Academy in Athens in 367 and remained there for twenty years. After spending three years at the Asian court of a former pupil, Hermeias, where he married Pythias, one of Hermeias' relations, and living for a time at Mytilene, he was appointed by King Philip of Macedon in 343/2 to become tutor of his teenaged son, Alexander. After Philip's death in 336, Aristotle became head of his own school, the Lyceum at Athens, whose followers were known as the Peripatetics. Because of anti-Macedonian feeling in Athens after Alexander's death in 323, Aristotle withdrew to Chalcis in Euboea, where he died in 322.

Aristotle wrote voluminously on a very broad range of subjects analytical, practical, and theoretical, but nearly all the works that he prepared for publication are lost; extant are lecture-materials, notes, and memoranda, some spurious. *Rhetoric*, a manual for public speakers, was probably composed while Aristotle was still at the Academy and Isocrates was still alive. Instead of the sophistic and Isocratean method of imitating model speeches, Aristotle devised a systematic method based in dialectic, on which he had recently written the first manual. The goal of rhetoric is to find the available means of persuasion for any given case using argument, the

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ARISTOTLE

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JOHN HENRY FREESE

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PREFACE

When the editors of the Loeb series asked me whether they should commission a new translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, since the Greek text would in any case have to be revised according to the new authoritative edition of Rudolf Kassel (1976), I took a look at the three scholarly translations I had at hand—by W. Rhys Roberts, a translation that was published at the same time as Freese's Loeb volume and is now again available in a revision by J. Barnes, and the more recent translation by G. A. Kennedy (1991). It seemed to me that it would be a pity to abandon what I still see as one of the best translations, only to replace it by one that would sound only slightly more modern. Freese's English now sounds old-fashioned, but not so antiquated that readers of the twenty-first century would no longer understand it. Comparing it with Roberts', I found that though Roberts' version is probably the most elegant available, it also very often tends to resort to paraphrase where a more literal translation would be possible. It is rather more literary in style than Aristotle's text, while Freese comes much closer to Aristotle's unadorned and concise Greek. Incidentally, that also makes it easier for readers to compare the translation with the Greek text. So I suggested that a revision of Freese would be enough to bring the Loeb volume up to date.

Apart from the necessary changes in the Greek text and the corresponding changes in translation, I also tried to take into account the scholarly literature that had been published since the 1920s. This concerns especially the technical terminology, where words that might have seemed to be merely stylistic variants had been shown to be relevant. So for instance the words εἰκός (likely or probable) and ἔνδοξον (plausible) were indiscriminately translated as "probable"; the word πίστεις (in most cases translated as "means of persuasion"') was throughout translated as "proofs," which now sounds odd when applied to such things as emotions; in fact, only in Book 3 is it used in the loose sense of "proof" to cover everything that an orator would put forward to support a proposal or judgment.

Finally, Roberts evidently had a talent for English versification, always translating Aristotle's quotations from drama or poetry into English verse. Freese did not try, but then his translations sometimes sound so much more awkward than the surrounding prose that I have often tried to give them at least some rhythm.

In places where I had to adapt the translation to correspond to Kassel's text, I have consulted the English translations of Roberts (revised) and Kennedy, but also the French of M. Dufour in the Budé edition and the German of C. Rapp. In the very few places where I decided to diverge from Kassel's text, I have indicated that in a footnote.

In closing, I would like to thank the editors of the Loeb Classical Library, and in particular Jeffrey Henderson and

Michael B. Sullivan, for entrusting the revision of this volume to me, for their help in editing it, and for their patience with a very slow worker.

GISELA STRIKER
Hamburg
December 2019

INTRODUCTION

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is a manual for public speakers written by a philosopher. While this might raise some eyebrows today, it was not so surprising at a time when neither philosophy nor rhetoric were clearly established as distinct disciplines. They had a common ancestor in the fifth-century generation of the great sophists Protagoras and Gorgias, which also included Socrates. Though Socrates, of course, always insisted that he had no expert knowledge that he could teach, but was simply a lover of wisdom, even Plato's dialogues show that he was seen as the Athenian counterpart of the visiting sophists from abroad. By the end of the fifth century, the label "sophist" had obviously acquired a derogatory sense. New words were needed to describe what these public teachers were doing. Isocrates, a slightly older contemporary of Plato, was a student of Gorgias, but also at least for some time among the companions of Socrates. He founded a school in Chios around 390, where he taught the art of speaking well (εὖ λέγειν), not just (albeit primarily) in style, but also in content. He described what his students were learning as philosophy, though not in the sense of the subtleties and scientific exercises practiced in the Academy, but only to the extent that it would be of practical use for good citizens. The

writers of court speeches of his time he called sophists, obviously in the negative sense.

The noun "rhetoric" as a label for the sophists' skill appears for the first time in our sources in Plato's dialogue *Gorgias*, where the famous sophist declares that all he teaches is the ability to speak persuasively. But then Socrates denounces rhetoric as a pseudo-craft, aiming only at the pleasure of the audience. A serious rhetoric, he says later, would be able to teach the truth and aim at the moral improvement of the listeners. The same ideal of a philosophical rhetoric, together with the condemnation of the existing versions, is set out in more detail in Plato's *Phaedrus*. So it might have seemed strange that Aristotle, as a member of Plato's school, should turn to the teaching of rhetoric. Perhaps to explain this move, an ancient anecdote, reported by Cicero (*De or.* 3.35.141) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 3.1.14), tells us that Aristotle, seeing the great number of distinguished students going to Isocrates' school, parodied a line from Euripides and said, "A shame to stay silent and let Isocrates speak."

It is not likely that Aristotle envied Isocrates for his many students. Isocrates had founded his school to make a living; his students would pay a fee and stay for a year or two with him. The Academy, by contrast, was at least as much a place of common research, in the sciences as well as in philosophy, and its members did not have to rely on fees. But unlike Plato, Aristotle accepted the importance of rhetoric in the political life of the Athenian democracy. He had made a collection (now lost) of existing manuals, and found them wanting. As he puts it, these teachers would give their students model speeches or parts of speeches to memorize and then use them to compose

their own, acting like shoemakers who present their apprentices with finished pairs of shoes instead of instructions (*Soph. el.* 34, 184a1–6). Aristotle rightly thought that he could do better by providing a systematic method for all kinds of speechmaking, thus offering a useful tool to students of politics and writers of trial speeches.

His *Rhetoric* opens with a programmatic statement: "Rhetoric is a counterpart of dialectic"—similar but not identical with the art of arguing for and against any given thesis. Not long before, Aristotle had written the first manual of dialectic, as he proudly says at the end of his *Topics*. Both dialectic and rhetoric are *not sciences* that have a specific subject matter; they provide methods that can be used in almost any field and are thus tools for philosophers and politicians, respectively. Aristotle goes on to criticize the rhetoricians of his time, mostly writers of trial speeches, for neglecting precisely the arguments about the case at hand that ought to be at the core of any attempt to support an accusation or a defense. He then sets out his own conception of rhetoric and its uses: public audiences, whether in the courts or in political assemblies, usually consist mainly of simple people with little or no education. Such people cannot be persuaded by precise scientific teaching that is beyond their grasp; so rhetoric must start from plausible opinions that the listeners may already hold to convince them of the truth. The objection that rhetoric can also be misused could be raised equally about many other good things, such as strength, wealth, or power. And given that language is what makes humans superior to all other animals, one ought to be ashamed if one could not defend oneself by words, especially if one has the truth on one's side—no doubt an allusion to Plato's

Gorgias (521e–22c), where Socrates claims that if he had to defend himself in court, he would be in the situation of a doctor before children who tries to persuade them to accept healthy medicines while competing with a pastry cook who promises them tasty sweets. The chapter ends with a definition of rhetoric: its function consists in finding the available means of persuasion for any given case. It aims at persuasion, but just as even an excellent doctor may not be able to heal every one of his patients, so even a good orator cannot be expected to succeed on every occasion. Some illnesses are incurable, and some audiences may be too prejudiced or hostile. Finally, just like a dialectician, the orator must be able to recognize fallacious arguments as well as sound ones. For sophistry is not a separate skill besides dialectic—the sophist's skill is dialectic, and the difference between dialectician and sophist lies only in the purpose.

In the next chapter, Aristotle lists the means of persuasion that an orator will use: argument first of all, but also the character of the speaker—who must be trustworthy—and the emotions of the audience that may have to be aroused or calmed down. So rhetoric turns out to be "a kind of offshoot from dialectic and the study of character, which is justly called the science of politics"(1356a25–27). It is based for its account of argument on dialectic, and for its account of character and emotion on ethics, which Aristotle considered a part of political science.

Like the other works of Aristotle that have come down to us, the *Rhetoric* was not a polished work intended for publication, but a text that could be used for lecture courses. It was probably first composed while Aristotle

was still a member of Plato's Academy and Isocrates was still alive, that is, before the death of Plato in 347, after which Aristotle left Athens until about 335. This is suggested not only by the fact that the story of Aristotle's joke about Isocrates would hardly make sense if Isocrates had been long dead but also by the observation, convincingly argued by F. Solmsen in 1929,[1] that the logical theory of argument used here is that of the *Topics*, not the later *Analytics*, which contains the formal version of Aristotle's logic now known as syllogistic. Like any textbook that is used repeatedly over the years, the *Rhetoric* contains additions and marginal notes, either Aristotle's own or those of later copyists. Much ingenuity used to be invested for a while in tracing temporal layers of composition in the *Rhetoric*, with little success. For instance, the very first chapter seems to argue that orators should limit themselves strictly to arguments about the facts under discussion, but then the second chapter introduces three different "means of persuasion": argument, the character of the speaker, and the emotional state of the audience. So perhaps the first chapter belongs to an earlier version of the work and should eventually have been replaced? But then in the first chapter Aristotle speaks only of trial speeches, where the time for the speakers was strictly limited; he does not say that other things besides the facts do not contribute to the persuasiveness of a speech. (See the remarks about the effects of delivery and style in Book 3 [1403b30–4a7].) Again, references to events from the 330s need not indicate a late composition of the chapters in which they

[1] F. Solmsen, *Die Entwicklung der aristotelischen Logik und Rhetorik* (Berlin, 1929).

occur; those examples may well have been added by Aristotle when he had returned to Athens. The same probably holds for the very few references to the *Analytics*. This means that the word συλλογισμός—syllogism—in this work usually just means a deductive as opposed to an inductive argument, not an argument in one of the moods of syllogistic. The definition of the term "syllogism" is the same in the *Topics* and the *Analytics* except for a different formulation of its last clause, but the discussion of the finding of enthymemes and argumentative strategies in Book 2 can hardly be understood if one supposes that the deductive arguments would have to be syllogisms in the strict sense of the *Analytics*.

The first two books follow the list of means of persuasion listed at the beginning. First comes a chapter on rhetorical argument in which Aristotle adapts the theory of the *Topics* to a rhetorical context. For although the *Topics* opens with the claim that it will offer a method of constructing arguments for and against any given thesis, it is actually designed for a very specific debating exercise of the Academy centered on the discovery of definitions. Its books are divided up according to four predication-relations to be found in simple sentences of the form "S is/is not P"—the so-called predicables (definition, genus, proprium and accident), and contain advice about ways of proving or disproving that some subject stands in one or the other relation to its predicate. Clearly, the predicables are of no interest to orators and do not appear in the *Rhetoric*; what Aristotle takes over is the division of arguments into deductive and inductive, and in later chapters some of the "common," that is, subject-neutral argument patterns. He appropriates a word already current in ora-

tory, "enthymeme" (ἐνθύμημα), which literally simply means "something to keep in mind" or "to think about," and declares that it stands for a rhetorical syllogism. Similarly, he explains that example or paradigm (παράδειγμα) corresponds to inductive arguments. He also modifies the definition of "syllogism" to make room for premises that are not asserted as true, but only as likely or probable. Instead of the chapters on predicate-relations in the *Topics*, Aristotle then provides plausible assumptions that can be used for each of the three different types of speeches he distinguishes: political deliberation, display or ceremonial speeches (epideictic), and forensic speeches.

In the second book he turns to the emotions as influencing the judgments of an audience. Here we find the most detailed discussion of emotions in the entire corpus, for though Aristotle had previously said that rhetoric is based in this part on ethics, his own *Ethics* do not contain a philosophical theory of the emotions. Each of the chapters on the particular emotions begins with a definition, introduced simply as an assumption. Most of these can indeed be found either in the *Ethics* or in the *Topics*, which shows that there must have been a lively discussion about these definitions in the Academy. The eleven long chapters in the *Rhetoric* suggest a theory that might have treated pleasure and pain as generic terms, with the other emotions as species; but the definition of pleasure comes already in Book 1, where a desire for pleasure is treated as the most important motive for wrongdoing, and pain is then simply defined as the opposite of pleasure. Oddly, the definition of pleasure comes from Plato. It does not fit well with Aristotle's own examples and is rejected in the *Ethics* (*EN* 7, 1152b33–53a17) and even already in the *Topics*

(4.1, 121a35–36). Perhaps Aristotle never found the time to revise this chapter of the *Rhetoric* in accordance with his detailed treatments of pleasure in the *Ethics*.

After the chapters on the emotions, there follows a brief discussion of character as the third means of persuasion. Here Aristotle points out that most of the material has already been covered: for the qualities that give the impression of a good character in the section on epideictic speeches, and for the emotions in the preceding section. So he adds only brief chapters about the typical characters of different age groups and about those who enjoy the benefits of fortune, such as noble birth, wealth, or power.

Clearly, emotions and character will have an influence in all three kinds of rhetoric; only the arguments require special collections of plausible opinions for their respective subject matter. So at this point Aristotle adds a section about argumentative patterns and strategies that can occur in every kind of speech, as well as refutations of fallacious arguments. Here we find a wealth of quotations, not only from speeches but also from earlier "Arts of Speaking" and poetry from Homer to Euripides as illustrations.

At the end of Book 2, the program outlined at the beginning seems to have been completed: Aristotle has dealt with all the means of persuasion for each of the three kinds of speeches. But then a single sentence leads on to a subject that had not been mentioned before: "It only remains to speak of style and arrangement." It has long been recognized that Book 3 had probably been a separate treatise: Aristotle begins to address the reader in the second person, and there are frequent references to the *Poetics* for details. Also, the list of Aristotle's books in Diogenes Laertius' biography of Aristotle mentions only two books on

rhetoric, but also two books on style (Diog. Laert. 5.24). Perhaps this book had been a kind of complement for prose composition to the *Poetics*. Style, organization, and delivery of speeches are not themselves means of persuasion, but they can contribute to the persuasiveness of a speech, such as by keeping the attention of the listeners, while a boring speech or a monotonous voice may put them to sleep. Indeed, the parts of speech and style had been treated in detail in earlier "Arts"—more detail than Aristotle found necessary. Aristotle himself places the greatest emphasis on clarity, a language that is appropriate to the subject, and the vividness of metaphors that can put a scene as it were before the eyes of the listener—all those things that may make a speech easier to understand and to remember. There is then no reason to think that it was not Aristotle himself who decided to add this book to the *Rhetoric*.

It is obvious that Aristotle's work went far beyond what could be found in earlier manuals of rhetoric. Yet in antiquity it did not have much of an influence—in part no doubt because it was not written for publication. But the main reason for the development rhetoric took in the following centuries was probably that after the end of the Athenian democracy rhetoric no longer had the important role in political life that Aristotle had envisaged. His successor Theophrastus still taught rhetoric in the Lyceum, but later Peripatetics do not seem to have had an interest in it, and besides, Theophrastus had left his library, including most of Aristotle's school treatises, to his nephew Neleus, who took them with him to Asia Minor.

Apart from trial speeches, rhetoric developed into an art of prose writing, of which Isocrates' epideictic orations

were seen as a shining model (cf. Cic. *Orat.* 37–38), and speeches became declamations. The later terminology of forensic rhetoric was developed by Hermagoras of Temnos in the second century. Cicero, who was of course a politician, an orator, and also an advocate, knew that Aristotle had written on rhetoric, but he probably never read the book: it may have been unavailable or at least hard to get, since Aristotle's school treatises had only just begun to be re-edited by Andronicus of Rhodes. In any case, Cicero mainly appealed to the authority of Aristotle for the claim that a good orator ought also to study philosophy or at least ethics. Eventually, rhetoric became a part of general education for young students who had finished their basic studies—reading, writing, arithmetic—with a grammarian.

It is therefore not much of a surprise that we have no Greek commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* from late antiquity—rhetoric had become a part of the literary rather than the philosophical tradition. In the traditional order of Aristotle's works given in the edition of Immanuel Bekker (1831), which has been used for references to Aristotle's text ever since, the *Rhetoric* appears at the very end, alongside the *Poetics*. And even though the *Rhetoric* was translated and also re-edited by the humanists of the Renaissance and later by philological scholars of the nineteenth century, its rediscovery as a work of serious interest to philosophers and political scientists came only in the twentieth century, when rhetoric was again seen as an important tool of public communication, and scholars of ancient philosophy recognized its connections with Aristotle's logic and political theory.

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A full bibliography of scholarly work on the *Rhetoric* would cover many pages. The following are suggestions for readers who wish to follow up on specific aspects of Aristotle's book—history of rhetoric, logic, connections with ethics and psychology, etc. The books cited here all contain further bibliographies.

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Page references are to the edition of Aristotle's complete works by Immanuel Bekker (Berlin 1831), used by scholars to refer to Aristotle's works.

BOOK I

General Introduction (chs. 1–3)

1 Rhetoric as an art of argument similar to dialectic; criticism of existing manuals; usefulness of rhetoric (1354a1–55b25)

2 Rhetoric defined as "the faculty of considering what may be persuasive in reference to any subject whatever"; means of persuasion that belong to the art (argument, character, emotion) and those that do not belong to the art (laws, witnesses, etc.); types of rhetorical argument (enthymemes, paradigms, signs) and their premises (1355b26–58a35)

3 The three kinds of rhetoric:
- deliberative, concerned with what is good and expedient or harmful (chs. 4–8)
- forensic, concerned with what is just or unjust (chs. 10–15)
- epideictic, concerned with what is noble or disgraceful (ch. 9) (1358a36–59a29)

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Deliberative Rhetoric (chs. 4–8)

4 Subjects of deliberation the orator must know about: ways and means, war and peace, defense of the country, imports and export, legislation (1359a30–60b3)

5 Commonly accepted views about happiness and its components (1360b4–62a14)

6 Commonly accepted views about what is good or bad for people (1362a15–63b4)

7 Comparisons of things that are more or less good, more or less bad (1363b5–65b20)

8 Also useful to know for orators: the different forms of government (1365b21–66a22)

Epideictic Rhetoric (ch. 9)

9 Commonly accepted views about what is noble: virtue in general and particular virtues, also whatever leads to virtue, is a manifestation of it, or brings honor, etc.; amplification as particularly useful in epideictic rhetoric (1366a23–68a37)

Forensic Rhetoric (chs. 10–15)

10 Wrongdoing defined as "voluntarily causing injury contrary to the law"; causes of human action, involuntary or voluntary; aims of human action: either what is or appears as good, or what is or appears as pleasant (1368b1–69b32)

11 Pleasure and what is pleasant; what is good or appears as good (already discussed, cf. chs. 5, 6) (1369b33–72a3)

12 State of mind and circumstances of wrongdoers and their victims (1372a4–73a38)
13 Just and unjust action; equity as a corrective for written law (1373b1–74b23)
14 Greater and lesser wrong actions (1374b24–75a21)
15 Means of persuasion outside the art: laws, witnesses, contracts, torture, oaths (1375a22–77b11

BOOK II

Emotions as Means of Persuasion (chs. 1–11)

1 Introduction: emotions and character of a speaker as influences on judgment. Each emotion will be considered under three aspects:
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the persons at whom the emotion is directed
the occasions that give rise to the emotion
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2 Anger (1378a31–80a4)
3 Mildness (1380a5–b33)
4 Love or friendship and enmity (1380b34–82a20)
5 Fear and confidence (1383a21–b11)
6 Shame and shamelessness (1383b12–85a15)
7 Gratitude and ingratitude (1385a16–b10)
8 Pity (1385b11–86b8)
9 Indignation (1386b9–87b20)

10 Envy (1387b21–88a28)
11 Emulation (1388a29–b30)

The Character of Persons at Various Ages (chs. 12–14) and in Fortunate Circumstances (chs. 15–17)

12 Character of young people (1388b31–89b12)
13 Character of old people (1389b13–90a27)
14 Character of those in the prime of life (1390a28–b14)
15 Character of people of noble birth (1390b15–b31)
16 Character of the wealthy (1390b32–91a19)
17 Character of those who have power (1391a20–b7)

18 Members of the audience as judges (see 2.1.2–5); transition from specific advice for different kinds of speech to subjects and argument forms common to all kinds (1391b8–92a7)

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19 Common subjects: what is possible or impossible; what has happened or will happen; degrees of goodness for various kinds of goods (1392a8–93a21)
20 Use of paradigms (1393a22–94a18)
21 Use of maxims (1394a19–95b19)
22 How to find the right material for enthymemes (1395b20–97a6)
23 Ways of introducing an argument (1397a7–1400b33)
24 Kinds of fallacious arguments (1400b34–1402a29)

25 Refuting arguments by countersyllogisms or by raising objections (1402a30–3a16)
26 Amplification and depreciation are not forms of argument; countersyllogisms have the same form as syllogisms (1403a17–b2)

BOOK III

Style (chs. 1–12)

1 Introduction: style and delivery are not *themselves* means of persuasion, but must be considered because they have an influence on the effect of a speech. Brief discussion of delivery, on which there are as yet no treatises (§§4–7); style has been mostly discussed in poetry, but speeches and prose writings require a different style (1403b6–4a39)
2 Two main virtues of speeches: perspicuity and appropriateness; metaphor as the most important stylistic device (1404b1–5b33)
3 Causes of a "frigid" style (1405b34–6b19)
4 Similes are like metaphors and should be used in the same way (1406b20–7a18)
5 Correctness of Greek, a basic requirement for good style (1407a19–b25)
6 Loftiness of style (1407b26–8a9)
7 Appropriateness of style with respect to subject matter, emotion, and credibility (1408a10–b20)
8 Rhythm: speeches should not be metric like poetry, but still have some rhythm; the best of these may be the paean (1408b21–9a23)

9 Continuous style of older writers, mostly replaced by the periodic; characteristics of a good periodic style (1409a24–10b5)
10 Smart and popular sayings: remarks will appear smart if they allow the hearer to grasp a new point quickly; this is best achieved by the use of metaphors (1410b6–11b23)
11 How to "set something before the eyes" of the audience (1411b24–13b2)
12 Styles appropriate for the different kinds of speeches (1413b3–14a29)

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(chs. 13–19)

13 Two parts are indispensable: statement of the case and proof; to these a preamble and epilogue may be added. Further subdivisions are superfluous (1414a30–14b18)
14 Functions and content of the preamble in different kinds of speeches (1414b19–16a3)
15 Ways of removing or exciting prejudices (1416a4–b15)
16 Function and content of the narrative in different kinds of speeches (1416b16–17b20)
17 Function and content of arguments in forensic and political speeches (epideictic speeches will rely more on amplification or depreciation) (1417b21–18b38)
18 Use of interrogation and jests (1418b36–19b9)
19 Form and content of the epilogue (1419b10–20b3)

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ARISTOTLE'S ART OF RHETORIC

A

1354 a 1. Ἡ ῥητορική ἐστιν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ περὶ τοιούτων τινῶν εἰσὶν ἃ κοινὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἁπάντων ἐστὶ γνωρίζειν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης ἀφωρισμένης. διὸ καὶ πάντες τρόπον τινὰ μετέχουσιν ἀμφοῖν· πάντες γὰρ μέχρι τινὸς καὶ ἐξετάζειν καὶ ὑπέχειν λόγον καὶ ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ κατ-
2 ηγορεῖν ἐγχειροῦσιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν οἱ μὲν εἰκῇ ταῦτα δρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ συνήθειαν ἀπὸ ἕξεως. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρως ἐνδέχεται, δῆλον ὅτι εἴη ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁδῷ ποιεῖν· δι' ὃ γὰρ ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἵ τε διὰ συνήθειαν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου, τὴν αἰτίαν θεωρεῖν ἐνδέχεται, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἤδη πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν τέχνης ἔργον εἶναι.

3 Νῦν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων συντιθέντες ὀλίγον πεπονήκασιν αὐτῆς μόριον· αἱ γὰρ πίστεις ἔντεχνόν ἐστι μόνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα προσθῆκαι, οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν ἐνθυμημάτων οὐδὲν λέγουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σῶμα τῆς πίστεως, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος τὰ πλεῖ-
4 στα πραγματεύονται· διαβολὴ γὰρ καὶ ἔλεος καὶ

BOOK I

1. Rhetoric is a counterpart[1] of dialectic; for both have to do with matters that are in a manner within the cognizance of all men and not confined to any special science. Hence all men in a manner have a share of both; for all, up to a certain point, attempt to criticize or uphold an argument, to defend themselves, or to accuse. Now, the majority of people do this either at random or with a familiarity arising from habit. But since both these ways are possible, it is clear that it can also be done systematically, for it is possible to examine the reason why some attain their end by familiarity and others by chance; and such an examination all would at once admit to be the function of an art.

At this point, previous compilers of "Arts"[2] of rhetoric have worked out only a small portion of this art, for the means of persuasion are the only part that comes within the province of art; everything else is merely an accessory. And yet they say nothing about enthymemes, which are the body of proof, but chiefly devote their attention to matters outside the subject; for the arousing of prejudice,

[1] Not an exact copy, but making a kind of pair with it, and corresponding to it as the antistrophe to the strophe in a choral ode. [2] Manuals or handbooks treating of the rules of any art or science.

ὀργὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ περὶ τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν. ὥστ' εἰ περὶ πάσας ἦν τὰς κρίσεις καθάπερ ἐν ἐνίαις τε νῦν ἐστὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις, οὐ-
5 δὲν ἂν εἶχον ὅ τι λέγωσιν· ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ μὲν οἴονται δεῖν οὕτω τοὺς νόμους ἀγορεύειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ χρῶνται καὶ κωλύουσιν ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ὀρθῶς τοῦτο νομίζοντες· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸν δικαστὴν διαστρέφειν εἰς ὀργὴν προάγοντας ἢ φθόνον ἢ ἔλεον· ὅμοιον γὰρ κἂν εἴ τις, ᾧ μέλλει
6 χρῆσθαι κανόνι, τοῦτον ποιήσειε στρεβλόν. ἔτι δὲ φανερὸν ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἀμφισβητοῦντος οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔξω τοῦ δεῖξαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅτι ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ γέγονεν ἢ οὐ γέγονεν· εἰ δὲ μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, ὅσα μὴ ὁ νομοθέτης διώρικεν, αὐτὸν δή που τὸν δικαστὴν δεῖ γιγνώσκειν καὶ οὐ μανθάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων.

7 Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν προσήκει τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους, ὅσα ἐνδέχεται, πάντα διορίζειν αὐτούς, καὶ ὅτι ἐλάχιστα καταλείπειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κρίνουσι, πρῶτον
1354 b μὲν ὅτι ἕνα λαβεῖν καὶ ὀλίγους ῥᾷον ἢ πολλοὺς | εὖ φρονοῦντας καὶ δυναμένους νομοθετεῖν καὶ δικάζειν· ἔπειθ' αἱ μὲν νομοθεσίαι ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου σκεψαμένων γίνονται, αἱ δὲ κρίσεις ἐξ ὑπογύου, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἀποδιδόναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καλῶς τοὺς κρίνοντας. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ νομοθέτου κρίσις οὐ κατὰ μέρος, ἀλλὰ περὶ μελλόντων τε καὶ καθόλου ἐστίν, ὁ δ' ἐκκλησιαστὴς καὶ δι-

compassion, anger, and similar emotions has no connection with the matter in hand, but is directed only to the dicast.[3] So if all trials were now carried on as they are in some states, especially those that are well administered, there would be nothing left for these rhetoricians to say. For all men either think that the laws ought so to prescribe, or in fact carry out the principle and forbid speaking outside the subject, as in the court of Areopagus, and in this they are right. For it is wrong to warp the juror's feelings, to arouse him to anger, jealousy, or compassion, which would be like making the rule crooked which one intended to use. Further, it is evident that the only business of the litigant is to prove that the fact in question is or is not so, that it has happened or not; whether it is important or unimportant, just or unjust, in all cases in which the legislator has not laid down a ruling, is a matter for the juror himself to decide, not to learn it from the litigants.

First of all, therefore, it is proper that laws, properly enacted, should themselves define the issue of all cases as far as possible, and leave as little as possible to the discretion of the judges; in the first place, because it is easier to find one or a few men of good sense than many, capable of framing laws and pronouncing judgments; secondly, legislation is the result of long consideration, whereas judgments are delivered on the spur of the moment, so that it is difficult for the judges properly to decide questions of justice or expediency. But what is most important of all is that the judgment of the legislator does not apply to a particular case, but is universal and applies to the

[3] His functions were a combination of those of the modern judge and juryman.

καστὴς ἤδη περὶ παρόντων καὶ ἀφωρισμένων κρίνουσιν· πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν ἤδη καὶ τὸ μισεῖν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον συνήρτηται πολλάκις, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ἱκανῶς τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἐπισκοτεῖν τῇ κρίσει τὸ ἴδιον ἡδὺ ἢ λυπηρόν.

8 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ λέγομεν, δεῖ ὡς ἐλαχίστων ποιεῖν κύριον τὸν κριτήν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ γεγονέναι ἢ μὴ γεγονέναι, ἢ ἔσεσθαι ἢ μὴ ἔσεσθαι, ἢ εἶναι ἢ μὴ εἶναι, ἀνάγκη ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς καταλείπειν·
9 οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ταῦτα τὸν νομοθέτην προϊδεῖν. εἰ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος τεχνολογοῦσιν ὅσοι τἆλλα διορίζουσιν, οἷον τί δεῖ τὸ προοίμιον ἢ τὴν διήγησιν ἔχειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον μορίων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πραγματεύονται πλὴν ὅπως τὸν κριτὴν ποιόν τινα ποιήσωσιν. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐντέχνων πίστεων οὐδὲν δεικνύουσιν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστιν, ὅθεν ἄν τις γένοιτο ἐνθυμηματικός.

10 Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσης μεθόδου περὶ τὰ δημηγορικὰ καὶ δικανικά, καὶ καλλίονος καὶ πολιτικωτέρας τῆς δημηγορικῆς πραγματείας οὔσης ἢ τῆς περὶ τὰ συναλλάγματα, περὶ μὲν ἐκείνης οὐδὲν λέγουσι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δικάζεσθαι πάντες πειρῶνται τεχνολογεῖν, ὅτι ἧττόν ἐστι πρὸ ἔργου τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν ἐν τοῖς δημηγορικοῖς. ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ ὁ κριτὴς περὶ οἰκείων κρίνει, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεῖ πλὴν ἀποδεῖξαι ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ὥς φησιν ὁ συμβουλεύων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικανικοῖς οὐχ ἱκανὸν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ

future, whereas the member of the public assembly and the juror have to decide present and definite issues, and in their case love, hate, or personal interest is often involved, so that they are no longer capable of discerning the truth adequately, their judgment being obscured by their own pleasure or pain.

Everything else, as we have just said, should be left to the authority of the judge as seldom as possible, except where it is a question of something having happened or not, of its going to happen or not, of being or not being so; this must be left to the discretion of the judges, for it is impossible for the legislator to foresee such questions. If this is so, it is obvious that all those who lay down, for instance, what should be the contents of the preamble or the narrative, or of the other parts of the discourse, are bringing under the rules of art what is outside the subject; for the only task to which their attention is devoted is how to put the judge into a certain frame of mind. They give no account of the means of persuasion that properly belong to the art, namely those that make a man a master of enthymemes.

Hence, although the method of public and forensic rhetoric is the same, and although the pursuit of the former is nobler and worthier of a statesman than pursuit of the latter, which is limited to transactions between private citizens, they say nothing about the former, but without exception attempt to bring forensic speaking under the rules of art, because in public speaking it is less worthwhile to talk of what is outside the subject. For in the assembly the judges decide on their own affairs, so that the only thing necessary is to prove the truth of the statement of one who recommends a measure, but in the law courts

πρὸ ἔργου ἐστὶν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν ἀκροατήν· περὶ ἀλλοτρίων γὰρ ἡ κρίσις, ὥστε πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν σκοπούμενοι καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἀκροώμενοι διδόασι τοῖς ἀμφισβη-
1355 a τοῦσιν, | ἀλλ' οὐ κρίνουσιν. διὸ καὶ πολλαχοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ὁ νόμος κωλύει λέγειν ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος· ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτοὶ οἱ κριταὶ τοῦτο τηροῦσιν ἱκανῶς.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἔντεχνος μέθοδος περὶ τὰς πίστεις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἀπόδειξίς τις (τότε γὰρ πιστεύομεν μάλιστα ὅταν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι ὑπολάβωμεν), ἔστι δ' ἀπόδειξις ῥητορικὴ ἐνθύμημα, καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς κυριώτατον τῶν πίστεων, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός τις, περὶ δὲ συλλογισμοῦ ὁμοίως ἅπαντος τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἢ αὐτῆς ὅλης ἢ μέρους τινός, δῆλον δ' ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα τοῦτο δυνάμενος θεωρεῖν, ἐκ τίνων καὶ πῶς γίνεται συλλογισμός, οὗτος καὶ ἐνθυμηματικὸς ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, προσλαβὼν περὶ ποιά τ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καὶ τίνας ἔχει διαφορὰς πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς συλλογισμούς· τό τε γὰρ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀληθεῖ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ δυνάμεως ἰδεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς πεφύκασιν ἱκανῶς καὶ τὰ πλείω τυγ-

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4 Listening to what they like to hear: the Greek is πρὸς χάριν ἀκροώμενοι; in Plato's *Gorgias* (521d8; cf. 521a4, b1), Socrates equates πρὸς χάριν λέγειν with flattery.

5 Kassel deletes this clause ("which . . . means of persuasion"); Solmsen suggested that it might be an addition by Aristotle himself. I follow recent translators by keeping it in the text.

this is not sufficient; there it is useful to win over the listeners, for the decision concerns other interests than those of the judges, who, having only themselves to consider and listening to what they like to hear, surrender to the pleaders but do not give a real decision.[4] That is why, as I have said before, in many places the law prohibits speaking outside the subject in the law courts, whereas in the assembly the judges themselves take adequate precautions against this.

It is obvious, therefore, that a system arranged according to the rules of art is concerned with the means of persuasion. Now persuasive argument is a sort of demonstration, since we are most strongly convinced when we suppose anything to have been demonstrated; rhetorical demonstration is an enthymeme, (which, generally speaking, is the most authoritative of the means of persuasion[5]); and the enthymeme is a kind of syllogism. Now, as it is the function of dialectic as a whole, or of one of its parts,[6] to consider equally every kind of syllogism, it is clear that he who is most capable of examining from what elements and how a syllogism comes about will be in the highest degree a master of rhetorical argument, if to this he adds a knowledge of the subjects with which enthymemes deal and the differences between them and logical syllogisms. For, in fact, what is true and what resembles it come under the purview of the same faculty, and at the same time men have a sufficient natural capacity for the truth and indeed

[6] It is not clear what Aristotle means here by a part of dialectic that deals with syllogism in general. Rapp suggests that he might want to exclude Book 7 of the *Topics*, which deals with debating strategies, or the *Sophistici elenchi*, on Fallacies.

χάνουσι τῆς ἀληθείας· διὸ πρὸς τὰ ἔνδοξα στοχαστικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ὁμοίως ἔχοντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος οἱ ἄλλοι τεχνολογοῦσι, καὶ διότι μᾶλλον ἀπονενεύκασι πρὸς τὸ δι-
12 κολογεῖν, φανερόν· χρήσιμος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ῥητορικὴ διά τε τὸ φύσει εἶναι κρείττω τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον αἱ κρίσεις γίγνωνται, ἀνάγκη δι' αὐτὸν ἡττᾶσθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἄξιον ἐπιτιμήσεως. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ἐνίους οὐδ' εἰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἔχοιμεν ἐπιστήμην, ῥᾴδιον ἀπ' ἐκείνης πεῖσαι λέγοντας· διδασκαλία γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην λόγος, τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διὰ τῶν κοινῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πίστεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς ἐλέγομεν περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐντεύξεως. ἔτι δὲ τἀναντία δεῖ δύνασθαι πείθειν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφότερα πράττωμεν (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ φαῦλα πείθειν) ἀλλ' ἵνα μήτε λανθάνῃ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλου χρωμένου μὴ δικαίως τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοὶ λύειν ἔχωμεν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τεχνῶν οὐδεμία τἀναντία συλλογίζεται, ἡ δὲ διαλεκτικὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ μόναι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν· ὁμοίως γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφότεραι τῶν ἐναντίων. τὰ μέντοι ὑποκείμενα πράγματα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ βελτίω τῇ φύσει εὐσυλ-

in most cases attain to it; for which reason one who divines well in regard to the truth will also be able to divine well in regard to what is plausible.[7]

It is clear, then, that the other writers on rhetoric bring under the rules of art what is outside the subject, and why they have rather inclined to the forensic branch of oratory. Nevertheless, rhetoric is useful, because the true and the just are naturally superior to their opposites, so that, if decisions are improperly made, the defeat must be the orator's own fault, which is reprehensible. Further, in dealing with certain persons, even if we possessed the most accurate scientific knowledge, we should not find it easy to persuade them by the employment of such knowledge. For scientific discourse is instruction, but in the case of such persons this is impossible; our arguments and speeches must rest on generally accepted opinions, as we said in the *Topics*, when speaking of converse with the multitude. Further, the orator should be able to prove opposites, as in logical arguments; not that we should do both (for one ought not to persuade people to do what is wrong), but that the real state of the case may not escape us, and that, if another makes an unfair use of arguments, we ourselves may be able to refute them. Rhetoric and dialectic alone of all the arts prove opposites; for both are equally concerned with them. However, it is not the same with the subject matter, but, generally speaking, what is true and better is naturally always easier to prove and

[7] What is plausible: ἔνδοξα, plausible or reputable opinions, defined in the *Topics* (1.1) as "things generally admitted by all, or by most men, or by the wise, and by all or most of these, or by the most notable and esteemed."

λογιστότερα καὶ πιθανώτερα ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄτοπον, εἰ τῷ σώματι μὲν αἰσχρὸν μὴ δύ-
1355 b νασθαι | βοηθεῖν ἑαυτῷ, λόγῳ δ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν· ὃ μᾶλ-
13 λον ἴδιόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου τῆς τοῦ σώματος χρείας. εἰ δ' ὅτι μεγάλα βλάψειεν ἂν ὁ χρώμενος ἀδίκως τῇ τοιαύτῃ δυνάμει τῶν λόγων, τοῦτό γε κοινόν ἐστι κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλὴν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν χρησιμωτάτων, οἷον ἰσχύος ὑγιείας πλούτου στρατηγίας· τούτοις γὰρ ἄν τις ὠφελήσειε τὰ μέγιστα χρώμενος δικαίως καὶ βλάψειεν ἀδίκως.

14 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἑνός τινος γένους ἀφωρισμένου ἡ ῥητορική, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἡ διαλεκτική, καὶ ὅτι χρήσιμος, φανερόν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὸ πεῖσαι ἔργον αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πιθανὰ περὶ ἕκαστον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις πάσαις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰατρικῆς τὸ ὑγιᾶ ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μέχρι οὗ ἐνδέχεται, μέχρι τούτου προαγαγεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους μεταλαβεῖν ὑγιείας ὅμως θεραπεῦσαι καλῶς. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς τό τε πιθανὸν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἰδεῖν πιθανόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς συλλογισμόν τε καὶ φαινόμενον συλλογισμόν. ἡ γὰρ σοφιστικὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει· πλὴν ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἔσται ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ῥήτωρ, ἐκεῖ

more likely to persuade. Besides, it would be absurd if it were considered disgraceful to be unable to defend oneself with the help of the body, but not disgraceful as far as speech is concerned, whose use is more characteristic of man than that of the body. If it is argued that one who makes an unfair use of such power of speech may do a great deal of harm, this objection applies equally to all good things except virtue, and above all to those things which are most useful, such as strength, health, wealth, generalship; for as these, rightly used, may be of the greatest benefit, so, wrongly used, they may do an equal amount of harm.

It is thus evident that rhetoric does not deal with any one definite class of subjects, but is just like dialectic; also, that it is useful; and further, that its function is not so much to persuade, as to find out in each case the existing means of persuasion.[8] The same holds true in respect to all the other arts. For instance, it is not the function of medicine to restore a patient to health, but only to promote this goal as far as possible; for even those whose recovery is impossible may be properly treated. It is further evident that it belongs to the same discipline to discover what is really persuasive and what appears to be so, just as it belongs to dialectic to discover the real and apparent syllogism. For sophistry lies not in the faculty, but in the purpose. But there is a difference: in rhetoric, a man will be called a rhetorician either with regard to his knowledge of the art or with regard to his purpose, while in dialectic he is called

[8] In Plato's *Gorgias* (453a), rhetoric was defined as the art of producing persuasion.

δὲ σοφιστὴς μὲν κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν, διαλεκτικὸς δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν.

Περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἤδη τῆς μεθόδου πειρώμεθα λέγειν, πῶς τε καὶ ἐκ τίνων δυνησόμεθα τυγχάνειν τῶν προκειμένων. πάλιν οὖν οἷον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁρισάμενοι αὐτὴν τίς ἐστι, λέγωμεν τὰ λοιπά.

2. Ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ἑτέρας ἐστὶ τέχνης ἔργον· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἑκάστη περὶ τὸ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενόν ἐστι διδασκαλικὴ καὶ πειστική, οἷον ἰατρικὴ περὶ ὑγιεινὸν καὶ νοσερὸν καὶ γεωμετρία περὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα πάθη τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ ἀριθμητικὴ περὶ ἀριθμόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν· ἡ δὲ ῥητορικὴ περὶ τοῦ δοθέντος ὡς εἰπεῖν δοκεῖ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν τὸ πιθανόν. διὸ καί φαμεν αὐτὴν οὐ περί τι γένος ἴδιον ἀφωρισμένον ἔχειν τὸ τεχνικόν.

2 Τῶν δὲ πίστεων αἱ μὲν ἄτεχνοί εἰσιν αἱ δ' ἔντεχνοι. ἄτεχνα δὲ λέγω ὅσα μὴ δι' ἡμῶν πεπόρισται ἀλλὰ προϋπῆρχεν, οἷον μάρτυρες βάσανοι συγγραφαὶ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἔντεχνα δὲ ὅσα διὰ τῆς μεθόδου καὶ δι' ἡμῶν κατασκευασθῆναι δυνατόν. ὥστε δεῖ τούτων τοῖς μὲν χρήσασθαι τὰ δὲ εὑρεῖν. |

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[9] The essence of sophistry lies in its purpose, the deliberate use of fallacious arguments in order to win a debate. In dialectic, the dialectician has the power or faculty of making use of them (since he must be able to recognize a fallacy); when he does so

a sophist with regard to his purpose, a dialectician not with respect to the purpose, but only with respect to the faculty.[9]

Let us now attempt to treat the method itself, to see how and by what means we shall be able to attain our objects. And so let us as it were start again, and having defined rhetoric anew, pass on to the remainder of the subject.

2. Let rhetoric, then, be defined as the faculty of considering what may be persuasive in reference to any subject whatever. This is the function of no other of the arts, each of which is able to instruct and persuade in its own special subject; thus, medicine deals with health and sickness, geometry with the properties of magnitudes, arithmetic with number, and similarly with all the other arts and sciences. But rhetoric, so to speak, appears to be able to see what is persuasive in reference to any given subject. That is why we say that as an art its rules are not applied to any particular definite class of things.

As for the means of persuasion, some do not belong to the art, others properly belong to it. By the former I understand all those that have not been furnished by ourselves but were already in existence, such as witnesses, tortures, contracts, and the like; by the latter, all that can be constructed by system and by our own efforts. Thus we have only to make use of the former, whereas we must discover the latter.

deliberately, he is called a sophist. In rhetoric, this distinction does not exist; he who uses sound arguments as well as he who uses false ones are both known as rhetoricians.

1356 a3 Τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου πορίζομένων πίστεων τρία εἴδη ἐστίν· αἱ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἤθει τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναί πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι.

4 Διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἤθους, ὅταν οὕτω λεχθῇ ὁ λόγος ὥστε ἀξιόπιστον ποιῆσαι τὸν λέγοντα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐπιεικέσι πιστεύομεν μᾶλλον καὶ θᾶττον, περὶ πάντων μὲν ἁπλῶς, ἐν οἷς δὲ τὸ ἀκριβὲς μή ἐστιν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀμφιδοξεῖν, καὶ παντελῶς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τὸ προδεδοξάσθαι ποιόν τινα εἶναι τὸν λέγοντα· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν τεχνολογούντων τιθέασιν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ λέγοντος ὡς οὐδὲν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸ πιθανόν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν κυριωτάτην ἔχει
5 πίστιν τὸ ἦθος. διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀκροατῶν, ὅταν εἰς πάθος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου προαχθῶσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδομεν τὰς κρίσεις λυπούμενοι καὶ χαίροντες ἢ φιλοῦντες καὶ μισοῦντες· πρὸς ὃ καὶ μόνον πειρᾶσθαί φαμεν πραγματεύεσθαι τοὺς νῦν τεχνολογοῦντας. (περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων δηλωθήσεται καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅταν περὶ τῶν
6 παθῶν λέγωμεν·) διὰ δὲ τῶν λόγων πιστεύουσιν, ὅταν ἀληθὲς ἢ φαινόμενον δείξωμεν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστα πιθανῶν.

7 Ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πίστεις διὰ τούτων εἰσί, φανερὸν ὅτι ταύτας ἐστὶ λαβεῖν τοῦ συλλογίσασθαι δυναμένου καὶ τοῦ θεωρῆσαι περὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τρίτον τοῦ περὶ τὰ πάθη, τί τε ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν παθῶν καὶ ποῖόν τι, καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἐγγίνεται καὶ πῶς.

Now the means of persuasion furnished by a speech are of three kinds. The first depends on the character of the speaker, the second on putting the listener into a certain frame of mind, the third on the speech itself, in so far as it proves or seems to prove.

The orator persuades by character when his speech is delivered in such a manner as to render him worthy of trust; for we feel confidence in a greater degree and more readily in persons of worth in regard to everything in general, but where there is no certainty and opinions are divided, our confidence is absolute. But this must be due to the speech itself, not to any preconceived idea of the speaker's character; for it is not the case, as some writers of rhetorical treatises lay down in their "Art," that the worth of the orator in no way contributes to his powers of persuasion; on the contrary, character, so to speak, constitutes the most effective means of persuasion. The orator persuades by means of his listeners, when they are roused to emotion by his speech; for the judgments we deliver are not the same when we are influenced by joy or sorrow, love or hate; and it is to this alone that, as we have said, the present-day writers of treatises attempt to devote their attention. (We will discuss these matters in detail when we come to speak of the emotions.) And persuasion is produced by the speech itself, when we establish the true or apparently true from the persuasive propositions applicable to each individual subject.

Now, since those are the means of persuasion, it is evident that, to be able to grasp them, a man must be capable of logical reasoning, of studying characters and the virtues, and thirdly the emotions—the nature and character of each, its origin, and the manner in which it is

ὥστε συμβαίνει τὴν ῥητορικὴν οἷον παραφυές τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἶναι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη πραγματείας, ἣν δίκαιόν ἐστι προσαγορεύειν πολιτικήν. διὸ καὶ ὑποδύεται ὑπὸ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἡ ῥητορικὴ καὶ οἱ ἀντιποιούμενοι ταύτης τὰ μὲν δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν τὰ δὲ δι' ἀλαζονείαν τὰ δὲ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας ἀνθρωπικάς· ἔστι γὰρ μόριόν τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς καὶ ὅμοια καθάπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενοι εἴπομεν· περὶ οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὡρισμένου οὐδετέρα αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, πῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὲς τοῦ πορίσαι λόγους. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν, καὶ πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, εἴρηται σχεδὸν ἱκανῶς.

8 Τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι,
1356 b καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς | τὸ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστι τὸ δὲ συλλογισμὸς τὸ δὲ φαινόμενος συλλογισμός, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁμοίως ἔχει· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἐπαγωγή, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον φαινόμενος συλλογισμός. καλῶ δ' ἐνθύμημα μὲν ῥητορικὸν συλλογισμόν, παράδειγμα δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν ῥητορικήν. πάντες δὲ τὰς πίστεις ποιοῦνται διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ παραδείγματα λέγοντες ἢ ἐνθυμήματα, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν· ὥστ' εἴπερ καὶ ὅλως ἀνάγκη ἢ συλλογιζόμενον ἢ ἐπάγοντα δεικνύναι ὁτιοῦν (δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν),

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10 Rhetoric, as dealing with human actions, characters, virtues, and emotions, is closely connected with politics, which ac-

produced. Thus it appears that rhetoric is as it were an offshoot of dialectic and of the study of character, which may fairly be called politics.[10] That is also why rhetoric slips into the role of politics, and those who claim to possess it, partly from ignorance, partly from boastfulness, and partly from other human weaknesses, do the same. For, as we said at the outset, rhetoric is a sort of division of dialectic and resembles it, since neither of them is a science that deals with the nature of any definite subject, but they are merely faculties of furnishing arguments. We have now perhaps said enough about the faculties of these arts and their mutual relations.

As for persuasion by proving, or appearing to prove: just as dialectic possesses two modes of argument, induction and the syllogism, real or apparent, the same is the case in rhetoric; for the example is induction, and the enthymeme a syllogism, and the apparent enthymeme an apparent syllogism. Accordingly I call an enthymeme a rhetorical syllogism, and an example rhetorical induction. Now everyone produces persuasion through proof by employing either examples or enthymemes and nothing else; so that if, generally speaking, it is necessary to prove anything whatever either by syllogism or by induction—and that this is so is clear from the *Analytics*[11]—each of the

cording to Aristotle (*EN* 1.1, 1094a26–b7) includes the study of character—i.e., ethics (the word "ethics" is derived from the Greek ἦθος, "character"). Hence it may also be described as an offshoot of politics, with which the sophists sometimes identified it (*cf.* Pl. *Prt.* 319a).

[11] *An. pr.* 2.23 (68b8–14); *An. post.* 1.1 (71a1–11).

ἀναγκαῖον ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. τίς δ' ἐστὶ διαφορὰ παραδείγματος καὶ ἐνθυ-
9 μήματος, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν τοπικῶν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ περὶ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἐπαγωγῆς εἴρηται πρότερον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὁμοίων δείκνυσθαι ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα δὲ παράδειγμα, τὸ δὲ τινῶν ὄντων ἕτερόν τι συμβαίνειν παρὰ ταῦτα τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι, ἢ καθόλου ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, ἐκεῖ μὲν συλλογισμὸς ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐνθύμημα καλεῖται.

10 Φανερὸν δ' ὅτι καὶ ἑκάτερον ἔχει ἀγαθὸν τὸ εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας· καθάπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεθοδικοῖς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁμοίως ἔχει· εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ μὲν παραδειγματώδεις ῥητορεῖαι αἱ δὲ ἐνθυμηματικαί, καὶ ῥήτορες ὁμοίως οἱ μὲν παραδειγματώδεις οἱ δὲ ἐνθυμηματικοί. πιθανοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἧττον οἱ λόγοι οἱ διὰ τῶν παραδειγμάτων, θορυβοῦνται δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ ἐνθυ-
11 μηματικοί. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν, καὶ πῶς ἑκατέρῳ χρηστέον, ἐροῦμεν ὕστερον· νῦν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μᾶλλον διορίσωμεν καθαρῶς.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ πιθανὸν τινὶ πιθανόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει δι' αὑτὸ πιθανὸν καὶ πιστὸν τὸ δὲ τῷ δείκνυσθαι δοκεῖν διὰ τοιούτων, οὐδεμία δὲ τέχνη σκοπεῖ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, οἷον ἡ ἰατρικὴ τί Σωκράτει τὸ ὑγιεινόν ἐστιν ἢ Καλλίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τί τῷ τοιῷδε ἢ τοῖς

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12 From the definitions of syllogism (1.1) and induction (1.12). No particular passage, however, explains the difference here mentioned.

latter must be identical with one of the former. The difference between example and enthymeme is evident from the Topics,[12] where, in discussing syllogism and induction, it has previously been said that the proof from a number of particular cases that such is the rule, is called in dialectic induction, in rhetoric example; but when, certain things being posited, something different results alongside of them from their being true, either universally or in most cases, the argument in dialectic is called a syllogism, in rhetoric an enthymeme.

It is evident that each form of rhetorical argument has its advantages—for what has been said in the *Methodica*[13] holds good also in this case—for rhetorical speeches are sometimes characterized by examples and sometimes by enthymemes, and orators themselves are similarly either fond of examples or of enthymemes. Now speeches that depend on examples are no less persuasive, but those that depend upon enthymemes meet with greater applause. The reason for this and the way in which each should be used will be discussed later;[14] for the moment let us define more clearly these arguments themselves.

Since what is persuasive is persuasive in reference to some one, and is persuasive and convincing either at once and in and by itself, or because it appears to be proved by arguments of this sort; and since no art has the individual in view, medicine for instance what is good for Socrates or Callias, but what is good for this or that class of persons

[13] A lost treatise, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius in his *Life of Aristotle* (5.24), and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first letter to Ammaeus (6). It is supposed to have dealt with some branch of logic. [14] 2.20–24.

τοιοῖσδε (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἔντεχνον, τὸ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄπειρον καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστητόν), οὐδὲ ἡ ῥητορικὴ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔνδοξον θεωρήσει, οἷον Σωκράτει ἢ Ἱππίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῖσδε, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ διαλεκτική. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη συλλογίζεται οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἔτυχεν (φαίνεται γὰρ ἄττα καὶ τοῖς παραληροῦσιν), ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἐκ τῶν
1357 a λόγου δεομένων, ἡ δὲ ῥητορικὴ ἐκ | τῶν ἤδη βουλεύεσθαι εἰωθότων.

12 Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς περί τε τοιούτων περὶ ὧν βουλευόμεθα καὶ τέχνας μὴ ἔχομεν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀκροαταῖς οἳ οὐ δύνανται διὰ πολλῶν συνορᾶν οὐδὲ λογίζεσθαι πόρρωθεν. βουλευόμεθα δὲ περὶ τῶν φαινομένων ἐνδέχεσθαι ἀμφοτέρως ἔχειν· περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἄλλως ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ ἔσεσθαι ἢ ἔχειν
13 οὐδεὶς βουλεύεται οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνων· οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον. ἐνδέχεται δὲ συλλογίζεσθαι καὶ συνάγειν τὰ μὲν ἐκ συλλελογισμένων πρότερον, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀσυλλογίστων μὲν δεομένων δὲ συλλογισμοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἔνδοξα. ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτων τὸ μὲν μὴ εἶναι εὐεπακολούθητον διὰ τὸ μῆκος (ὅ γὰρ κριτὴς ὑπόκειται εἶναι ἁπλοῦς), τὰ δὲ μὴ πιθανὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξ ὁμολογουμένων εἶναι μηδ' ἐνδόξων· ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον τό τε ἐνθύμημα εἶναι καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα περὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλως, τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἐπαγωγὴν τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμόν, καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων τε

(for this is a matter that comes within the province of an art, whereas the individuals are infinite in number and cannot be the subject of a science); so neither will rhetoric consider what seems plausible in each individual case, for instance to Socrates or Hippias, but what seems plausible to this or that class of persons. It is the same with dialectic, which does not draw conclusions from any random premises—for even madmen have some fancies—but it takes its material from subjects that demand reasoned discussion, and rhetoric from those that are common subjects of deliberation.

The function of rhetoric, then, is to deal with things about which we deliberate but for which we have no systematic rules; and in the presence of such listeners as are unable to grasp many points at once, or to follow a lengthy chain of argument. But we only deliberate about things that seem to admit of issuing in both of two ways; as for those things that cannot in the past, present, or future be otherwise, no one deliberates about them, if he supposes that they are such; for nothing would be gained by it. Now, it is possible to construct syllogisms and to draw conclusions partly from what has been previously proved by a syllogism, partly from what has not, which however needs proof, because it is not plausible. The first of these methods is necessarily difficult to follow owing to its length, for the judge is supposed to be a simple person; the second will not be persuasive because it does not depend upon what is either accepted or plausible. The necessary result then is that the enthymeme and the example are concerned with things which may, for the most part, be other than they are, the example being a kind of induction and the enthymeme a kind of syllogism, and deduced from few

καὶ πολλάκις ἐλαττόνων ἢ ἐξ ὧν ὁ πρῶτος συλλογισμός· ἐὰν γὰρ ᾖ τι τούτων γνώριμον, οὐδὲ δεῖ λέγειν· αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο προστίθησιν ὁ ἀκροατής. οἷον ὅτι Δωριεὺς στεφανίτην ἀγῶνα νενίκηκεν, ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ὀλύμπια νενίκηκεν· τὸ δ' ὅτι στεφανίτης τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὐδὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι· γιγνώσκουσι γὰρ πάντες.

14 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ὀλίγα μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξ ὧν οἱ ῥητορικοὶ συλλογισμοί εἰσι (τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ περὶ ὧν αἱ κρίσεις καὶ αἱ σκέψεις, ἐνδέχεται καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν· περὶ ὧν μὲν γὰρ πράττουσι, βουλεύονται καὶ σκοποῦσι, τὰ δὲ πραττόμενα πάντα τοιούτου γένους ἐστί, καὶ οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τούτων), τὰ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα ἐκ τοιούτων ἀνάγκη ἑτέρων συλλογίζεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα ἐξ ἀναγκαίων (δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν), φανερὸν ὅτι ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα λέγεται, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα ἔσται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. τὰ δ' ἐνθυμήματα ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ σημείων, ὥστε ἀνάγκη τούτων ἑκάτερον ἑκατέρῳ ταὐτὸ εἶναι. τὸ μὲν
15 γὰρ εἰκός ἐστιν ‹τὸ› ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γινόμενον, οὐχ ἁπλῶς δέ, καθάπερ ὁρίζονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ τὰ

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15 πρῶτος: not, as has sometimes been thought, a syllogism in the mood *Barbara* of the first figure, but one which has less than the minimal number of premises. In both the *Topics* and the *Analytics*, Aristotle assumes that a valid deductive argument must have at least two premises.

16 Son of Diagoras of Rhodes, and like his father celebrated for his victories in the Greek athletic contests.

premises, often from fewer than the first regular[15] syllogism; for if any one of these is well known, there is no need to mention it, for the listener can add it himself. For instance, to prove that Dorieus[16] was the victor in a contest at which the prize was a crown, it is enough to say that he won a victory at the Olympic games; there is no need to add that the prize at the Olympic games is a crown, for everybody knows it.

But since few of the propositions of the rhetorical syllogism are necessary, for most of the things that we judge and examine can be other than they are, human actions, which are the subject of our deliberation and examination, being all of such a character and, so to speak, none of them necessary; since, further, propositions that hold only in most cases and are possible can only be demonstrated by other propositions of the same sort, and necessary facts by necessary propositions (and that this is so is clear from the *Analytics*[17]), it is evident that the propositions on which enthymemes are based will be sometimes necessary, but most of them will only hold in the majority of cases. Now since enthymemes consist of either probabilities or signs, it follows that these two elements must correspond to these two kinds of propositions, each to each.[18] For what is probable is what happens in most cases, not however without qualification, as some define it, but what is con-

[17] *An. pr.* 1.8 (29b29–35); *An. post.* 1.4 (73a21–24).

[18] That is, probabilities and signs correspond to probable and necessary propositions. This is not strictly correct; only the τεκμήρια correspond to the necessary propositions, the other signs and the probabilities to the probable or contingent propositions.

ἐνδεχόμενα ἄλλως ἔχειν, οὕτως ἔχον πρὸς ἐκεῖνο πρὸς
1357 b ὃ | εἰκός, ὡς τὸ καθόλου πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρος· τῶν δὲ
16 σημείων τὸ μὲν οὕτως ἔχει ὡς τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν τι πρὸς τὸ καθόλου, τὸ δὲ ὡς τῶν καθόλου τι πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρος. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τεκμήριον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνώνυμόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν δια-
17 φοράν. ἀναγκαῖα μὲν οὖν λέγω ἐξ ὧν γίνεται συλλογισμός, διὸ καὶ τεκμήριον τὸ τοιοῦτον τῶν σημείων ἐστίν· ὅταν γὰρ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι οἴωνται λῦσαι τὸ λεχθέν, τότε φέρειν οἴονται τεκμήριον ὡς δεδειγμένον καὶ πεπερασμένον· τὸ γὰρ τέκμαρ καὶ πέρας ταὐτόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γλῶτταν.

18 Ἔστι δὲ τῶν σημείων τὸ μὲν ὡς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον πρὸς τὸ καθόλου ὧδε, οἷον εἴ τις εἴπειεν σημεῖον εἶναι ὅτι οἱ σοφοὶ δίκαιοι, Σωκράτης γὰρ σοφὸς ἦν καὶ δίκαιος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν σημεῖόν ἐστι, λυτὸν δέ, κἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ τὸ εἰρημένον· ἀσυλλόγιστον γάρ. τὸ δέ, οἷον εἴ τις εἴπειεν σημεῖον ὅτι νοσεῖ, πυρέττει γάρ, ἢ τέτοκεν ὅτι γάλα ἔχει, ἀναγκαῖον. ὅπερ τῶν σημείων τεκμήριον μόνον ἐστίν· μόνον γάρ, ἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ, ἄλυτόν ἐστιν. τὸ δὲ ὡς τὸ καθόλου πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἔχον, οἷον εἴ τις εἴπειεν, ὅτι πυρέττει, σημεῖον εἶναι, πυκνὸν γὰρ ἀναπνεῖ. λυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, κἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ μὴ πυρέττοντα πνευστιᾶν. τί μὲν οὖν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ τί σημεῖον καὶ τεκμήριον, καὶ τί διαφέρουσιν, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ νῦν· μᾶλλον δὲ φανερῶς καὶ περὶ τούτων, καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν τὰ μὲν ἀσυλλό-

cerned with things that may be other than they are, being so related to that in regard to which it is probable as the universal to the particular. As to signs, some are related as the particular to the universal, others as the universal to the particular. Necessary signs are called *tekmēria*; those that are not necessary have no distinguishing name. I call those necessary signs from which a logical syllogism can be constructed, for which reason such a sign is called *tekmērion*; for when people think that their arguments are irrefutable, they think that they are bringing forward a *tekmērion*, something as it were proved and concluded; for in the old language *tekmar* and *peras* (limit, conclusion) have the same meaning.

Among signs, some are related as the particular to the universal; for instance, if one were to say that all wise men are just, because Socrates was both wise and just. Now this is a sign, but even if the particular statement is true, the argument can be refuted, because it cannot be reduced to syllogistic form. But if one were to say that it is a sign that a man is ill, because he has a fever, or that a woman has had a child because she produces milk, this is a necessary sign. This alone among signs is a *tekmērion*; for only in this case, if the fact is true, is the argument irrefutable. Other signs are related as the universal to the particular, for instance, if one were to say that it is a sign that this man has a fever, because he breathes hard; but even if the fact is true, this argument also can be refuted, for it is possible for a man to breathe hard without having a fever. We have now explained the meaning of probable, sign, and necessary sign, and the difference between them; but in the *Analytics*[19] we have defined them more clearly and stated

[19] *An. pr.* 2.27.

γιστά ἐστι τὰ δὲ συλλελογισμένα, ἐν τοῖς ἀναλυτικοῖς διώρισται περὶ αὐτῶν.

19 Παράδειγμα δὲ ὅτι μέν ἐστιν ἐπαγωγὴ καὶ περὶ ποῖα ἐπαγωγή, εἴρηται. ἔστι δὲ οὔτε ὡς μέρος πρὸς ὅλον οὔθ' ὡς ὅλον πρὸς μέρος οὔθ' ὡς ὅλον πρὸς ὅλον, ἀλλ' ὡς μέρος πρὸς μέρος, ὅμοιον πρὸς ὅμοιον, ὅταν ἄμφω μὲν ᾖ ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ γένος, γνωριμώτερον δὲ θάτερον ᾖ θατέρου, παράδειγμά ἐστιν. οἷον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύει τυραννίδι Διονύσιος αἰτῶν τὴν φυλακήν· καὶ γὰρ Πεισίστρατος πρότερον ἐπιβουλεύων ᾔτει φυλακὴν καὶ λαβὼν ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Θεαγένης ἐν Μεγάροις· καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσους ἴσασι, παράδειγμα πάντες γίγνονται τοῦ Διονυσίου, ὃν οὐκ ἴσασί πω εἰ διὰ τοῦτο αἰτεῖ. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ καθόλου, ὅτι ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων τυραννίδι φυλακὴν αἰτεῖ. |

1358 a Ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν λέγονται αἱ δοκοῦσαι εἶναι πίστεις
20 ἀποδεικτικαί, εἴρηται. τῶν δὲ ἐνθυμημάτων μεγίστη διαφορὰ καὶ μάλιστα λεληθυῖα σχεδὸν πάντας ἐστὶν ἥπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν μέθοδον τῶν συλλογισμῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικήν, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἄλλας τέχνας καὶ δυνάμεις, τὰς μὲν οὔσας τὰς δ' οὔπω κατειλημμένας· διὸ καὶ λανθάνουσί τε τοὺς ἀκροατὰς *** καὶ μᾶλλον ἁπτόμενοι ἢ κατὰ τρόπον μεταβαίνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν. μᾶλλον δὲ σαφὲς ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον διὰ πλειόνων ῥηθέν.

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20 Kassel indicates a lacuna here, partly for grammatical reasons, but also because it is unclear what the limits are that the

why some of them can be converted into logical syllogisms, while others cannot.

We have said that example is a kind of induction and with what kind of material it deals by way of induction. It stands neither in the relation of part to whole, nor of whole to part, nor of one whole to another whole, but of part to part, of like to like, when both come under the same genus, but one of them is better known than the other. For example, to prove that Dionysius is aiming at a tyranny because he asks for a bodyguard, one might say that Pisistratus before him was aiming at tyranny, and when he obtained what he asked for made himself tyrant, and Theagenes did the same at Megara. All the other tyrants known serve as an example of Dionysius, whose reason for asking for a bodyguard we do not yet know. All these examples are contained under the same universal proposition, that one who is aiming at a tyranny asks for a bodyguard.

We have now stated the materials of arguments that are thought to be demonstrative. But a very great difference between enthymemes has escaped the notice of nearly everyone, although it also exists in the dialectical method of syllogisms. For some of them belong to rhetoric, others to other arts and faculties, some already existing and others not yet established. Hence it is that this escapes the notice of the listeners, ***[20] and going into a subject more than is appropriate, the speakers transgress the limits. But this will be clearer if stated at greater length.

orators transgress. The sense is clear if one compares the later passage 1358a23–26 (s. 21).

21 Λέγω γὰρ διαλεκτικούς τε καὶ ῥητορικοὺς συλλογισμοὺς εἶναι περὶ ὧν τοὺς τόπους λέγομεν· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ κοινῇ περὶ δικαίων καὶ φυσικῶν καὶ περὶ πολιτικῶν καὶ περὶ πολλῶν διαφερόντων εἴδει, οἷον ὁ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον τόπος· οὐδὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἔσται ἐκ τούτου συλλογίσασθαι ἢ ἐνθύμημα εἰπεῖν περὶ δικαίων ἢ φυσικῶν ἢ περὶ ὁτουοῦν· καίτοι ταῦτα εἴδει διαφέρει. ἴδια δέ ὅσα ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον εἶδος καὶ γένος προτάσεών ἐστιν, οἷον περὶ φυσικῶν εἰσὶ προτάσεις ἐξ ὧν οὔτε ἐνθύμημα οὔτε συλλογισμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἄλλαι ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἔσται περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν· ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτ' ἔχει ἐπὶ πάντων. κἀκεῖνα μὲν οὐ ποιήσει περὶ οὐδὲν γένος ἔμφρονα· περὶ οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑποκείμενόν ἐστιν· ταῦτα δέ, ὅσῳ τις ἂν βέλτιον ἐκλέγηται τὰς προτάσεις, λήσει ποιήσας ἄλλην ἐπιστήμην τῆς διαλεκτικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς· ἂν γὰρ ἐντύχῃ ἀρχαῖς, οὐκέτι διαλεκτικὴ οὐδὲ
22 ῥητορικὴ ἀλλ' ἐκείνη ἔσται ἧς ἔχει τὰς ἀρχάς. ἔστι δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἐκ τούτων τῶν εἰδῶν λεγόμενα τῶν κατὰ μέρος καὶ ἰδίων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν ἐλάττω. καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς, καὶ ἐνταῦθα διαιρετέον τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τά τε εἴδη καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐξ ὧν ληπτέον. λέγω δ' εἴδη μὲν τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον γένος ἰδίας προτάσεις, τόπους δὲ τοὺς κοινοὺς ὁμοίως πάντων. πρότερον οὖν εἴπωμεν περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν·

I mean by dialectical and rhetorical syllogisms those that are concerned with the subjects for which we list the topics, which may be applied alike to questions of justice, physics, politics, and many other things that differ in kind, such as the topic of the more or less, which will furnish syllogisms and enthymemes equally well for law, physics, or anything else whatever, although these subjects differ in kind. Specific topics on the other hand are derived from propositions which are peculiar to each species or genus of things; there are, for example, propositions about physics which can furnish neither enthymemes nor syllogisms about ethics, and there are propositions concerned with ethics which will be useless for furnishing conclusions about physics; and the same holds good in all cases. The first kind of topics will not make a man wiser about any particular class of things, because they do not deal with any particular subject matter; but as to the specific topics, the happier a man is in his choice of propositions, the more he will unwittingly produce a science quite different from dialectic and rhetoric. For if he hits upon first principles, it will no longer be dialectic or rhetoric, but that science whose principles he has grasped. Most enthymemes are constructed from these specific or particular kinds, fewer from those that are common. As then we have done in the *Topics*,[21] so here we must distinguish the kinds and the topics, from which enthymemes may be constructed. By "kinds" I mean the propositions peculiar to each class of things, by topics those common to all alike. Let us then first speak of the kinds, but before doing so let us ascertain

[21] *Sophistici elenchi* ("*Fallacies*") 9. This treatise is really the ninth and concluding part of the *Topics*.

πρῶτον δὲ λάβωμεν τὰ γένη τῆς ῥητορικῆς, ὅπως διελόμενοι πόσα ἐστί, περὶ τούτων χωρὶς λαμβάνωμεν τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰς προτάσεις.

3. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἴδη τρία τὸν ἀριθμόν· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τῶν λόγων ὑπάρχουσιν ὄντες. σύγκειται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τριῶν ὁ λόγος, ἔκ τε τοῦ
1358 b λέγοντος καὶ | περὶ οὗ λέγει καὶ πρὸς ὅν, καὶ τὸ τέλος
2 πρὸς τοῦτόν ἐστι, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἀκροατήν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἢ θεωρὸν εἶναι ἢ κριτήν, κριτὴν δὲ ἢ τῶν γεγενημένων ἢ τῶν μελλόντων. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρίνων οἷον ἐκκλησιαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οἷον ὁ δικαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς δυ-
3 νάμεως ὁ θεωρός· ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν.

Συμβουλῆς δὲ τὸ μὲν προτροπὴ τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή· ἀεὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἰδίᾳ συμβουλεύοντες καὶ οἱ κοινῇ δημηγοροῦντες τούτων θάτερον ποιοῦσιν. δίκης δὲ τὸ μὲν κατηγορία τὸ δ' ἀπολογία· τούτων γὰρ ὁποτερονοῦν ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας. ἐπιδεικτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔπαινος τὸ δὲ ψόγος.

4 Χρόνοι δὲ ἑκάστου τούτων εἰσὶ τῷ μὲν συμβουλεύοντι ὁ μέλλων (περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐσομένων συμβουλεύει ἢ προτρέπων ἢ ἀποτρέπων), τῷ δὲ δικαζομένῳ

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22 All three kinds of listeners are regarded as judges (the mere spectator as a "critic"), although in the previous sentence only the

the different forms of rhetoric, so that, having determined their number, we may separately ascertain their elements and propositions.

3. The forms of rhetoric are three in number, corresponding to the three kinds of listeners. For every speech is composed of three parts: the speaker, the subject that he treats, and the person to whom it is addressed, I mean the listener, to whom the end of the speech is related. Now the listener must necessarily be either a mere spectator or a judge, and a judge either of things past or of things to come. For instance, a member of the general assembly is a judge of things to come; the juror, of things past; the spectator, of the ability of the speaker.[22] Therefore there are necessarily three forms of rhetorical speeches, deliberative, forensic, and epideictic.

The deliberative kind is either hortatory or dissuasive; for both those who give advice in private and those who speak in the assembly invariably either exhort or dissuade. The forensic kind is either accusatory or defensive; for litigants must necessarily either accuse or defend. The epideictic kind has for its subject praise or blame.

Further, to each of these a special time is appropriate: to the deliberative the future,[23] for the speaker, whether he exhorts or dissuades, always advises about things to

members of the assembly and the jurors were described as judging. This is why Kassel deletes the last clause ("the spectator . . ."), which appears in all MSS. For the spectator as a kind of judge, cf. 2.18 (s. 1, 1391a16–17).

[23] In 1.6.1 and 8.7 the present is also mentioned as a time appropriate to deliberative rhetoric.

ὁ γενόμενος (περὶ γὰρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀεὶ ὁ μὲν κατηγορεῖ ὁ δὲ ἀπολογεῖται), τῷ δ' ἐπιδεικτικῷ κυριώτατος μὲν ὁ παρών· κατὰ γὰρ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπαινοῦσιν ἢ ψέγουσι πάντες, προσχρῶνται δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τὰ γενόμενα ἀναμιμνήσκοντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προεικάζοντες.

5 Τέλος δὲ ἑκάστοις τούτων ἕτερόν ἐστι, καὶ τρισὶν οὖσι τρία, τῷ μὲν συμβουλεύοντι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ βλαβερόν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ προτρέπων ὡς βέλτιον συμβουλεύει, ὁ δὲ ἀποτρέπων ὡς χεῖρον ἀποτρέπει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτο συμπαραλαμβάνει, ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, ἢ καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρόν· τοῖς δὲ δικαζομένοις τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ οὗτοι συμπαραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς ταῦτα· τοῖς δ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ψέγουσι τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπαναφέρουσιν. σημεῖον δ' ὅτι τὸ
6 εἰρημένον ἑκάστοις τέλος· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἂν ἀμφισβητήσαιεν, οἷον ὁ δικαζόμενος ὡς οὐ γέγονεν ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔβλαψεν· ὅτι δ' ἀδικεῖ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔδει δίκης. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ συμβουλεύοντες τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πολλάκις προΐενται, ὡς δὲ ἀσύμφορα συμβουλεύουσιν ἢ ἀπ' ὠφελίμων ἀποτρέπουσιν οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἄδικον τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας καταδουλοῦσθαι καὶ

come; to the forensic the past, for it is always in reference to things done that one party accuses and the other defends; to the epideictic the present is most important, for it is the existing condition of things that all those who praise or blame have in view. It is not uncommon, however, for epideictic speakers to avail themselves of other times, of the past by way of recalling it, or of the future by way of anticipating it.

Each of the three kinds has a different end, and as there are three kinds of rhetoric, so there are three ends. The end of the deliberative speaker is the expedient or harmful; for he who exhorts recommends a course of action as better, and he who dissuades advises against it as worse; all other considerations, such as justice and injustice, honor and disgrace, are included as accessory in reference to this. The goal of the forensic speaker is the just or the unjust; in this case also all other considerations are included as accessory. The goal of those who praise or blame is the honorable or the disgraceful; and they also refer all other considerations to these. A sign that what I have stated is the goal that each has in view is the fact that sometimes the speakers will not dispute about the other points. For example, a man on trial does not always deny that an act has been committed or damage inflicted by him, but he will never admit that the act is unjust; for otherwise a trial would be unnecessary. Similarly, the deliberative orators, although they often disregard everything else, will never admit that they are recommending what is inexpedient or dissuading from what is useful; but often they are quite indifferent about showing that the enslavement of neighboring peoples, even if they have

τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, πολλάκις οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ οἱ ψέγοντες οὐ σκο-
1359 a ποῦσιν | εἰ συμφέροντα ἔπραξεν ἢ βλαβερά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ πολλάκις τιθέασιν ὅτι ὀλιγωρήσας τοῦ αὐτῷ λυσιτελοῦντος ἔπραξε ὅτι καλόν, οἷον Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὅτι ἐβοήθησε τῷ ἑταίρῳ Πατρόκλῳ εἰδὼς ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐξὸν ζῆν. τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος θάνατος κάλλιον, τὸ δὲ ζῆν συμφέρον.

7 Φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὅτι ἀνάγκη περὶ τούτων ἔχειν πρῶτον τὰς προτάσεις· τὰ γὰρ τεκμήρια καὶ τὰ εἰκότα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα προτάσεις εἰσὶ ῥητορικαί· ὅλως μὲν γὰρ συλλογισμὸς ἐκ προτάσεών ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός ἐστι συνεστηκὼς ἐκ τῶν
8 εἰρημένων προτάσεων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πραχθῆναι οἷόν τε οὔτε πεπρᾶχθαι τὰ ἀδύνατα ἀλλὰ τὰ δυνατά, οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα ἢ μὴ ἐσόμενα οὐχ οἷόν τε τὰ μὲν πεπρᾶχθαι τὰ δὲ πραχθήσεσθαι, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τῷ συμβουλεύοντι καὶ τῷ δικαζομένῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπιδεικτικῷ ἔχειν προτάσεις περὶ δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀδυνάτου, καὶ εἰ
9 γέγονεν ἢ μή, καὶ εἰ ἔσται ἢ μή. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ ἅπαντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ ψέγοντες καὶ προτρέποντες καὶ ἀποτρέποντες καὶ κατηγοροῦντες καὶ ἀπολογούμενοι

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24 The omission of οὐκ before ἄδικον has been suggested. The sense would then be: "As to the injustice of enslaving . . . he is quite indifferent." There is no doubt a reference to the cruel treatment by Athens of the inhabitants of the island of Melos (416

done no harm, is not an act of injustice.[24] Similarly, those who praise or blame do not consider whether a man has done what is expedient or harmful, but frequently make it a matter for praise that, disregarding his own interest, he performed some deed because it was honorable. For example, they praise Achilles because he went to the aid of his comrade Patroclus,[25] knowing that he was fated to die, although he might have lived. To him such a death was more honorable, although life was more expedient.

From what has been said it is evident that the orator must first have in readiness the propositions on these three subjects. Now, necessary signs, probabilities, and signs are the propositions of the rhetorician; for the syllogism in general consists of propositions, and the enthymeme is a syllogism composed of the propositions above mentioned. Again, since what is impossible can neither be done nor have been done, but only what is possible, and since what has not taken place nor will take place can neither have been done nor will be done, it is necessary for the deliberative, the forensic, and the epideictic orator alike to have in readiness propositions dealing with the possible and the impossible, and as to whether anything has taken place or will take place, or not. Further, since all, whether they praise or blame, exhort or dissuade, accuse or defend, not only attempt to prove what we have

BC) for its loyalty to the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 5.84–116). The Athenian envoys declined to discuss the question of right or wrong, which they said was possible only between equal powers, and asserted that *expediency* was the only thing that had to be considered.

[25] To protect his body and avenge his death (Hom. *Il.* 18).

οὐ μόνον τὰ εἰρημένα δεικνύναι πειρῶνται ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ κακὸν ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ τὸ ἄδικον, ἢ καθ' αὑτὰ λέγοντες ἢ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀντιπαραβάλλοντες, δῆλον ὅτι δέοι ἂν καὶ περὶ μεγέθους καὶ μικρότητος καὶ τοῦ μείζονος καὶ τοῦ ἐλάττονος προτάσεις ἔχειν, καὶ καθόλου καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου, οἷον τί μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἔλαττον ἢ ἀδίκημα ἢ δικαίωμα· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. περὶ ὧν μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ λαβεῖν τὰς προτάσεις, εἴρηται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαιρετέον ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου τούτων, οἷον περὶ ὧν συμβουλὴ καὶ περὶ ὧν οἱ ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι, τρίτον δὲ περὶ ὧν αἱ δίκαι.

4. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ληπτέον περὶ ποῖα ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ὁ συμβουλεύων συμβουλεύει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ περὶ
2 ἅπαντα ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐνδέχεται καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ μή. ὅσα δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ ἐστὶν ἢ ἔσται ἢ ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι, περὶ δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔστι συμβουλή. οὐδὲ δὴ
3 περὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἁπάντων· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἔνια καὶ ἀπὸ τύχης γινόμενα ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ γίγνεσθαι καὶ μή, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν πρὸ ἔργου τὸ συμβουλεύειν· ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ὅσων ἐστὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι. τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα πέφυκεν ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς γενέσεως ἐφ' ἡμῖν
1359 b ἐστίν· μέχρι | γὰρ τούτου σκοποῦμεν, ἕως ἂν εὕρωμεν εἰ ἡμῖν δυνατὰ ἢ ἀδύνατα πρᾶξαι.

4 Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῶς διαριθμήσασθαι καὶ διαλαβεῖν εἰς εἴδη περὶ ὧν εἰώθασι χρηματίζειν,

mentioned, but also that the same things, whether good or bad, honorable or disgraceful, just or unjust, are great or small, either in themselves or when compared with each other, it is clear that it will be necessary for the orator to be ready with propositions dealing with greatness and smallness and the greater and the less, both universally and in particular; for instance, which is the greater or less good, or act of injustice or justice; and similarly with regard to all other subjects. We have now stated the subjects concerning which the orator must provide himself with propositions; after this, we must distinguish between each of them individually, that is, with what the three kinds of rhetoric, deliberative, epideictic, and forensic, concern themselves.

4. We must first ascertain about what kind of good or bad things the deliberative orator advises, since he cannot do so about everything, but only about things that may possibly happen or not. Everything that of necessity either is or will be, or that cannot possibly be or come to pass, is outside the scope of deliberation. Indeed, even in the case of things that are possible advice is not always appropriate; for they include certain advantages, natural and accidental, about which it is not worthwhile to offer advice. But it is clear that advice is limited to those subjects about which we take counsel; and such are all those that can naturally be referred to ourselves and the cause of whose origination is in our own power; for our examination continues until we find out whether we can or cannot do something.

However, there is no need at present to attempt to enumerate exactly or to classify those subjects that men

ἔτι δ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται περὶ αὐτῶν διορίσαι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐ δεῖ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ζητεῖν διὰ τὸ μήτε τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἶναι τέχνης ἀλλ' ἐμφρονεστέρας καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθινῆς, πολλῷ τε πλείω δεδό-
5 σθαι καὶ νῦν αὐτῇ τῶν οἰκείων θεωρημάτων· ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον εἰρηκότες τυγχάνομεν, ἀληθές ἐστιν, ὅτι ἡ ῥητορικὴ σύγκειται μὲν ἔκ τε τῆς ἀναλυτικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη πολιτικῆς, ὁμοία δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ δὲ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς λόγοις.
6 ὅσῳ δ' ἄν τις ἢ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἢ ταύτην μὴ καθάπερ ἂν δυνάμεις ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμας πειρᾶται κατασκευάζειν, λήσεται τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν ἀφανίσας τῷ μεταβαίνειν ἐπισκευάζων εἰς ἐπιστήμας ὑποκειμένων τινῶν πρα-
7 γμάτων, ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον λόγων. ὅμως δ' ὅσα πρὸ ἔργου μέν ἐστι διελεῖν, ἔτι δ' ὑπολείπει σκέψιν τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, εἴπωμεν καὶ νῦν.

Σχεδὸν γάρ, περὶ ὧν βουλεύονται πάντες καὶ περὶ ἃ ἀγορεύουσιν οἱ συμβουλεύοντες, τὰ μέγιστα τυγχάνει πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ περί τε πόρων, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ἔτι δὲ περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων καὶ ἐξαγομένων, καὶ περὶ νομοθεσίας.

8 Ὥστε περὶ μὲν πόρων τὸν μέλλοντα συμβουλεύσειν δέοι ἂν τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως εἰδέναι τίνες καὶ πόσαι, ὅπως εἴτε τις παραλείπεται προστεθῇ καὶ

are accustomed to discuss, or to define them as far as possible with strict accuracy, since this is not the function of the rhetorical art but of one that requires more intelligence and truth, and further, more than its legitimate subjects of inquiry have already been assigned to rhetoric. For what we have said before is true: that rhetoric is composed of analytical science and of that branch of political[26] science which is concerned with character, and that it resembles partly dialectic and partly sophistical arguments. But in proportion as anyone attempts to make of dialectic or rhetoric, not what they are, faculties, but sciences, to that extent he will, without knowing it, destroy their real nature, in thus altering their character, by crossing over into the domain of sciences whose subjects are certain definite things, not merely arguments. Nevertheless, even at present we may mention such matters as it is worthwhile to analyze, while still leaving enough for political science to investigate.

Now, we may say that the most important subjects about which all men deliberate and deliberative orators make their speeches, are five in number, to wit: ways and means, war and peace, the defense of the country, imports and exports, and legislation.

Accordingly, the orator who is going to give advice on ways and means should be acquainted with the nature and extent of the state resources, so that if any is omitted it may be added, and if any is insufficient, it may be in-

[26] Kassel brackets the word πολιτικῆς (political) though it appears in all MSS, suggesting that it is a gloss taken from 1356a26 above. However, given the reference to political science below, it seems appropriate here too.

εἴ τις ἐλάττων αὐξηθῇ. ἔτι δὲ τὰς δαπάνας τῆς πόλεως ἁπάσας, ὅπως εἴ τις περίεργος ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ εἴ τις μείζων ἐλάττων γένηται· οὐ γὰρ μόνον πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα προστιθέντες πλουσιώτεροι γίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφαιροῦντες τῶν δαπανημάτων. ταῦτα δ' οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐμπειρίας ἐνδέχεται συνορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὑρημένων ἱστορικὸν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν περὶ τούτων συμβουλήν.

9 Περὶ δὲ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης τὴν δύναμιν εἰδέναι τῆς πόλεως, ὁπόση τε ὑπάρχει ἤδη καὶ πόσην ἐνδέχεται ὑπάρξαι, καὶ ποία τις ἥ τε ὑπάρχουσά ἐστι καὶ ἥτις ἐνδέχεται προσγενέσθαι, ἔτι δὲ πολέμους τίνας καὶ πῶς πεπολέμηκεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῆς οἰκείας πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπίδοξον πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
1360 a κρείττους εἰρηνεύηται, | πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἥττους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ᾖ τὸ πολεμεῖν. καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, πότερον ὅμοιαι ἢ ἀνόμοιαι· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ταύτῃ πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ ἐλαττοῦσθαι. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ μόνον τοὺς οἰκείους πολέμους τεθεωρηκέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων, πῶς ἀποβαίνουσιν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων τὰ ὅμοια γίγνεσθαι πέφυκεν.

10 Ἔτι δὲ περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας μὴ λανθάνειν πῶς φυλάττεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδέναι τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τοὺς τόπους τῶν φυλακτηρίων (τοῦτο δ' ἀδύνατον μὴ ἔμπειρον ὄντα τῆς χώρας), ἵν' εἴτ'

creased. Further, he should know all the expenses of the state, that if any is superfluous, it may be removed, or, if too great, may be curtailed. For men become wealthier not only by adding to what they already possess but also by cutting down expenses. Of these matters it is not possible to acquire a general view from individual experience alone, but in view of advising about them it is further necessary to be well informed about what has been discovered among others.

In regard to war and peace, the orator should be acquainted with the power of the state, how great it is already and how great it may possibly become; of what kind it is already and what additions may possibly be made to it; further, what wars it has waged and its conduct of them. These matters he should be acquainted with, not only as far as his own state is concerned but also in reference to neighboring states, and particularly those with whom there is a likelihood of war, so that toward the stronger a pacific attitude may be maintained, and in regard to the weaker, the decision as to making war on them may be left to his own state. Again, he should know whether their forces are like or unlike his own, for herein also advantage or disadvantage may lie. With reference to these matters he must also have examined the results not only of the wars waged by his own state, but also of those waged by others; for similar results naturally arise from similar causes.

Again, in regard to the defense of the country, he should not be ignorant how it is carried out; he should know both the strength of the guard, its character, and the positions of the guard-houses (which is impossible for one who is unacquainted with the country), so that if any guard

ἐλάττων ἡ φυλακὴ προστεθῇ καὶ εἴ τις περίεργος ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους τηρῶσι μᾶλλον.

11 Ἔτι δὲ περὶ τροφῆς, πόση ἱκανὴ τῇ πόλει καὶ ποία ἡ αὐτοῦ τε γιγνομένη καὶ εἰσαγώγιμος, καὶ τίνων τ' ἐξαγωγῆς δέονται καὶ τίνων εἰσαγωγῆς, ἵνα πρὸς τούτους καὶ συνθῆκαι καὶ σύμβολα γίγνωνται· πρὸς δύο γὰρ διαφυλάττειν ἀναγκαῖον ἀνεγκλήτους τοὺς πολίτας, πρός τε τοὺς κρείττους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα χρησίμους.

12 Εἰς δ' ἀσφάλειαν ἅπαντα μὲν ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δὲ περὶ νομοθεσίας ἐπαΐειν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἐστὶν ἡ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι πόσα τ' ἐστὶ πολιτειῶν εἴδη, καὶ ποῖα συμφέρει ἑκάστῃ, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων φθείρεσθαι πέφυκε καὶ οἰκείων τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἐναντίων. λέγω δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ οἰκείων φθείρεσθαι, ὅτι ἔξω τῆς βελτίστης πολιτείας αἱ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι καὶ ἀνιέμεναι καὶ ἐπιτεινόμεναι φθείρονται, οἷον δημοκρατία οὐ μόνον ἀνιεμένη ἀσθενεστέρα γίνεται ὥστε τέλος ἥξει εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτεινομένη σφόδρα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ γρυπότης καὶ ἡ σιμότης οὐ μόνον ἀνιέμενα ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ μέσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα γρυπὰ γινόμενα ἢ σιμὰ οὕτω διατίθεται ὥστε μηδὲ μυκτῆρα
13 δοκεῖν εἶναι. χρήσιμον δὲ πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας τὸ μὴ μόνον ἐπαΐειν τίς πολιτεία συμφέρει ἐκ τῶν παρεληλυθότων θεωροῦντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις

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is insufficient it may be increased, or if any is superfluous it may be disbanded, and greater attention devoted to suitable positions.

Again, in regard to food, he should know what amount is sufficient to support the state; what kind of food is produced at home or can be imported; and what exports and imports are necessary, in order that contracts and agreements may be made with those who can furnish them; for it is necessary to keep the citizens free from reproach in their relations with two classes of people—those who are stronger and those who are useful for commercial purposes.

With a view to the safety of the state, it is necessary that the orator should be able to judge of all these questions, but an understanding of legislation is of special importance, for it is on the laws that the safety of the state is based. That is why he must know how many forms of government there are; what is expedient for each; and the natural causes of its downfall, whether they are peculiar to the particular form of government or opposed to it. By being ruined by causes peculiar to itself, I mean that, with the exception of the perfect form of government, all the rest are ruined by being relaxed or strained to excess. Thus democracy, not only when relaxed but also when strained to excess, becomes weaker and will end in an oligarchy; similarly, not only does an aquiline or snub nose reach the mean when one of these defects is relaxed, but when it becomes aquiline or snub to excess, it is altered to such an extent that even the likeness of a nose is lost. Moreover, with reference to acts of legislation, it is useful not only to understand what form of government is expedient by judging in the light of the past, but also to become ac-

εἰδέναι, αἱ ποῖαι τοῖς ποίοις ἁρμόττουσιν. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς μὲν τὴν νομοθεσίαν αἱ τῆς γῆς περίοδοι χρήσιμοι (ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ λαβεῖν ἔστι τοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν νόμους), πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς συμβουλὰς αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις γραφόντων ἱστορίαι· ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα πολιτικῆς ἀλλ' οὐ ῥητορικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν.

Περὶ ὧν μὲν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα συμβου-
1360 b λεύειν, | τὰ μέγιστα τοσαῦτά ἐστιν· ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων προτρέπειν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν, λέγωμεν πάλιν.

5. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι σκοπός τις ἐστίν, οὗ στοχαζόμενοι καὶ αἱροῦνται καὶ φεύγουσιν· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν ἥ τ'
2 εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὰ μόρια αὐτῆς. ὥστε παραδείγματος χάριν λάβωμεν τί ἐστιν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, καὶ ἐκ τίνων τὰ μόρια ταύτης· περὶ γὰρ ταύτης καὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτην συντεινόντων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ταύτῃ αἵ τε προτροπαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀποτροπαὶ πᾶσαί εἰσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρασκευάζοντα ταύτην ἢ τῶν μορίων τι, ἢ μεῖζον ἀντ' ἐλάττονος ποιοῦντα, δεῖ πράττειν, τὰ δὲ φθείροντα ἢ ἐμποδίζοντα ἢ τὰ ἐναντία ποιοῦντα μὴ πράττειν.

3 Ἔστω δὴ εὐδαιμονία εὐπραξία μετ' ἀρετῆς, ἢ αὐτάρκεια ζωῆς, ἢ ὁ βίος ὁ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἥδιστος, ἢ εὐθένεια κτημάτων καὶ σωμάτων μετὰ δυνάμεως φυλακτικῆς τε καὶ πρακτικῆς τούτων· σχεδὸν γὰρ τούτων ἓν ἢ πλείω τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι
4 ἅπαντες. εἰ δή ἐστιν ἡ εὐδαιμονία τοιοῦτον, ἀνάγκη

quainted with those in existence in other nations, and to learn what kinds of government are suitable to what kinds of people. It is clear, therefore, that for legislation books of travel are useful, since from them we may learn the laws of other nations, and for political debates the accounts of historians.[27] All these things, however, belong to politics and not to rhetoric.

Such, then, are the most important questions about which the would-be deliberative orator must be well informed. Now let us again state the sources from which we must derive our arguments for exhortation or discussion on these and other questions.

5. Men, individually and in common, nearly all have some aim, in the attainment of which they choose or avoid certain things. This aim, briefly stated, is happiness and its component parts. Therefore, for the sake of illustration, let us ascertain what happiness, generally speaking, is, and what are its constituent parts; for all who exhort or dissuade discuss happiness and those things that conduce or are detrimental to it. For one should do the things that procure happiness or one of its parts, or increase instead of diminishing it, and avoid doing those things that destroy or hinder it or bring about what is contrary to it.

Let us then define happiness as well-being combined with virtue, or independence of life, or the life that is most agreeable combined with security, or prosperity and a good state of body, combined with power to protect and make use of them; for virtually all men admit that one or more of these things constitutes happiness. If, then, such

[27] Literally, "the *investigations* of those who write about human actions" (cf. ἱστορικός, §8).

αὐτῆς εἶναι μέρη εὐγένειαν, πολυφιλίαν, χρηστοφιλίαν, πλοῦτον, εὐτεκνίαν, πολυτεκνίαν, εὐγηρίαν, ἔτι τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀρετάς, οἷον ὑγίειαν, κάλλος, ἰσχύν, μέγεθος, δύναμιν ἀγωνιστικήν, δόξαν, τιμήν, εὐτυχίαν, ἀρετήν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν αὐταρκέστατος εἴη, εἰ ὑπάρχοι αὐτῷ τά τ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθά· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλα παρὰ ταῦτα. ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν σώματι, ἔξω δὲ εὐγένεια καὶ φίλοι καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμή. ἔτι δὲ προσήκειν οἰόμεθα δυνάμεις ὑπάρχειν καὶ τύχην· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἀσφαλέστατος ὁ βίος εἴη. λάβωμεν τοίνυν ὁμοίως καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον τί ἐστιν.

5 Εὐγένεια μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἔθνει μὲν καὶ πόλει τὸ αὐτόχθονας ἢ ἀρχαίους εἶναι, καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς πρώτους, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς γεγονέναι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ζηλουμένοις· ἰδίᾳ δὲ εὐγένεια ἢ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν, καὶ γνησιότης ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πόλεως τούς τε πρώτους γνωρίμους ἢ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ ἢ πλούτῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ τῶν τιμωμένων, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ νέους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους. |

1361 a6 Εὐτεκνία δὲ καὶ πολυτεκνία οὐκ ἄδηλα· ἔστι δὲ τῷ κοινῷ μέν, νεότης ἂν ᾖ πολλὴ καὶ ἀγαθή, ἀγαθὴ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν σώματος, οἷον μέγεθος κάλλος ἰσχὺν δύναμιν ἀγωνιστικήν· ψυχῆς δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀν-

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28 That is, of mind and body; or δυνάμεις may mean "positions of authority and influence."

is the nature of happiness, its parts must necessarily be: noble birth, numerous friends, good friends, wealth, good children, numerous children, a good old age; further, bodily excellences, such as health, beauty, strength, stature, fitness for athletic contests, a good reputation, honor, good luck, virtue. For a man would be entirely independent, provided he possessed all internal and external goods; for there are no others. Internal goods are those of mind and body; external goods are noble birth, friends, wealth, honor. To these we think should be added certain powers[28] and good luck; for on these conditions life will be perfectly secure. Let us now in the same way define each of these in detail.

Noble birth, in the case of a nation or state, means that its members are sprung from the soil[29] or of long standing; that its first members were leaders, and that many of their descendants have been famous for qualities that are highly esteemed. In the case of private individuals, noble birth is derived from either the father's or the mother's side, and on both sides there must be legitimacy; and, as in the case of a state, it means that its founders were distinguished for virtue, or wealth, or any other of the things that men honor, and that a number of famous persons, both men and women, young and old, belong to the family.

The blessing of good children and numerous children needs little explanation. For the community it consists in a large number of good young men, good in bodily excellences, such as stature, beauty, strength, fitness for athletic contests; the virtues of the mind for a young man are

[29] This was a favorite boast of the Athenians.

δρεία νέου ἀρεταί. ἰδίᾳ δὲ εὐτεκνία καὶ πολυτεκνία τὸ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα πολλὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, καὶ θήλεα καὶ ἄρρενα· θηλειῶν δὲ ἀρετὴ σώματος μὲν κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, ψυχῆς δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ φιλεργία ἄνευ ἀνελευθερίας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρας καὶ κατὰ γυναῖκας δεῖ ζητεῖν ἕκαστον ὑπάρχειν τῶν τοιούτων· ὅσοις γὰρ τὰ κατὰ γυναῖκας φαῦλα ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμονίοις, σχεδὸν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ οὐκ εὐδαιμονοῦσιν.

7 Πλούτου δὲ μέρη νομίσματος πλῆθος, γῆς, χωρίων κτῆσις πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ καλλει διαφερόντων, ἔτι δὲ ἐπίπλων κτῆσις καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ πλήθει καὶ κάλλει διαφερόντων, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα <καὶ οἰκεῖα> καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἐλευθέρια καὶ χρήσιμα. ἔστι δὲ χρήσιμα μὲν μᾶλλον τὰ κάρπιμα, ἐλευθέρια δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν· κάρπιμα δὲ λέγω ἀφ' ὧν αἱ πρόσοδοι, ἀπολαυστικὰ δὲ ἀφ' ὧν μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν γίγνεται, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον. ὅρος δὲ ἀσφαλείας μὲν τὸ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὕτω κεκτῆσθαι ὥστ' ἐφ' αὑτῷ εἶναι τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν· τοῦ δὲ οἰκεῖα εἶναι [ἢ μή], ὅταν ἐφ' αὑτῷ ᾖ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι· λέγω δὲ ἀπαλλοτρίωσιν δόσιν καὶ πρᾶσιν. ὅλως δὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῷ κεκτῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐνέργειά ἐστι τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἡ χρῆσις πλοῦτος.

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[30] A similar charge against Spartan women is made in the *Politics* (2.9.5): "Further, the looseness (ἄνεσις) of Spartan

temperance and courage. For the individual it consists in a number of good children of his own, both male and female, and such as we have described. Female bodily excellences are beauty and stature, virtues of their mind are temperance and industrious habits, free from servility. The object of both the individual and of the community should be to secure the existence of each of these qualities in both men and women; for all those states in which the character of women is unsatisfactory, as in Sparta,[30] may be considered only half-happy.

The parts of wealth are abundance of money, ownership of land and estates remarkable for number, size, and beauty, and further of movables, cattle, and slaves, remarkable for number and beauty, if they are all one's own, secure, liberal, and useful. Property that is productive is more useful, but what has enjoyment for its object is more liberal. By productive I mean what is a source of income, by enjoyable what offers no advantage beyond the use of it—at least, none worth mentioning. Security may be defined as possession of property in such places and on such conditions that the use of it is in our own hands; and ownership [or not[31]] as the right of alienation, by which I mean giving the property away or selling it. In a word, being wealthy consists rather in use than in possession; for the activity in the use of such things is wealth.

women is injurious both to the purpose of the constitution and the well-being of the state."

[31] *ἢ μή*: Kassel prints the MS text; most editors and translators transfer these words to follow *ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι* (alienizing), with Spengel. I follow Spengel's second suggestion by deleting them.

8 Εὐδοξία δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ πάντων σπουδαῖον ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ἔχειν οὗ πάντες ἐφίενται ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ἢ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἢ οἱ φρόνιμοι.

9 Τιμὴ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν σημεῖον εὐεργετικῆς δόξης, τιμῶνται δὲ δικαίως μὲν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εὐεργετηκότες, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τιμᾶται καὶ ὁ δυνάμενος εὐεργετεῖν· εὐεργεσία δὲ ἢ εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ ὅσα αἴτια τοῦ εἶναι, ἢ εἰς πλοῦτον, ἢ εἴς τι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν, ὧν μὴ ῥᾳδία ἡ κτῆσις ἢ ὅλως ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἢ ποτέ· πολλοὶ γὰρ διὰ μικρὰ δοκοῦντα τιμῆς τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τόποι καὶ οἱ καιροὶ αἴτιοι. μέρη δὲ τιμῆς θυσίαι, μνῆμαι ἐν μέτροις καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων, γέρα, τεμένη, προεδρίαι, τάφοι, εἰκόνες, τροφαὶ δημόσιαι, τὰ βαρβαρικά, οἷον προσκυνήσεις καὶ ἐκστάσεις, δῶρα τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότι-
1361 b μοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν· ἀμφοτέροις | γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δέονται· καὶ γὰρ κτῆμά ἐστιν, οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει, οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι.

10 Σώματος δὲ ἀρετὴ ὑγίεια, αὕτη δὲ οὕτως ὥστε ἀνόσους εἶναι χρωμένους τοῖς σώμασιν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὑγιαίνουσιν ὥσπερ Ἡρόδικος λέγεται, οὓς οὐδεὶς ἂν εὐδαιμονίσειε τῆς ὑγιείας διὰ τὸ πάντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἢ τῶν πλείστων.

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32 Of Selymbria, physician and teacher of hygienic gymnastics (ca. 420 BC). He is said to have made his patients walk from Athens to Megara and back, about seventy miles. He was satirized

A good reputation consists in being considered a man of worth by all, or in possessing something of such a nature that all or most men, or the good, or the men of practical wisdom desire it.

Honor is a token of a reputation for doing good; and those who have already done good are justly and above all honored, not but that he who is capable of doing good is also honored. Doing good relates either to personal security and all the causes of existence; or to wealth; or to any other good things which are not easy to acquire, either in any conditions, or at such a place, or at such a time; for many obtain honor for things that appear trifling, but this depends on place and time. The components of honor are sacrifices, memorials in verse and prose, privileges, grants of land, front seats, public burial, statues, state maintenance, and among the barbarians, prostration and giving place, and all gifts that are highly prized in each country. For a gift is at once a giving of a possession and a token of honor; for that reason gifts are desired by the ambitious and by those who are fond of money, since they are an acquisition for the latter and an honor for the former; so that they furnish both with what they want.

Bodily excellence is health, and of such a kind that when using the body we are free from sickness; for many are healthy in the way Herodicus[32] is said to have been, whom no one would consider happy in the matter of health, because they are obliged to abstain from all or nearly all human enjoyments.

by Plato and by his old pupil Hippocrates as one who killed those whom he treated (cf. 2.23.29).

11 Κάλλος δὲ ἕτερον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡλικίαν ἐστίν. νέου μὲν οὖν κάλλος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τούς τε πρὸς δρόμον καὶ πρὸς βίαν, ἡδὺν ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, διὸ οἱ πένταθλοι κάλλιστοι, ὅτι πρὸς βίαν καὶ πρὸς τάχος ἅμα πεφύκασιν· ἀκμάζοντος δὲ πρὸς μὲν πόνους τοὺς πολεμικούς, ἡδὺν δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖν μετὰ φοβερότητος· γέροντος δὲ πρὸς μὲν πόνους τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἱκανόν, ἄλυπον δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν ὧν τὸ γῆρας λωβᾶται.

12 Ἰσχὺς δ' ἐστὶ μὲν δύναμις τοῦ κινεῖν ἕτερον ὡς βούλεται, ἀνάγκη δὲ κινεῖν ἕτερον ἢ ἕλκοντα ἢ ὠθοῦντα ἢ αἴροντα ἢ πιέζοντα ἢ συνθλίβοντα, ὥστε ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τούτων τισίν ἐστιν ἰσχυρός.

13 Μεγέθους δὲ ἀρετὴ τὸ ὑπερέχειν κατὰ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος τῶν πολλῶν τοσούτῳ μείζονι ὥστε μὴ βραδυτέρας ποιεῖν τὰς κινήσεις διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν.

14 Ἀγωνιστικὴ δὲ σώματος ἀρετὴ σύγκειται ἐκ μεγέθους καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ γὰρ ὁ ταχὺς ἰσχυρός τις ἐστίν· ὁ γὰρ δυνάμενος τὰ σκέλη ῥιπτεῖν πως καὶ κινεῖν ταχὺ καὶ πόρρω δρομικός, ὁ δὲ θλίβειν καὶ κατέχειν παλαιστικός, ὁ δὲ ὦσαι τῇ πληγῇ πυκτικός, ὁ δ' ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις παγκρατιαστικός, ὁ δὲ πᾶσι πένταθλος.

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33 Five contests: jumping, running, discus throwing, javelin throwing, wrestling.

Beauty varies with each age. In a young man, it consists in possessing a body capable of enduring the efforts either of the racetrack or of bodily strength, while he himself is pleasant to behold and a sheer delight. This is why the athletes in the pentathlon[33] are most beautiful, because they are naturally adapted for bodily exertion and for swiftness of foot. In a man who has reached his prime, beauty consists in being naturally adapted for the toils of war, in appearing pleasant and at the same time awe-inspiring. In an old man, beauty consists in being able to contend with unavoidable labors and not being an eyesore, thanks to the absence of the disagreeable accompaniments of old age.

Strength consists in the power of moving another as one wills, for which purpose it is necessary to pull or push, to lift, to squeeze or crush, so that the strong man is strong by virtue of being able to do all or some of these things.

Excellence of stature consists in being superior to most men in height, depth, and breadth, but in such proportion as not to render the movements of the body slower as the result of excess.

Bodily excellence in athletics consists in size and strength; for to be swift is also to be strong. For one who is able to throw his legs about in a certain way, to move them rapidly and with long strides, makes a good runner; one who can hug and grapple, a good wrestler; one who can thrust away by a blow of the fist, a good boxer; one who excels in boxing and wrestling is fit for the pancration,[34] one who excels in all for the pentathlon.

[34] A combination of wrestling and boxing.

15 Εὐγηρία δ' ἐστὶ βραδυτὴς γήρως μετ' ἀλυπίας· οὔτε γὰρ εἰ ταχὺ γηράσκει, εὔγηρως, οὔτ' εἰ μόγις μὲν λυπηρῶς δέ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀρετῶν καὶ τύχης· μὴ ἄνοσος γὰρ ὢν μηδὲ ἰσχυρὸς οὐκ ἔσται ἀπαθὴς οὐδ' ἄλυπος καὶ πολυχρόνιος ἄνευ τύχης διαμείνειεν ἄν. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ χωρὶς ἰσχύος καὶ ὑγιείας ἄλλη δύναμις μακροβιότητος· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀρετῶν μακρόβιοί εἰσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἡ ἀκριβολογία χρήσιμος ἡ περὶ τούτων εἰς τὰ νῦν.

16 Πολυφιλία δὲ καὶ χρηστοφιλία οὐκ ἄδηλα τοῦ φίλου ὡρισμένου, ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ τοιοῦτος φίλος ὅστις ἃ οἴεται ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐκείνῳ, πρακτικός ἐστιν αὐτῶν δι' ἐκεῖνον. ᾧ δὴ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι, πολύφιλος, ᾧ δὲ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἄνδρες, χρηστόφιλος.

17 Εὐτυχία δ' ἐστίν, ὧν ἡ τύχη ἀγαθῶν αἰτία, ταῦτα
1362 a | γίγνεσθαι καὶ ὑπάρχειν ἢ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα ἢ τὰ μέγιστα. αἰτία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τύχη ἐνίων μὲν ὧν καὶ αἱ τέχναι, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀτέχνων, οἷον ὅσων ἡ φύσις (ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι)· ὑγιείας μὲν γὰρ τέχνη αἰτία, κάλλους δὲ καὶ μεγέθους φύσις. ὅλως δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τύχης, ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ὁ φθόνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ λόγον ἀγαθῶν αἰτία τύχη, οἷον εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι αἰσχροὶ ἀδελφοί, ὁ δὲ καλός, ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ εἶδον τὸν θησαυρόν, ὁ δ' εὗρεν,

[35] Health may be the result of fortune, as well as of the art of medicine; beauty and strength, of fortune as well as nature.

A happy old age is one that comes slowly with freedom from pain; for neither one who rapidly grows old nor one who grows old insensibly but with pain enjoys a happy old age. This also depends upon bodily excellences and good fortune; for unless a man is free from illness and is strong, he will never be free from suffering, nor will he live long and painlessly without good fortune. Apart from health and strength, however, there is another power of longevity in certain cases; for many live long who are not endowed with bodily excellences. But a minute examination of such questions is needless for the present purpose.

The meaning of numerous and worthy friends is easy to understand from the definition of a friend. A friend is one who exerts himself to do for the sake of another what he thinks is advantageous to him. A man to whom many persons are so disposed, has many friends; if they are worthy men, he has good friends.

Good fortune consists in the acquisition or possession of either all, or the most, or the most important of those goods of which fortune is the cause. Now fortune is the cause of some things with which certain arts also are concerned, and also of many which have nothing to do with art, for instance, such as are due to nature (however, the results of fortune may also be contrary to nature); for art is a cause of health, but nature of beauty and stature.[35] Speaking generally, the goods that come from fortune are such as excite envy. Fortune is also a cause of those goods that are beyond calculation; for instance, a man's brothers are all ugly, while he is handsome; the others did not see the treasure, while he found it; the arrow hit one who stood by and not the man aimed at; or, one who frequented

ἢ εἰ τοῦ πλησίον ἔτυχε τὸ βέλος, τούτου δὲ μή, ἢ εἰ μὴ ἦλθε μόνος ἀεὶ φοιτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐλθόντες ὃν ἐφθάρησαν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐτυχήματα δοκεῖ εἶναι.

18 Περὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ἐπείπερ οἰκειότατος ὁ περὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους τόπος, ὅταν περὶ ἐπαίνου ποιώμεθα τὸν λόγον, τότε διοριστέον.

6. Ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι προτρέποντα ὡς ἐσομένων ἢ ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ ὧν ἀποτρέποντα, φανερόν· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία τούτων ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόκειται τῷ συμβουλεύοντι σκοπὸς τὸ συμφέρον, βουλεύονται δὲ οὐ περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ τέλος, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ συμφέροντα κατὰ τὰς πράξεις, τὸ δὲ συμφέρον ἀγαθόν, ληπτέον ἂν εἴη στοιχεῖα περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ συμφέροντος ἁπλῶς.

2 Ἔστω δὴ ἀγαθὸν ὃ ἂν αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα ᾖ αἱρετόν, καὶ οὗ ἕνεκα ἄλλο αἱρούμεθα, καὶ οὗ ἐφίεται πάντα ἢ πάντα τὰ αἴσθησιν ἔχοντα ἢ νοῦν, ἢ εἰ λάβοι νοῦν. καὶ ὅσα ὁ νοῦς ἂν ἑκάστῳ ἀποδοίη, καὶ ὅσα ὁ περὶ ἕκαστον νοῦς ἀποδίδωσιν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ ἀγαθόν, καὶ οὗ παρόντος εὖ διάκειται καὶ αὐτάρκως ἔχει, καὶ τὸ αὔταρκες, καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἢ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά.

3 Ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ διχῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἅμα ἢ ὕστερον, οἷον τῷ μὲν μανθάνειν τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ὕστερον, τῷ δὲ ὑγιαίνειν τὸ ζῆν ἅμα. καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τριχῶς, τὰ μὲν ὡς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ὑγιείας, τὰ δὲ ὡς σιτία ὑγιείας, τὰ δὲ

a certain place was the only one who did not go there on a certain occasion, while those who went there then for the first time met their death. All such instances appear to be examples of good fortune.

The definition of virtue, since it is most closely connected with the topic of praise, must be left until we come to deal with the latter.

6. It is evident, then, what things, likely to happen or already existing, the orator should aim at, when exhorting, and what when dissuading; for those are the opposites. But since the goal before the deliberative orator is what is expedient, and men deliberate not about the end but about the means to the end, which are the things which are expedient in regard to our actions; and since further the expedient is good, we must first grasp the elementary notions of good and expedient in general.

Let us assume good to be whatever is desirable for its own sake, or for the sake of which we choose something else; whatever is the aim of all things, or of all things that possess sensation or reason, or would be, if they could acquire the latter. Whatever reason might assign to each and whatever reason does assign to each in individual cases, that is good for each; and that whose presence makes a man fit and also independent; and independence in general; and what produces or preserves such things, or on which such things follow, or all that is likely to prevent or destroy their opposites.

Now things follow in two ways: simultaneously or subsequently; for instance, knowledge is subsequent to learning, but life is simultaneous with health. Things which produce act in three ways: as healthiness produces health; and as food does; and as does exercise, since it produces

ὡς τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι, ὅτι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ποιεῖ ὑγίειαν.
4 τούτων δὲ κειμένων ἀνάγκη τάς τε λήψεις τῶν ἀγα-
θῶν ἀγαθὰς εἶναι καὶ τὰς τῶν κακῶν ἀποβολάς· ἀκο-
λουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ μὲν τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ κακὸν ἅμα, τῷ δὲ
5 τὸ ἔχειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὕστερον. καὶ ἡ ἀντ' ἐλάττονος
ἀγαθοῦ μείζονος λῆψις καὶ ἀντὶ μείζονος κακοῦ ἐλάτ-
1362 b τονος· | ᾧ γὰρ ὑπερέχει τὸ μεῖζον τοῦ ἐλάττονος,
6 τούτῳ γίνεται τοῦ μὲν λῆψις τοῦ δ' ἀποβολή. καὶ τὰς
ἀρετὰς δὲ ἀνάγκη ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· κατὰ γὰρ ταύτας εὖ
τε διάκεινται οἱ ἔχοντες, καὶ ποιητικαὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
εἰσὶ καὶ πρακτικαί. περὶ ἑκάστης δέ, καὶ τίς καὶ ποία,
7 χωρὶς ῥητέον. καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· πάντα
γὰρ ἐφίεται τὰ ζῷα αὐτῆς τῇ φύσει. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἡδέα
καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἀνάγκη ἀγαθὰ εἶναι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς
ποιητικά, τῶν δὲ καλῶν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καθ'
ἑαυτὰ αἱρετά ἐστιν.

8 Ὡς δὲ κατὰ ἓν εἰπεῖν, ἀνάγκη ἀγαθὰ εἶναι τάδε.
εὐδαιμονία· καὶ γὰρ καθ' αὐτὸ αἱρετὸν καὶ αὔταρκες,
9 καὶ ἕνεκα αὐτοῦ τἆλλα αἱρούμεθα. δικαιοσύνη, ἀν-
δρεία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοψυχία, μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ
10 αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ τοιαῦται ἕξεις· ἀρεταὶ γὰρ ψυχῆς. καὶ
ὑγίεια καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀρεταὶ γὰρ σώμα-
τος καὶ ποιητικαὶ πολλῶν, οἷον ἡ ὑγίεια καὶ ἡδονῆς
καὶ τοῦ ζῆν, διὸ καὶ ἄριστον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι δύο τῶν
11 τοῖς πολλοῖς τιμιωτάτων αἴτιόν ἐστιν, ἡδονῆς καὶ τοῦ
ζῆν. πλοῦτος· ἀρετὴ γὰρ κτήσεως καὶ ποιητικὸν πολ-

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36 The excellence of anything is proportionate to its success in the performance of its proper function. The function of acquisi-

health in most cases. This being established, it necessarily follows that the acquisition of good things and the loss of evil things are both good; for it follows simultaneously on the latter that we are rid of what is bad, and subsequently on the former that we obtain possession of what is good. The same applies to the acquisition of a greater good in place of a less, and a lesser evil in place of a greater; for in proportion as the greater exceeds the lesser, there is an acquisition of the one and a loss of the other. The virtues also must be a good thing; for those who possess them are in a good condition, and they are also productive of good things and actions. However, we must speak separately concerning each: what it is, and of what kind. Pleasure also must be a good; for all living creatures naturally desire it. Hence it follows that both agreeable and beautiful things must be good; for the former produce pleasure, while among beautiful things some are pleasant and others are desirable in themselves.

To enumerate them one by one, the following things must necessarily be good. Happiness, since it is desirable in itself and self-sufficient, and to obtain it we choose all other things. Justice, courage, temperance, magnanimity, magnificence, and all other similar states, for they are virtues of the soul. Health, beauty, and the like, for they are excellences of the body and produce many advantages; for instance, health is productive of pleasure and of life, for which reason it is thought to be best of all, because it is the cause of two of the things which the majority of men prize most highly, pleasure and life. Wealth, since it is the excellence of acquisition[36] and productive of many things.

tion is to get something valuable, such as money, and its "excellence" may be judged by the amount of wealth obtained.

12 λῶν. φίλος καὶ φιλία· καὶ γὰρ καθ' αὑτὸν αἱρετὸς ὁ
13 φίλος καὶ ποιητικὸς πολλῶν. τιμή, δόξα· καὶ γὰρ
ἡδέα καὶ ποιητικὰ πολλῶν, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτοῖς ὡς
14 ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸ ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' οἷς τιμῶνται. δύναμις τοῦ
λέγειν, τοῦ πράττειν· ποιητικὰ γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
15 ἀγαθῶν. ἔτι εὐφυΐα, μνήμη, εὐμάθεια, ἀγχίνοια,
πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ποιητικαὶ γὰρ αὗται ἀγαθῶν αἱ
δυνάμεις εἰσίν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι πᾶσαι καὶ
αἱ τέχναι. καὶ τὸ ζῆν· εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔποιτο ἀγα-
16 θόν, καθ' αὑτὸ αἱρετόν ἐστιν. καὶ τὸ δίκαιον· συμ-
φέρον γάρ τι κοινῇ ἐστιν.

17 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν τὰ ὁμολογούμενα ἀγαθά
18 ἐστιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀμφισβητησίμοις ἐκ τῶνδε οἱ συλ-
19 λογισμοί. ᾧ τὸ ἐναντίον κακόν, τοῦτ' ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὗ
τὸ ἐναντίον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμφέρει· οἷον εἰ τὸ δειλοὺς
εἶναι μάλιστα συμφέρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, δῆλον ὅτι ἀν-
20 δρεία μάλιστα ὠφέλιμον τοῖς πολίταις. καὶ ὅλως ὃ οἱ
ἐχθροὶ βούλονται ἢ ἐφ' ᾧ χαίρουσι, τοὐναντίον τούτῳ
ὠφέλιμον φαίνεται· διὸ εὖ εἴρηται

ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος.

ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἀεὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ· οὐδὲν γὰρ
κωλύει ἐνίοτε ταὐτὸ συμφέρειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις· ὅθεν
λέγεται ὡς τὰ κακὰ συνάγει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν ᾖ
1363 a ταὐτὸ | βλαβερὸν ἀμφοῖν.

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[37] Hom. *Il.* 1.255: Nestor to Achilles and Agamemnon, point-

A friend and friendship, since a friend is desirable in himself and produces many advantages. Honor and good repute, since they are agreeable and produce many advantages, and are usually accompanied by the possession of those things for which men are honored. Eloquence and capacity for action; for all such faculties are productive of good things. Further, natural talent, good memory, readiness to learn, quick-wittedness, and all similar qualities; for these faculties are productive of good things. The same applies to all the sciences and arts. And life, for even though no other good should result from it, it is desirable in itself. Lastly, justice, since it is expedient for the common welfare.

These are pretty much all the things generally recognized as good; in the case of things about which there is disagreement, the arguments are drawn from the following. That is good whose opposite is evil, or whose opposite is advantageous to our enemies; for instance, if it is most advantageous to our enemies that we should be cowards, it is clear that courage is most useful to the citizens. And, speaking generally, the opposite of what our enemies desire, or in what they rejoice, appears to be useful; for this reason it was well said:

In truth Priam would be delighted.[37]

This is not always the case but only in most cases, for there is nothing to prevent one and the same thing being sometimes advantageous to two opposite parties; hence it is said that misfortune brings men together, when the same thing is harmful to them both.

ing out how their enemies would rejoice if they heard a full account of their quarrel.

21 Καὶ οὗ μή ἐστιν ὑπερβολή, τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, ὃ δ' ἂν
22 ᾖ μεῖζον ἢ δεῖ, κακόν. καὶ οὗ ἕνεκα πολλὰ πεπόνηται ἢ δεδαπάνηται· φαινόμενον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἤδη, καὶ ὡς τέλος τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνεται, καὶ τέλος πολλῶν· τὸ δὲ τέλος ἀγαθόν. ὅθεν ταῦτ' εἴρηται,

κὰδ δέ κεν εὐχωλὴν Πριάμῳ

καὶ

αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν,

καὶ ἡ παροιμία δέ, τὸ ἐπὶ θύραις τὴν ὑδρίαν.

23 Καὶ οὗ πολλοὶ ἐφίενται, καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον φαινόμενον· οὗ γὰρ πάντες ἐφίενται, τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ἦν, οἱ
24 δὲ πολλοὶ ὥσπερ πάντες φαίνονται. καὶ τὸ ἐπαινετόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἀγαθὸν ἐπαινεῖ. καὶ ὃ οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐπαινοῦσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ πάντες ἤδη ὁμολογοῦσιν· καὶ ὃ οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες· διὰ γὰρ τὸ φανερὸν ὁμολογοῖεν ἄν. ὥσπερ καὶ φαῦλοι οὓς οἱ φίλοι ψέγουσιν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ μὴ ψέγουσιν. διὸ λελοιδορῆσθαι ὑπέλαβον Κορίνθιοι ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου ποιήσαντος

Κορινθίοις δ' οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἴλιον.

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38 Hom. *Il.* 2.160: Hera to Athena, begging her to prevent the Greeks from departing Troy and leaving Helen behind.

39 Hom. *Il.* 2.298: Odysseus, while sympathizing with the desire of the army to leave, points out that it would be "disgraceful" after waiting so long "to return unsuccessful," and exhorts them to hold out.

What is not in excess is good, whereas what is greater than it should be is bad. And what has cost much labor and expense, for it then appears to be good, and such a thing is regarded as an end, and an end of many efforts; now, an end is a good. For which reason it was said:

And they would leave for Priam a boast[38]

and,

Disgraceful it is to wait too long,[39]

and the proverb, "to break the pitcher at the door."[40]

And what many aim at and is seen to be competed for by many; for what all aim at was recognized as a good, and the majority may almost stand for "all." And what is the object of praise, for no one praises what is not good. And what is praised by enemies, for this amounts almost to a universal recognition of it; and what is praised by those who have suffered, for it is because its goodness is evident that they would acknowledge it. So also those are worthless whom their friends blame and their enemies do not blame. For this reason the Corinthians imagined themselves insulted by Simonides, when he wrote,

Corinthians are not blamed by Troy.[41]

[40] Proverbial for "lost labor." Cf. French "*faire naufrage au port*," and the English "there's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip."

[41] In the *Iliad* Glaucus, a Corinthian, is described as an ally of the Trojans. Simonides meant to praise, but the Corinthians were suspicious and thought his words were meant satirically, in accordance with the view just expressed by Aristotle. The Simonides referred to is Simonides of Ceos (*PMG* fr. 67, where the line is differently given).

25 καὶ ὃ τῶν φρονίμων τις ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν προέκρινεν, οἷον Ὀδυσσέα Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑλένην Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αἱ θεαὶ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα Ὅμηρος.

26 Καὶ ὅλως τὰ προαιρετά· προαιροῦνται δὲ πράττειν τά τε εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κακὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς
27 φίλοις ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ δυνατά. ταῦτα δὲ διχῶς ἐστί, τά τε γενόμενα ἂν καὶ τὰ ῥᾳδίως γιγνόμενα. ῥᾴδια δὲ ὅσα ἢ ἄνευ λύπης ἢ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ· τὸ γὰρ χαλεπὸν ὁρίζεται ἢ λύπῃ ἢ πλήθει χρόνου. καὶ ἐὰν ὡς βούλονται· βούλονται δὲ ἢ μηδὲν κακὸν ἢ ἔλαττον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦτο δ' ἔσται, ἐὰν ἢ λανθάνῃ ἢ ἡ τιμωρία μικρὰ
28 ᾖ. καὶ τὰ ἴδια, καὶ ἃ μηδείς, καὶ τὰ περιττά· τιμὴ γὰρ οὕτω μᾶλλον. καὶ τὰ ἁρμόττοντα αὐτοῖς· τοιαῦτα δὲ τά τε προσήκοντα κατὰ γένος καὶ δύναμιν. καὶ ὧν ἐλλείπειν οἴονται, κἂν μικρὰ ᾖ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧττον προ-
29 αιροῦνται ταῦτα πράττειν. καὶ τὰ εὐκατέργαστα· δυνατὰ γὰρ ὡς ῥᾴδια· εὐκατέργαστα δέ, ἃ πάντες ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ἢ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἢ οἱ ἥττους κατώρθωσαν. καὶ ἃ χαριοῦνται τοῖς φίλοις, ἢ ἃ ἀπεχθήσονται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. καὶ ὅσα οὓς θαυμάζουσι προαιροῦνται πράττειν, καὶ πρὸς ἃ εὐφυεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἔμπειροι· ῥᾷον γὰρ κατορθώσειν οἴονται. καὶ ἃ μηδεὶς φαῦλος· ἐπαινετὰ γὰρ μᾶλλον. καὶ ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυγχάνουσιν· οὐ
30 γὰρ μόνον ἡδὺ ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον φαίνεται. καὶ μάλι-

And what one of the practically wise or good, man or woman, has chosen before others, as Athena chose Odysseus, Theseus Helen, the goddesses Alexander, and Homer Achilles.

And generally speaking, all that is deliberately chosen is good. Now, men choose to do the things just mentioned, and those that are harmful to their enemies and advantageous to their friends, and things that are possible. The last are of two kinds: things that might happen, and things that easily happen; by the latter are meant things that happen without labor or in a short time, for difficulty is defined by labor or length of time. And anything that happens as men wish is good; and what they wish is either what is not evil at all or is less an evil than a good, which will be the case if the evil is unnoticed or the penalty attached to it is light. And things that are peculiar to them, or that no one else possesses, or that are out of the common; for thus the honor is greater. And things that are appropriate to them; such are all things befitting them in respect of birth and power. And things that they think they lack, however unimportant; for none the less they choose to go after them. And things that are easy of accomplishment, for being easy they are possible; such things are those in which all, or most men, or those who are equals or inferiors have been successful. And things whereby they will gratify friends or incur the hatred of enemies. And all things that those whom they admire choose to do. And those things in regard to which they are naturally talented and experienced; for they hope to be more easily successful in them. And things which no worthless man could achieve, for that makes them the more commendable. And things for which they have a strong desire, for such things seem not only agreeable, but also better.

1363 b στα | ἕκαστοι πρὸς ἃ φιλοτοιοῦτοι, οἷον οἱ φιλόνικοι εἰ νίκη ἔσται, οἱ φιλότιμοι εἰ τιμή, οἱ φιλοχρήματοι εἰ χρήματα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡσαύτως. περὶ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐκ τούτων ληπτέον τὰς πίστεις.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλάκις ὁμολογοῦντες ἄμφω συμφέρειν περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ἐφεξῆς ἂν εἴη λεκτέον περὶ τοῦ μείζονος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον
2 συμφέροντος. ἔστω δὴ ὑπερέχον μὲν τοσοῦτον καὶ ἔτι, ὑπερεχόμενον δὲ τὸ ἐνυπάρχον. καὶ μεῖζον μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ πλεῖον πρὸς ἔλαττον, μέγα δὲ καὶ μικρὸν καὶ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον πρὸς τὸ τῶν πολλῶν μέγεθος, καὶ ὑπερέχον μὲν τὸ μέγα, τὸ δὲ ἐλλεῖπον μικρόν, καὶ
3 πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον ὡσαύτως. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀγαθὸν λέγομεν τό τε αὐτὸ αὑτοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ ἄλλου αἱρετόν, καὶ οὗ πάντ' ἐφίεται, καὶ ὃ νοῦν ἂν καὶ φρόνησιν λαβόντα ἕλοιτο, καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικόν, ἢ ᾧ ἕπεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα πεπονθός, ἀνάγκη τά τε πλείω τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, συναριθμουμένου τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· ὑπερέχει γάρ, τὸ δὲ ἐνυπάρχον ὑπερέχεται.

4 Καὶ ἐὰν τὸ μέγιστον τοῦ μεγίστου ὑπερέχῃ, καὶ αὐτὰ αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅσα αὐτὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τοῦ μεγίστου· οἷον εἰ ὁ μέγιστος ἀνὴρ γυναικὸς τῆς μεγίστης μείζων, καὶ ὅλως οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν γυναικῶν μείζους· καὶ εἰ οἱ ἄνδρες ὅλως τῶν γυναικῶν μείζους, καὶ

Lastly, and above all, each man thinks those things good which are the object of his special inclination, as victory of the lover of victory, honor of the lover of honor, money of the money-lover, and so in other instances. These then are the materials from which we must draw our means of persuasion in reference to good and the expedient.

7. But since men often agree that both of two things are useful, but dispute which is the more so, we must next speak of the greater good and the more expedient. Let one thing, then, be said to exceed another, when it is as great and something more, and to be exceeded when it is contained in the other. "Greater" and "more" always imply a relation with less; "great" and "small," "much" and "little" with the general size of things; the "great" is what exceeds, and what falls short of it is "small"; and similarly "much" and "little." Since besides, we call good what is desirable for its own sake and not for anything else, and what all things aim at and would choose if they possessed reason and practical wisdom; and what is productive or protective of good, or on which such things follow, and that is good for each man which relatively to him presents all these conditions, it necessarily follows that a larger number of good things is a greater good than one or a smaller number, if the one or the smaller number is reckoned as one of them, for the larger number exceeds the smaller number contained in it.

And if what is greatest in one class surpasses what is greatest in another class, the first class will surpass the second; and whenever one class surpasses another, the greatest of that class will surpass the greatest of the other. For instance, if the biggest man is greater than the biggest woman, men in general will be bigger than women; and if men in general are bigger than women, the biggest man

ἀνὴρ ὁ μέγιστος τῆς μεγίστης γυναικὸς μείζων· ἀνάλογον γὰρ ἔχουσιν αἱ ὑπεροχαὶ τῶν γενῶν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐν αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὅταν τόδε μὲν τῷδε ἕπηται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τούτῳ μή· (ἕπεται δὲ ἢ τῷ ἅμα ἢ τῷ
5 ἐφεξῆς ἢ τῇ δυνάμει)· ἐνυπάρχει γὰρ ἡ χρῆσις ἡ τοῦ ἑπομένου ἐν τῇ θατέρου. ἕπεται δὲ ἅμα μὲν τῷ ὑγιαίνειν τὸ ζῆν, τούτῳ δὲ ἐκεῖνο οὔ, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ μανθάνειν τὸ ἐπίστασθαι, δυνάμει δὲ τῷ ἱεροσυλεῖν τὸ ἀποστερεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἱεροσυλήσας κἂν ἀποστερήσειεν.
6 καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μείζονι μείζω· ἀνάγκη
7 γὰρ ὑπερέχειν καὶ τοῦ ἧττον μείζονος. καὶ τὰ μείζονος ἀγαθοῦ ποιητικὰ μείζω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ μείζονος ποιητικῷ εἶναι. καὶ οὗ τὸ ποιητικὸν μεῖζον, ὡσαύτως· εἰ γὰρ τὸ ὑγιεινὸν αἱρετώτερον τοῦ ἡδέος καὶ μεῖζον
8 ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια τῆς ἡδονῆς μείζων. καὶ | τὸ αἱρε-
1364 a τώτερον καθ' αὐτὸ τοῦ μὴ καθ' αὐτό, οἷον ἰσχὺς ὑγιεινοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ αὑτοῦ ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ αὑτοῦ, ὅπερ
9 ἦν τὸ ἀγαθόν. κἂν ᾖ τὸ μὲν τέλος, τὸ δὲ μὴ τέλος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ αὑτοῦ, οἷον τὸ γυμνάζε-
10 σθαι τοῦ εὖ ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα. καὶ τὸ ἧττον προσδεόμενον θατέρου ἑτέρων· αὐταρκέστερον γάρ· ἧττον δὲ προσδεῖται τὸ ἐλαττόνων ἢ ῥᾳόνων προσδεόμενον.
11 καὶ ὅταν τόδε μὲν ἄνευ τοῦδε μὴ ᾖ ἢ μὴ δυνατὸν ᾖ γενέσθαι, θάτερον δὲ ἄνευ τούτου· αὐταρκέστερον δὲ τὸ μὴ δεόμενον, ὥστε φαίνεται μεῖζον ἀγαθόν.

12 Κἂν ᾖ ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀρχή. κἂν ᾖ αἴτιον, τὸ δ'

will be bigger than the biggest woman; for the superiority of classes and of the greatest things contained in them are proportionate. And when this follows on that, but not that on this, then the second is the greater good, for the enjoyment of what follows is contained in that of the other. Things follow simultaneously, or successively, or potentially; thus, life follows simultaneously on health, but not health on life; knowledge follows subsequently on learning; and simple theft potentially on temple robbery, for one who commits such sacrilege would also steal. And things that exceed the same thing by a greater amount than something else are greater, for they must also exceed what exceeds by a smaller amount. And things that produce a greater good are greater; for this was meant by "productive of greater." And similarly, what is produced by a greater cause; for if what produces health is more desirable than what produces pleasure and a greater good, then health is a greater good than pleasure. And what is more desirable in itself is superior to what is not; for example, strength is a greater good than the wholesome, which is not desirable for its own sake, while strength is; and this we agreed was the meaning of "a good." And if one is an end, the other not; for the latter is desirable for the sake of something else, the former for its own sake; for instance, exercise is only a means for the acquirement of a good constitution. And what has less need of additional things than something else is a greater good, for it is more independent, and what needs fewer or easier additions has less need. And when one thing does not exist or cannot be brought into existence without the aid of another, but that other can, then what needs no aid is more independent, and accordingly is seen to be a greater good.

And if one thing is a first principle, and another not; if

οὐκ αἴτιον, διὰ τὸ αὐτό· ἄνευ γὰρ αἰτίου καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι. καὶ δυοῖν ἀρχαῖν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μείζονος μεῖζον, καὶ δυοῖν αἰτίοιν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μείζονος αἰτίου μεῖζον. καὶ ἀνάπαλιν δὴ δυοῖν ἀρχαῖν ἡ τοῦ μείζονος ἀρχὴ μείζων καὶ δυοῖν αἰτίοιν τὸ τοῦ
13 μείζονος αἴτιον μεῖζον. δῆλον οὖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὅτι ἀμφοτέρως μεῖζόν ἔστι φαίνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀρχή, δόξει μεῖζον εἶναι, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ ἀρχή, τὸ γὰρ τέλος μεῖζον καὶ οὐκ ἀρχή, ὥσπερ ὁ Λεωδάμας κατηγορῶν ἔφη Καλλιστράτου τὸν βουλεύσαντα τοῦ πράξαντος μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν πραχθῆναι μὴ βουλευσαμένου· πάλιν δὲ καὶ Χαβρίου, τὸν πράξαντα τοῦ βουλεύσαντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦν ὁ πράξων· τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα ἐπιβουλεύειν, ὅπως πράξωσιν.

14 Καὶ τὸ σπανιώτερον τοῦ ἀφθόνου, οἷον χρυσὸς σιδήρου ἀχρηστότερος ὤν· μεῖζον γὰρ ἡ κτῆσις διὰ τὸ χαλεπωτέραν εἶναι. ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον τὸ ἄφθονον τοῦ σπανίου, ὅτι ἡ χρῆσις ὑπερέχει· τὸ γὰρ πολλάκις τοῦ ὀλιγάκις ὑπερέχει· ὅθεν λέγεται

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.

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[42] Oropus, a frontier town of Boeotia and Attica, had been occupied by the Thebans (366 BC). Callistratus suggested an arrangement that was accepted and carried out by Chabrias, that the town should remain in Theban possession for the time being. Negotiations proved unsuccessful and the Thebans refused to leave, whereupon Chabrias and Callistratus were brought to trial. Leodamas was an Athenian orator, pupil of Isocrates.

one thing is a cause and another not, for the same reason; for without cause or first principle nothing can exist or come into existence. And if there are two first principles or two causes, what results from the greater is greater; and conversely, when there are two first principles or two causes, what is the first cause or principle of the greater is greater. It is clear then, from what has been said, that a thing may be seen to be greater in both ways: for if it is a first principle but another is not, it will appear to be greater, and also if it is not a first principle, while another is, for the end is greater and not a first principle. Thus, Leodamas, when accusing Callistratus,[42] declared that the man who had given the advice was guiltier than the one who carried it out; for if he had not suggested it, it could not have been carried out. And conversely, when accusing Chabrias, he declared that the man who had carried out the advice was guiltier than the one who had given it; for it could not have been carried out had there not been some one to do so, and the reason why people devised plots was that others might carry them out.

And what is scarcer is a greater good than what is abundant, as gold than iron, although it is less useful, but the possession of it is more valuable, since it is more difficult to acquire. From another point of view, what is abundant is to be preferred to what is scarce, because the use of it is greater, for "often" exceeds "seldom"; whence the saying:

Water is best.[43]

[43] Pind. *Ol.* 1.1.

15 καὶ ὅλως τὸ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ ῥᾴονος· σπανιώτερον
16 γάρ. ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον τὸ ῥᾷον τοῦ χαλεπωτέρου· ἔχει γὰρ ὡς βουλόμεθα. καὶ ᾧ τὸ ἐναντίον μεῖζον, καὶ οὗ ἡ στέρησις μείζων. καὶ ἀρετὴ μὴ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακία
17 μὴ κακίας μείζων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τέλη, τὰ δ' οὐ τέλη. καὶ ὧν τὰ ἔργα καλλίω ἢ αἰσχίω, μείζω αὐτά. καὶ ὧν αἱ κακίαι καὶ αἱ ἀρεταὶ μείζους, καὶ τὰ ἔργα μείζω, ἐπείπερ ὡς τὰ αἴτια καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα, καὶ ὡς τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα, καὶ τὰ αἴτια καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί.
18 καὶ ὧν ἡ ὑπεροχὴ αἱρετωτέρα ἢ καλλίων, οἷον τὸ ἀκριβῶς ὁρᾶν αἱρετώτερον τοῦ ὀσφραίνεσθαι· καὶ
1364 b γὰρ ὄψις | ὀσφρήσεως· καὶ τὸ φιλεταῖρον εἶναι τοῦ φιλοχρήματον μᾶλλον κάλλιον, ὥστε καὶ φιλεταιρία φιλοχρηματίας. καὶ ἀντικειμένως δὲ τῶν βελτιόνων αἱ
19 ὑπερβολαὶ βελτίους καὶ καλλιόνων καλλίους. καὶ ὧν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι καλλίους ἢ βελτίους· αἱ γὰρ μείζους ὀρέξεις μειζόνων εἰσίν. καὶ τῶν καλλιόνων δὲ ἢ καὶ βελτιόνων αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι βελτίους καὶ καλλίους διὰ τὸ αὐτό.

20 Καὶ ὧν αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι καλλίους ἢ σπουδαιότεραι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα καλλίω καὶ σπουδαιότερα· ὡς γὰρ ἔχει ἡ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ τὸ ἀληθές· κελεύει δὲ τὸ αὐτῆς ἑκάστη. καὶ τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων δὲ καὶ καλλιόνων αἱ
21 ἐπιστῆμαι ἀνάλογον διὰ ταῦτα. καὶ ὃ κρίνειαν ἂν ἢ κεκρίκασιν οἱ φρόνιμοι ἢ πάντες ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ἢ οἱ

And speaking generally, what is more difficult is preferable to what is easier to attain, for it is scarcer; but from another point of view what is easier is preferable to what is more difficult; for it is as we wish it to be. And that, the contrary or the deprivation of which is greater, is the greater good. And virtue is greater than non-virtue, and vice than non-vice; for virtues and vices are ends, the others not. And those things whose works are nobler or more disgraceful are themselves greater; and the works of those things, the vices and virtues of which are greater, will also be greater, since between causes and first principles compared with results there is the same relation as between results compared with causes and first principles. Things superiority in which is more desirable or nobler, are to be preferred; for instance, sharpness of sight is preferable to keenness of smell; for sight is better than smell. And loving one's friends more than money is nobler, from which it follows that love of friends is nobler than love of money. And on the other hand, the better and nobler things are, the better and nobler will be their superiority; and similarly, those things the desire for which is nobler and better, are themselves nobler and better, for greater longings are directed toward greater objects. For the same reason, the better and nobler the object, the better and nobler are the desires.

And the nobler and more dignified the sciences, the nobler and more dignified are their subjects; for as is the science, so is the truth that is its object, and each science prescribes what properly belongs to it; and similarly, the nobler and more dignified the objects of a science, the nobler and more dignified is the science itself, for the

πλείους ἢ οἱ κράτιστοι ἀγαθὸν μεῖζον, ἀνάγκη οὕτως
ἔχειν, ἢ ἁπλῶς ἢ ᾗ κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν ἔκριναν. ἔστι
δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ
ποσὸν καὶ ποιὸν οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ἂν ἡ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ
φρόνησις εἴποι. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν εἰρήκαμεν· ὥρισται
γὰρ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὃ λαβόντα τὰ πράγματα φρόνησιν
ἕλοιτ' ἂν ἕκαστον· δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ μεῖζον, ὃ μᾶλλον
22 ἡ φρόνησις λέγει. καὶ τὸ τοῖς βελτίοσιν ὑπάρχον, ἢ
ἁπλῶς ἢ ᾗ βελτίους, οἷον ἡ ἀνδρεία ἰσχύος. καὶ ὃ
ἕλοιτ' ἂν ὁ βελτίων, ἢ ἁπλῶς ἢ ᾗ βελτίων, οἷον τὸ
ἀδικεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀδικεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δικαιότερος
23 ἂν ἕλοιτο. καὶ τὸ ἥδιον τοῦ ἧττον ἡδέος· τὴν γὰρ ἡδο-
νὴν πάντα διώκει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἥδεσθαι ὀρέ-
γονται, ὥρισται δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τέλος.
ἥδιον δὲ τό τε ἀλυπότερον καὶ τὸ πολυχρονιώτερον
24 ἡδύ. καὶ τὸ κάλλιον τοῦ ἧττον καλοῦ· τὸ γὰρ καλόν
25 ἐστιν ἤτοι τὸ ἡδὺ ἢ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ αἱρετόν. καὶ ὅσων
αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς ἢ φίλοις βούλονται αἴτιοι εἶναι μᾶλλον,
26 ταῦτα μείζω ἀγαθά, ὅσων δὲ ἥκιστα, μείζω κακά. καὶ
τὰ πολυχρονιώτερα τῶν ὀλιγοχρονιωτέρων καὶ τὰ βε-
βαιότερα τῶν μὴ βεβαιοτέρων· ὑπερέχει γὰρ ἡ χρῆ-
σις τῶν μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν δὲ τῇ βουλήσει· ὅταν γὰρ
βούλωνται, ὑπάρχει μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ βεβαίου.

same reasons. And what men of practical wisdom, either all, or more, or the best of them, would judge, or have judged, to be a greater good, must necessarily be such, either absolutely or in so far as they have judged as men of practical wisdom. The same is true in regard to everything else; for the nature, quantity, and quality of things are such as science or practical wisdom would say. But our statement applies to goods; for we defined that as good which everything, if possessed of practical wisdom, would choose; hence it is evident that that is a greater good to which practical wisdom assigns the superiority. So also are the things that better men possess, either absolutely or in so far as they are better; for instance courage is better than strength. And what the better man would choose, either absolutely or in so far as he is better; thus, it is better to suffer wrong than to commit it, for that is what the more just man would choose. And what is more agreeable rather than what is less so; for all things pursue pleasure and desire it for its own sake; and it is by these conditions that the good and the end have been defined. And that is more agreeable which involves less pain and is agreeable for a longer time. And what is more beautiful than what is less so; for the beautiful is what is either agreeable or desirable in itself. And all things that we have a greater desire to procure for ourselves or for our friends are greater goods, and those as to which our desire is least are greater evils. And things that last longer are preferable to those that are of shorter duration, and those that are safer to those that are less so; for time increases the use of the first and the wish that of the second; for we can make use of things that are safe whenever we wish.

27 Καὶ ὡς ἓν ἐκ τῶν συστοίχων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πτώσεων, καὶ τἆλλ' ἀκολουθεῖ· οἷον εἰ τὸ ἀνδρείως κάλλιον καὶ αἱρετώτερον τοῦ σωφρόνως, καὶ ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνης αἱρετωτέρα καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τοῦ
28 σωφρονεῖν, καὶ ὃ πάντες αἱροῦνται τοῦ μὴ ὃ πάντες.
1365 a καὶ ὃ οἱ πλείους ἢ οἱ ἐλάττους· | ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ἦν οὗ πάντες ἐφίενται, ὥστε καὶ μεῖζον οὗ μᾶλλον. καὶ ὃ οἱ ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἢ οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἢ οἱ κρίνοντες ἢ οὓς οὗτοι κρίνουσιν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἂν εἰ πάντες φαῖεν
29 ἐστί, τὸ δὲ οἱ κύριοι καὶ οἱ εἰδότες. καὶ ὁτὲ μὲν οὗ πάντες μετέχουσι μεῖζον· ἀτιμία γὰρ τὸ μὴ μετέχειν·
30 ὁτὲ δὲ οὗ μηδεὶς ἢ οὗ ὀλίγοι· σπανιώτερον γάρ. καὶ τὰ ἐπαινετώτερα· καλλίω γάρ. καὶ ὧν αἱ τιμαὶ μείζους, ὡσαύτως· ἡ γὰρ τιμὴ ὥσπερ ἀξία τις ἐστίν. καὶ
31 ὧν αἱ ζημίαι μείζους. καὶ τὰ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἢ φαινομένων μεγάλων μείζω. καὶ διαιρούμενα δὲ εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ αὐτὰ μείζω φαίνεται· πλειόνων γὰρ ὑπερέχειν φαίνεται. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ποιητής φησι πεῖσαι τὸν Μελέαγρον ἀναστῆναι

ὅσσα κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἁλώῃ·
λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσιν.

Καὶ τὸ συντιθέναι καὶ ἐποικοδομεῖν, ὥσπερ Ἐπί-

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44 Hom. *Il.* 9.592–94 (slightly different).

And what holds for one of the coordinates or inflections of the same stem follows for the others as well; for instance, if "courageously" is nobler than and preferable to "temperately," then courage is preferable to temperance, and it is better to be courageous than temperate. And what is chosen by all is better than what is not; and what the majority choose than what the minority choose; for, as we have said, the good is what all desire, and consequently a good is greater, the more it is desired. The same applies to goods that are recognized as greater by opponents or enemies, by judges, or by those whom they select; for in the one case it would be, so to say, the verdict of all mankind, in the other that of those who are acknowledged authorities and experts. And sometimes a good is greater in which all participate, for it is a disgrace not to participate in it; sometimes when none or only a few participate in it, for it is scarcer. And things that are more praiseworthy, since they are nobler. And in the same way things that are more highly honored, for honor is a sort of measure of worth; and conversely those things are greater evils for which the punishment is greater. And those things that are greater than what is acknowledged, or appears, to be great, are greater. And the same whole when divided into parts appears greater, for there appears to be superiority in a greater number of things. Whence the poet says that Meleager was persuaded to rise up and fight by the recital of[44]

> All the sorrows that befall men whose city is taken;
> people perish, and fire destroys the city,
> strangers carry off children . . .

Combination and piling up, as employed by Epichar-

χαρμος, διά τε τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ διαιρέσει (ἡ γὰρ σύνθεσις ὑπεροχὴν δείκνυσι πολλήν) καὶ ὅτι ἀρχὴ φαίνεται
32 μεγάλων καὶ αἴτιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ χαλεπώτερον καὶ σπανιώτερον μεῖζον, καὶ οἱ καιροὶ καὶ αἱ ἡλικίαι καὶ οἱ τόποι καὶ οἱ χρόνοι καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις ποιοῦσι μεγάλα· εἰ γὰρ παρὰ δύναμιν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ὁμοίους, καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἢ τόθ', ἕξει μέγεθος καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῷ ὀλυμπιονίκῃ·

πρόσθε μὲν ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων τραχεῖαν
ἄσιλλαν
ἰχθὺς ἐξ Ἄργους εἰς Τέγεαν ἔφερον.

καὶ ὁ Ἰφικράτης αὐτὸν ἐνεκωμίαζε λέγων ἐξ ὧν
33 ὑπῆρξε ταῦτα. καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τοῦ ἐπικτήτου· χαλεπώτερον γάρ. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ποιητής φησιν

αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί.

34 καὶ τὸ μεγάλου μέγιστον μέρος· οἷον Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λέγων, τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνῃρῆ-
35 σθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη. καὶ τὰ ἐν χρείᾳ μείζονι χρήσιμα, οἷον τὰ ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ νόσοις. καὶ δυοῖν τὸ ἐγγύτερον τοῦ τέλους. καὶ τὸ

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45 Epicharmus fr. 146; for "piling up" cf. *Gen. an.* 1 (724a28). 46 Simon. *Epigr. Gr.* 4. 47 Or, the yoke to which the basket, like our milk pails long ago, was attached. 48 The Athenian commander and mercenary soldier; cf. 1367b18.

mus,[45] produce the same effect, for the same reason as division, for combination is an exhibition of great superiority, and also because it appears to be the origin and cause of great things. And since what is harder to obtain and scarcer is greater, it follows that special occasions, ages, places, times, and powers, produce great effects; for if a man does things beyond his powers, beyond his age, and beyond what his equals could do, if they are done in such a manner, in such a place, and at such a time, they will possess importance in actions that are noble, good, or just, or the opposite. Hence the epigram[46] on the Olympian victor:

> Formerly, with a rough basket[47] on my shoulders,
> I would carry the fish from Argos to Tegea.

And Iphicrates[48] lauded himself by speaking of where he had come from. And what is self-made is a greater good than what is acquired, because it is harder. Whence the poet says:

> Self-taught am I.[49]

And what is the greatest part of what is great is more to be desired; as Pericles said in his funeral oration, the removal of the youth from the city was like the year being robbed of its spring.[50] And those things that are useful in greater need, as in old age and illness, are greater goods. And of two things what is nearer the goal proposed is preferable.

[49] *Hom. Od.* 22.347. The words are those of the bard Phemius, who was forced to sing for the suitors of Penelope.

[50] Not in the oration as reported by Thucydides (2.35).

αὐτῷ τοῦ ἁπλῶς. καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν τοῦ ἀδυνάτου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ, τὸ δ' οὔ. καὶ τὰ ἐν τέλει τοῦ βίου· τέλη γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸς τῷ τέλει.

36 Καὶ | τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τῶν πρὸς δόξαν. ὅρος δὲ
1365 b τοῦ πρὸς δόξαν, ὃ λανθάνειν μέλλων οὐκ ἂν ἕλοιτο. διὸ καὶ τὸ εὖ πάσχειν τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν δόξειεν ἂν αἱρετώτερον εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κἂν λανθάνῃ αἱρήσεται,
37 ποιεῖν δ' εὖ λανθάνων οὐ δοκεῖ ἂν ἑλέσθαι. καὶ ὅσα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖν βούλονται· πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γὰρ μᾶλλον. διὸ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην φασὶ μικρὸν εἶναι,
38 ὅτι δοκεῖν ἢ εἶναι αἱρετώτερον· τὸ δὲ ὑγιαίνειν οὔ. καὶ τὸ πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον, οἷον τὸ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ καλά. διὸ καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια μέγιστα δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἅπαντα
39 γὰρ ἔχει ταῦτα. καὶ τὸ ἀλυπότερον καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς· πλείω γὰρ ἑνός, ὥστε ὑπάρχει καὶ ἡ ἡδονὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡ ἀλυπία. καὶ δυοῖν ὃ τῷ αὐτῷ προστιθέμενον
40 μεῖζον τὸ ὅλον ποιεῖ. καὶ ἃ μὴ λανθάνει παρόντα ἢ λανθάνει· πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γὰρ τείνει ταῦτα. διὸ τὸ πλουτεῖν φανείη ἂν μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δοκεῖν. καὶ τὸ

[51] It is difficult to see the connection here. Kassel lists a number of proposed emendations in his apparatus but finds none of them really convincing.

And what is useful for the individual is preferable to what is useful absolutely; what is possible to what is impossible; for it is the possible that is useful to us, not the impossible. And those things that belong to the goal of life; for they are more like ends than what leads to the end.

And things that are really good are preferable to those that are good according to opinion, the latter being defined as those that a man would not choose if he were likely to remain unnoticed by others. It would seem then that it is better to receive than to confer a benefit; for one would choose the former even if it should pass unnoticed, whereas it seems that one would not choose to confer a benefit, if it were likely to remain unknown. Those things also are to be preferred that men would rather possess in reality than in appearance, because they are nearer the truth; for which reason it is said that justice is a thing of little importance, because people prefer to appear just than to be just; and this is not the case, for instance, in regard to health. The same may be said of things that serve several ends; for instance, those that assist us to live, to live well, to enjoy life, and to do noble actions; for which reason health and wealth seem to be the greatest goods, for they include all these advantages. And what is more free from pain and accompanied by pleasure is a greater good; for these are more than one, so that we have the good of pleasure and also of freedom from pain. And of two goods the greater is what, added to one and the same, makes the whole greater. And those things, the presence of which does not escape notice, are preferable to those that pass unnoticed, because they tend toward the truth; whence being wealthy would appear to be a greater good than the appearance of it.[51] And what is held most dear, sometimes

41 ἀγαπητόν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν μόνον τοῖς δὲ μετ' ἄλλων. διὸ καὶ οὐκ ἴση ζημία, ἄν τις τὸν ἑτερόφθαλμον τυφλώσῃ καὶ τὸν δύ' ἔχοντα· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἀφῄρηται.

8. Ἐκ τίνων μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰς πίστεις φέρειν ἐν τῷ προτρέπειν καὶ ἀποτρέπειν, σχεδὸν εἴρηται. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ κυριώτατον ἁπάντων πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πείθειν καὶ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν τὸ τὰς πολιτείας ἁπάσας λαβεῖν καὶ τὰ ἑκάστης ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα καὶ συμφέ-
2 ροντα διελεῖν. πείθονται γὰρ ἅπαντες τῷ συμφέροντι, συμφέρει δὲ τὸ σῷζον τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι δὲ κυρία μέν ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόφανσις, τὰ δὲ κύρια διῄρηται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας· ὅσαι γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ κύριά ἐστιν.

3 Εἰσὶ δὲ πολιτεῖαι τέτταρες, δημοκρατία ὀλιγαρχία ἀριστοκρατία μοναρχία· ὥστε τὸ μὲν κύριον καὶ τὸ
4 κρῖνον τούτων τί ἐστιν ἀεὶ μόριον, ἢ ὅλον. ἔστι δὲ δημοκρατία μὲν πολιτεία ἐν ᾗ κλήρῳ διανέμονται τὰς ἀρχάς, ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἐν ᾗ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, ἀριστοκρατία δὲ ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τὴν παιδείαν. παιδείαν δὲ λέγω τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κειμένην· οἱ γὰρ ἐμμεμενηκότες ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις ἐν τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ἄρχουσιν. ἀνάγκη
1366 a δὲ τούτους φαίνεσθαι ἀρίστους· ὅθεν καὶ | τοὔνομα εἴληφε τοῦτο. μοναρχία δ' ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὔνομα ἐν ᾗ εἷς ἁπάντων κύριός ἐστιν· τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν κατὰ τάξιν τινὰ βασιλεία, ἡ δ' ἀόριστος τυραννίς.

alone, sometimes accompanied by other things, is a greater good. For which reason the loss is not equal if a man puts out the eye of a one-eyed man and when he puts out one eye of another who has two, for in the former case, the man has been deprived of what he held most dear.

8. These are more or less all the topics from which arguments may be drawn in persuading and dissuading. But it is most important and decisive for the ability to persuade and to provide good counsel to know all the forms of government and to distinguish the customs, institutions, and interests of each; for all men are persuaded by considerations of expediency, and what preserves the state is expedient. Further, the declaration of the authority is authoritative, and the different kinds of authority are distinguished according to forms of government; in fact, there are as many authorities as there are forms of government.

Now, there are four kinds of government, democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, monarchy, so that the supreme and deciding authority is always a part of these, or the whole. Democracy is a form of government in which the offices are distributed by the citizens among themselves by lot; in an oligarchy, on the basis of a certain property qualification; in an aristocracy, according to their education, meaning an education that is laid down by the law. In fact, in an aristocracy, power and office are in the hands of those who have remained faithful to what the law prescribes, and who must of necessity appear best, whence this form of government has taken its name. In a monarchy, as its name indicates, one man alone is supreme over all; if it is subject to certain regulations, it is called a kingdom; if it is unlimited, a tyranny.

5 Τὸ δὴ τέλος ἑκάστης πολιτείας οὐ δεῖ λανθάνειν· αἱροῦνται γὰρ τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος. ἔστι δὲ δημοκρατίας μὲν τέλος ἐλευθερία, ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, ἀριστοκρατίας δὲ τὰ περὶ παιδείαν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, τυραννίδος δὲ φυλακή. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἑκάστης ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα καὶ συμφέροντα διαιρετέον,
6 εἴπερ αἱροῦνται πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπαναφέροντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον αἱ πίστεις γίνονται δι' ἀποδεικτικοῦ λόγου ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἠθικοῦ (τῷ γὰρ ποιόν τινα φαίνεσθαι τὸν λέγοντα πιστεύομεν, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἂν ἀγαθὸς φαίνηται ἢ εὔνους ἢ ἄμφω), δέοι ἂν τὰ ἤθη τῶν πολιτειῶν ἑκάστης ἔχειν ἡμᾶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑκάστης ἦθος πιθανώτατον ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἑκάστην εἶναι. ταῦτα δὲ ληφθήσεται διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἤθη φανερὰ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις ἀναφέρεται πρὸς τὸ τέλος.

7 Ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ ὀρέγεσθαι προτρέποντας ὡς ἐσομένων ἢ ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ τίνων δεῖ τὰς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος πίστεις λαμβάνειν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἠθῶν καὶ νομίμων διὰ τίνων τε καὶ πῶς εὐπορήσομεν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ σύμμετρον, εἴρηται· διηκρίβωται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς περὶ τούτων.

9. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λέγωμεν περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ καλοῦ καὶ αἰσχροῦ· οὗτοι γὰρ σκοποὶ τῷ ἐπαινοῦντι καὶ ψέγοντι· συμβήσεται γὰρ ἅμα περὶ τούτων λέγοντας κἀκεῖνα δηλοῦν ἐξ ὧν ποιοί τινες ὑπολη-

Nor should the end of each form of government be ignored, for men choose the things that lead to the end. Now, the end of democracy is liberty, of oligarchy wealth, of aristocracy matters of education and the legal institutions, of tyranny self-protection. It is clear then that we must distinguish the customs, institutions, and interests related to the end of each form of government, since it is in reference to this that men make their choice. But as persuasion is achieved not only by demonstrative argument, but also by considerations of character—since we trust an orator who exhibits certain qualities, such as goodness, goodwill, or both—it follows that we ought to be acquainted with the characters of each form of government; for, in reference to each, the character most likely to persuade must be what is characteristic of it. Ends and characters will be understood by the same means; for characters reveal themselves in accordance with plans and decisions, and decision has reference to the end.

We have now stated what things, whether future or present, should be the aim of those who recommend a certain course; from what topics they should derive their proofs of expediency; further, the ways and means of being well equipped for dealing with the characters and institutions of each form of government, so far as was within the scope of the present occasion; for the subject has been discussed in detail in the *Politics*.[52]

9. We will next speak of virtue and vice, of the noble and the disgraceful, since they constitute the aim of one who praises and of one who blames; for, when speaking of these, we shall incidentally bring to light the means of

[52] 3.7–18, 4.

φθησόμεθα κατὰ τὸ ἦθος, ἥπερ ἦν δευτέρα πίστις· ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἄλλον ἀξιόπιστον δυνη-
2 σόμεθα ποιεῖν πρὸς ἀρετήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβαίνει καὶ χωρὶς σπουδῆς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπαινεῖν πολλάκις οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπον ἢ θεὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄψυχα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων τὸ τυχόν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ περὶ τούτων ληπτέον τὰς προτάσεις; ὥστε ὅσον παραδείγματος χάριν εἴπωμεν καὶ περὶ τούτων.

3 Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ὃ ἂν δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετὸν ὂν ἐπαινετὸν ᾖ, ἢ ὃ ἂν ἀγαθὸν ὂν ἡδὺ ᾖ, ὅτι ἀγαθόν. εἰ δὴ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ καλόν, ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀρετὴν καλὸν
4 εἶναι· ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ὂν ἐπαινετόν ἐστιν. ἀρετὴ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν δύναμις, ὡς δοκεῖ, ποριστικὴ ἀγαθῶν καὶ φυλακτική, καὶ δύναμις εὐεργετικὴ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων,
5 καὶ πάντων | περὶ πάντα. μέρη δὲ ἀρετῆς δικαιοσύνη,
1366 b ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοπρέπεια, μεγαλοψυχία,
6 ἐλευθεριότης, πραότης, φρόνησις, σοφία. ἀνάγκη δὲ μεγίστας εἶναι ἀρετὰς τὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις χρησιμωτάτας, εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετὴ δύναμις εὐεργετική. διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀνδρείους μάλιστα τιμῶσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ χρήσιμος ἄλλοις. εἶτα ἡ ἐλευθεριότης· προΐενται γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀνταγωνίζονται περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὧν μάλιστα ἐφ-
7 ίενται ἄλλοι. ἔστι δὲ δικαιοσύνη μὲν ἀρετὴ δι' ἣν τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ἔχουσι, καὶ ὡς ὁ νόμος, ἀδικία δὲ δι'
8 ἣν τὰ ἀλλότρια, οὐχ ὡς ὁ νόμος. ἀνδρεία δὲ δι' ἣν πρακτικοί εἰσι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις,

making us appear of such and such a character, which, as we have said, is a *second method of* persuasion; for it is by the same means that we shall be able to inspire confidence in ourselves or others in regard to virtue. But since it happens that men, seriously or not, often praise not only a man or a god but even inanimate things or any ordinary animal, we ought in the same way to make ourselves familiar with the propositions relating to these subjects. Let us, then, discuss these matters also, so far as may serve for illustration.

Noble, then, is what, being desirable in itself, is worthy of praise, or which, being good, is pleasant because it is good. If this is the noble, then virtue must of necessity be noble, for, being good, it is worthy of praise. Virtue, it would seem, is a faculty of providing and preserving good things, a faculty productive of many and great benefits, in fact, of all things in all cases. The components of virtue are justice, courage, temperance, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, practical and theoretical wisdom. The greatest virtues are necessarily those that are most useful to others, if virtue is the faculty of conferring benefits. For this reason justice and courage are the most esteemed, the latter being useful to others in war, the former in peace as well. Next is liberality, for the liberal spend freely and do not raise disputes about money, which is the chief object of other men's desire. Justice is a virtue that assigns to each man his due in conformity with the law; injustice claims what belongs to others, in opposition to the law. Courage makes men perform noble acts in the midst of dangers according to the dictates of the law and in submission to it; cowardice is the opposite. Temperance is a virtue which disposes men in regard to the pleasures

9 καὶ ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, καὶ ὑπηρετικοὶ τῷ νόμῳ· δει-
λία δὲ τοὐναντίον. σωφροσύνη δὲ ἀρετὴ δι' ἣν πρὸς
τὰς ἡδονὰς τὰς τοῦ σώματος οὕτως ἔχουσιν ὡς ὁ
10 νόμος κελεύει· ἀκολασία δὲ τοὐναντίον. ἐλευθεριότης
δὲ περὶ χρήματα εὖ ποιητική, ἀνελευθερία δὲ τοὐναν-
11 τίον. μεγαλοψυχία δὲ ἀρετὴ μεγάλων ποιητικὴ εὐερ-
12 γετημάτων· μεγαλοπρέπεια δὲ ἀρετὴ ἐν δαπανήμασι
μεγέθους ποιητική· μικροψυχία δὲ καὶ μικροπρέπεια
13 τἀναντία. φρόνησις δ' ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ διανοίας, καθ' ἣν
εὖ βουλεύεσθαι δύνανται περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν τῶν
εἰρημένων εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν.

14 Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καθόλου καὶ περὶ
τῶν μορίων εἴρηται κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἱκανῶς,
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν· φανερὸν γὰρ ὅτι
ἀνάγκη τά τε ποιητικὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶναι καλά (πρὸς
ἀρετὴν γάρ) καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς γινόμενα, τοιαῦτα δὲ
15 τά τε σημεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ση-
μεῖα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅ ἐστιν ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ πάθη
καλά, ἀνάγκη ὅσα τε ἀνδρείας ἔργα ἢ σημεῖα ἀν-
δρείας ἢ ἀνδρείως πέπρακται καλὰ εἶναι, καὶ τὰ
δίκαια καὶ τὰ δικαίως ἔργα (πάθη δὲ οὔ· ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ
ταύτῃ τῶν ἀρετῶν οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸ δικαίως καλόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
τοῦ ζημιοῦσθαι αἰσχρὸν τὸ δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ
16 ἀδίκως), καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας δὲ ἀρετὰς ὡσαύτως. καὶ
ἐφ' ὅσοις τὰ ἆθλα τιμή, καλά. καὶ ἐφ' ὅσοις τιμὴ
μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα. καὶ ὅσα μὴ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα πράττει
17 τις τῶν αἱρετῶν. καὶ τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά, ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος τις ἐποίησε, παριδὼν τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὰ τῇ

of the body as the law prescribes; licentiousness is the opposite. Liberality does good in matters of money; avarice is the opposite. Magnanimity is a virtue productive of great benefits; magnificence, a virtue that produces greatness in matters of expenditure; small-mindedness and meanness are their opposites. Practical wisdom is a virtue of reason, which enables men to deliberate well in regard to the good and evil things, which have been mentioned as connected with happiness.

Concerning virtue and vice in general and their parts, enough has been said for the moment. To discern the rest presents no difficulty; for it is evident that whatever produces virtue, as it leads to it, must be noble, and so also must be what comes from virtue, and such are its signs and works. But since the signs of virtue and such things as are the works and sufferings of a good man are noble, it necessarily follows that all the works and signs of courage and all courageous acts are also noble. The same may be said of just things and of just actions (but not of what one suffers justly; for in this alone among the virtues what happens justly is not always noble, rather, being punished justly is more disgraceful than being punished unjustly), and the same applies to the other virtues. Those things of which the reward is honor are noble; also those that are done for honor rather than money. Also, those desirable things that a man does not do for his own sake; things absolutely good, which a man has done for the sake of his country, while neglecting his own interests; things that are naturally good; and things that are not such as are

1367 a φύσει ἀγαθά· καὶ ἃ μὴ αὐτῷ | ἀγαθά· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἕνεκα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

18 Καὶ ὅσα τεθνεῶτι ἐνδέχεται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ
19 ζῶντι· τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἔχει τὰ ζῶντι. καὶ ὅσα ἔργα τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα· ἧττον γὰρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὅσαι εὐπραγίαι περὶ ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ αὐτόν. καὶ
20 περὶ τοὺς εὖ ποιήσαντας· δίκαιον γάρ. καὶ τὰ εὐεργετήματα· οὐ γὰρ εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἢ ἐφ' οἷς αἰσχύνονται· τὰ γὰρ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχύνονται καὶ λέγοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες καὶ μέλλοντες ὥσπερ καὶ Σαπφὼ πεποίηκεν, εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀλκαίου "θέλω τι τ'εἰπῆν, ἀλλά με κωλύει αἰδώς,"

αἰ δ' ἦχες ἐσθλῶν ἵμερον ἢ καλῶν
καὶ μή τι τ'ειπῆν γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κακόν,
αἰδώς † κέν σε † οὐκ εἶχεν ὄμματ',
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες † περὶ τῶ δικαίω †

21 Καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀγωνιῶσι μὴ φοβούμενοι· περὶ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς δόξαν φερόντων ἀγαθῶν τοῦτο πάσχουσιν.
22 καὶ αἱ τῶν φύσει σπουδαιοτέρων ἀρεταὶ καλλίους καὶ
23 τὰ ἔργα, οἷον ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικός. καὶ αἱ ἀπολαυστικαὶ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοῖς· διὸ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ἡ
24 δικαιοσύνη καλόν. καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ καταλλάττεσθαι. τό τε γὰρ ἀνταποδιδόναι δίκαιον, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καλόν, καὶ ἀνδρείου τὸ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι. καὶ νίκη καὶ τιμὴ τῶν καλῶν· αἱρετά τε γὰρ
25

good for the individual, since such things serve one's self interest.

And those things are noble that it is possible for a man to possess after death rather than during his lifetime, for the latter involve more self interest; all acts done for the sake of others, for they are more disinterested; the successes gained, not for oneself, but for others; and things done for one's benefactors, for that is justice; in a word, all acts of kindness, for they are disinterested. And the contrary of those things of which we are ashamed; for we are ashamed of what is disgraceful, in words, acts, or intention; as, for instance, when Alcaeus said: "I would say something, but shame holds me back," Sappho rejoined:

> Had you desired what was good or noble,
> had not your tongue stirred up some evil uttering it,
> shame would not fill your eyes,
> but you would have spoken of what is right.[53]

Those things also are noble for which men anxiously strive, but without fear; for men are thus affected about goods that lead to good repute. Virtues and actions are nobler, when they proceed from those who are naturally worthier, for instance, from a man rather than from a woman. It is the same with those that are the cause of enjoyment to others rather than to ourselves; this is why justice and what is just are noble. To take vengeance on one's enemies and not to come to terms with them is noble; for to retaliate is just, and what is just is noble; and further, a courageous man ought not to allow himself to be beaten. Victory and honor also are noble; for both are

[53] Fr. 137 Lobel-Page.

ἄκαρπα ὄντα, καὶ ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς δηλοῖ. καὶ τὰ
μνημονευτά, καὶ τὰ μᾶλλον μᾶλλον. καὶ ἃ μὴ ζῶντι
ἕπεται, καὶ τὰ περιττά, καὶ τὰ μόνῳ ὑπάρχοντα καλ-
26 λίω· εὐμνημονευτότερα γάρ. καὶ κτήματα ἄκαρπα·
ἐλευθεριώτερα γάρ. καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις δὲ ἴδια
καλά. καὶ ὅσα σημεῖά ἐστι τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις ἐπαι-
νουμένων, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κομᾶν καλόν· ἐλευ-
θέρου γὰρ σημεῖον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κομῶντα ῥᾴδιον οὐ-
27 δὲν ποιεῖν ἔργον θητικόν. καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐργάζεσθαι
βάναυσον τέχνην· ἐλευθέρου γὰρ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον
ζῆν.

28 Ληπτέον δὲ καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὡς
ταὐτὰ ὄντα καὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ πρὸς ψόγον, οἷον
τὸν εὐλαβῆ ψυχρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τὸν ἠλίθιον
29 χρηστὸν καὶ τὸν ἀνάλγητον πρᾶον. καὶ ἕκαστον δ' ἐκ
τῶν παρακολουθούντων ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον, οἷον
τὸν ὀργίλον καὶ τὸν μανικὸν ἁπλοῦν καὶ τὸν αὐθάδη
1367 b | μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ σεμνόν. καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὑπερβο-
λαῖς ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὄντας, οἷον τὸν θρασὺν ἀν-
δρεῖον καὶ τὸν ἄσωτον ἐλευθέριον· δόξει τε γὰρ τοῖς
πολλοῖς, καὶ ἅμα παραλογιστικὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας· εἰ
γὰρ οὗ μὴ ἀνάγκη κινδυνευτικός, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἂν
δόξειεν ὅπου καλόν, καὶ εἰ προετικὸς τοῖς τυχοῦσι,
καὶ τοῖς φίλοις· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀρετῆς τὸ πάντας εὖ
30 ποιεῖν. σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ παρ' οἷς ὁ ἔπαινος· ὥσπερ γὰρ

desirable even when they bring no profit, and are manifestations of superior virtue. And things worthy of remembrance, which are the more honorable the longer their memory lasts. Those that follow us after death, and those that are out of the common, and those that are only possessed by a single individual are more noble, because they are more easily remembered. And possessions that bring no profit; for they are more gentlemanly. Customs that are peculiar to individual peoples and all the tokens of what is esteemed among them are noble; for instance, in Sparta it is noble to wear one's hair long, for it is the mark of a free man, the performance of any servile task being difficult for one whose hair is long. And not carrying on any vulgar profession is noble, for a free man does not live in dependence on others.

We must also assume, for the purpose of praise or blame, that qualities close to the real qualities are identical with them; for instance, that the cautious man is cold and designing, the simpleton good-natured, and the emotionless gentle. And in each case we must adopt a term from qualities closely connected, always in the more favorable sense; for instance, the choleric and passionate man may be spoken of as frank and open, the arrogant as magnificent and dignified; those in excess as possessing the corresponding virtue, the foolhardy as courageous, the recklessly extravagant as liberal. For most people will think so, and at the same time a fallacious argument may be drawn from the motive; for if a man risks his life when there is no necessity, much more will he be thought likely to do so when it is honorable; and if he is lavish to all comers, so will he be to his friends; for the height of virtue is to do good to all. We ought also to consider in whose pres-

ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν, οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν. δεῖ δὲ τὸ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμιον λέγειν ὡς ὑπάρχει, οἷον ἐν Σκύθαις ἢ Λάκωσιν ἢ φιλοσόφοις. καὶ ὅλως δὲ τὸ τίμιον ἄγειν εἰς τὸ καλόν, ἐπεί-
31 περ γε δοκεῖ γειτνιᾶν. καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον, οἷον εἰ ἄξια τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῶν προϋπηργμένων· εὐδαιμονικὸν γὰρ καὶ καλὸν καὶ τὸ προσεπικτᾶσθαι τιμήν. καὶ εἰ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ κάλλιον, οἷον εἰ εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἀτυχῶν δὲ μεγαλόψυχος, ἢ μείζων γιγνόμενος βελτίων καὶ καταλλακτικώτερος. τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἰφικράτους, ἐξ οἵων εἰς οἷα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀλυμπιονίκου

πρόσθε μὲν ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων τραχεῖαν,

καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου

ἣ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὖσα τυράννων.

32 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὁ ἔπαινος, ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ σπουδαίου τὸ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, πειρατέον δεικνύναι πράττοντα κατὰ προαίρεσιν. χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ πολλάκις φαίνεσθαι πεπραχότα. διὸ καὶ τὰ συμπτώματα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τύχης ὡς ἐν προαιρέσει ληπτέον· ἂν γὰρ

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54 Pl. *Menex.* 235d. 55 See above, 1365a28.
56 See above, 1365a28. 57 Epigr. Gr. 26. Archedice, daughter of Hippias (tyrant of Athens), and wife of Aeantides, son of Hippocles (tyrant of Lampsacus).

ence we praise, for, as Socrates said, it is not difficult to praise Athenians among Athenians.[54] We ought also to speak of what is esteemed among the particular audience, Scythians, Spartans, or philosophers, as belonging to our subject. And, generally speaking, what is esteemed should be classed as noble, since there seems to be a close resemblance between the two. Again, all such actions as are in accord with what is fitting are noble; if, for instance, they are worthy of a man's ancestors or of his own previous achievements; for to obtain additional honor is also noble and conduces to happiness. Also, if the tendency of what is done is better and nobler, and goes beyond what is to be expected; for instance, if a man is moderate in good fortune and stouthearted in adversity, or if, when he becomes greater, he is better and more forgiving. Such was the phrase of Iphicrates, "from where I got to this,"[55] and of the Olympian victor:

> Formerly, with a rough basket on my shoulders [56]

and of Simonides:

> She whose father and husband and brothers were
> tyrants.[57]

Since praise is founded on actions, and acting according to his own decision is characteristic of the worthy man, we must attempt to show that a man is acting in that manner, and it is useful that it should appear that he has done so on several occasions. For this reason also one must assume that accidents and strokes of good fortune are due to decision; for if a number of similar examples can be

πολλὰ καὶ ὅμοια προφέρηται, σημεῖον ἀρετῆς εἶναι δόξει καὶ προαιρέσεως.

33 Ἔστι δ' ἔπαινος λόγος ἐμφανίζων μέγεθος ἀρετῆς. δεῖ οὖν τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδεικνύναι ὡς τοιαῦται. τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ εἰς πίστιν, οἷον εὐγένεια καὶ παιδεία· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸν οὕτω τραφέντα τοιοῦτον εἶναι. τὰ δ' ἔργα σημεῖα τῆς ἕξεώς ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ ἐπαινοῖμεν ἂν καὶ μὴ πεπραγότα, εἰ πιστεύοιμεν εἶναι τοιοῦτον.

35 Ἔχει δὲ κοινὸν εἶδος ὁ ἔπαινος καὶ αἱ συμβουλαί· ἃ γὰρ ἐν τῷ συμβουλεύειν ὑπόθοιο ἄν, ταῦτα μετατε-
1368 a θέντα | τῇ λέξει ἐγκώμια γίγνεται. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔχομεν ἃ
36 δεῖ πράττειν καὶ ποιόν τινα εἶναι, δεῖ ταῦτα ὡς ὑποθήκας λέγοντας τῇ λέξει μετατιθέναι καὶ στρέφειν, οἷον ὅτι οὐ δεῖ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς διὰ τύχην ἀλλὰ τοῖς δι' αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν λεχθὲν ὑποθήκην δύναται, ὡδὶ δ' ἔπαινον "μέγα φρονῶν οὐ τοῖς διὰ τύχην ὑπάρχουσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς δι' αὐτόν." ὥστε ὅταν ἐπαινεῖν βούλῃ, ὅρα τί ἂν ὑπόθοιο, καὶ ὅταν ὑποθέσθαι, ὅρα
37 τί ἂν ἐπαινέσειας. ἡ δὲ λέξις ἔσται ἀντικειμένη ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὅταν τὸ μὲν κωλῦον τὸ δὲ μὴ κωλῦον μετατεθῇ.

38 Χρηστέον δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐξητικῶν πολλοῖς, οἷον εἰ

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[58] In the preceding paragraph I have followed Kassel, who deletes several clauses that introduce distinctions between praise and encomium probably taken from *Eth. Eud.* 2.1, (1219b8–16).

adduced, they will be thought to be signs of virtue and moral principle.

Now praise is language that sets forth greatness of virtue; hence it is necessary to show that a man's actions are virtuous. Attendant circumstances, such as noble birth and education, contribute to persuasion; for it is probable that virtuous parents will have virtuous offspring and that a man will turn out as he has been brought up. Actions, in fact, are signs of moral attitude; for we should praise even a man who had not achieved anything, if we felt confident that he was likely to do so.[58]

Praise and counsels have a common aspect; for what you might suggest in counseling becomes encomium by a change in the phrase. Accordingly, since we know what we ought to do and the qualities we ought to possess, we should make a change in the phrase and turn it, employing this knowledge as a suggestion. For instance, the statement that "one ought not to pride oneself on goods which are due to fortune, but on those that are due to oneself alone," when expressed in this way, has the force of a suggestion; but expressed thus, "he was proud, not of goods that were due to fortune, but of those that were due to himself alone," it becomes praise. Accordingly, if you wish to praise, look what you would suggest; if you wish to suggest, look what you would praise. The form of the expression will necessarily be opposite, when the prohibitive has been changed into the non-prohibitive.

We must also employ many of the means of amplifica-

Aristotle does not seem to observe those distinctions here, as the following paragraph shows.

μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ἢ μετ' ὀλίγων ἢ καὶ ὃ μάλιστα πε-
ποίηκεν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα καλά. καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν χρό-
νων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν· ταῦτα δὲ εἰ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον,
καὶ εἰ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ κατώρθωκεν· μέγα γάρ, καὶ
οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν ἂν δόξειεν. καὶ εἰ τὰ
προτρέποντα καὶ τιμῶντα διὰ τοῦτον εὕρηται καὶ κατ-
εσκευάσθη. καὶ εἰς ὃν πρῶτον ἐγκώμιον ἐποιήθη, οἷον
εἰς Ἱππόλοχον, ὡς δι' Ἁρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα
τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σταθῆναι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναν-
τίων. κἂν μὴ καθ' αὐτὸν εὐπορῇς, πρὸς ἄλλους
ἀντιπαραβάλλειν· ὅπερ Ἰσοκράτης ἐποίει διὰ τὴν
συνήθειαν τοῦ δικολογεῖν. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἐνδόξους συγ-
κρίνειν· αὐξητικὸν γὰρ καὶ καλόν, εἰ σπουδαίων βελ-
39 τίων. πίπτει δ' εὐλόγως ἡ αὔξησις εἰς τοὺς ἐπαίνους·
ἐν ὑπεροχῇ γάρ ἐστιν, ἡ δ' ὑπεροχὴ τῶν καλῶν. διὸ
κἂν μὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδόξους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς
δεῖ παραβάλλειν, ἐπείπερ ἡ ὑπεροχὴ δοκεῖ μηνύειν
40 ἀρετήν. ὅλως δὲ τῶν κοινῶν εἰδῶν ἅπασι τοῖς λόγοις
ἡ μὲν αὔξησις ἐπιτηδειοτάτη τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς· τὰς
γὰρ πράξεις ὁμολογουμένας λαμβάνουσιν, ὥστε λοι-
πὸν μέγεθος περιθεῖναι καὶ κάλλος· τὰ δὲ παραδεί-
γματα τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν προγεγο-
νότων τὰ μέλλοντα καταμαντευόμενοι κρίνομεν· τὰ δ'
ἐνθυμήματα τοῖς δικανικοῖς· αἰτίαν γὰρ καὶ ἀπόδειξιν

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59 Nothing more is known of him.
60 Who killed Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens.

tion; for instance, if a man is the only one, or the first, or one of a few who has done something, or has been chiefly responsible for it; all these circumstances render an action noble. Similarly, topics derived from times and seasons, that is to say, if our expectation is surpassed. Also, if a man has often been successful in the same thing; for this is of importance and would appear to be due to the man himself, and not to be the result of chance. And if it is for his sake that distinctions which are an encouragement or honor have been invented and established; and if he was the first on whom an encomium was pronounced, as for instance Hippolochus,[59] or to whom a statue was set up in the marketplace, as to Harmodius and Aristogiton.[60] And similarly in opposite cases. If he does not furnish you with enough material in himself, you must set him in contrast with others, as Isocrates used to do, because of his experience of forensic speaking. And you must compare him with illustrious personages, for it affords ground for amplification and is noble, if he can be proved better than men of worth. Amplification is with good reason ranked as one of the forms of praise, since it relies on superiority, and superiority is one of the things that are noble. That is why, if you cannot compare him with illustrious personages, you must compare him with ordinary persons, since superiority is thought to indicate virtue. Speaking generally, of the topics common to all rhetorical arguments, amplification is most suitable for epideictic speakers, whose subject is actions which are not disputed, so that all that remains to be done is to attribute nobility and importance to them. Examples are most suitable for deliberative speakers, for it is by examination of the past that we divine and judge the future. Enthymemes are most suitable for

41 μάλιστα δέχεται τὸ γεγονὸς διὰ τὸ ἀσαφές. ἐκ τίνων μὲν οὖν οἱ ἔπαινοι καὶ οἱ ψόγοι λέγονται σχεδὸν πάντες, καὶ πρὸς ποῖα δεῖ βλέποντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ψέγειν, καὶ ἐκ τίνων τὰ ἐγκώμια γίγνεται καὶ τὰ ὀνείδη, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐχομένων γὰρ τούτων τὰ ἐναντία τούτοις φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ψόγος ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐστίν. |

1368 b 10. Περὶ δὲ κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογίας, ἐκ πόσων καὶ ποίων ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ τοὺς συλλογισμούς, ἐχόμενον
2 ἂν εἴη λέγειν. δεῖ δὴ λαβεῖν τρία, ἓν μὲν τίνων καὶ πόσων ἕνεκα ἀδικοῦσι, δεύτερον δὲ πῶς αὐτοὶ διακεί-
3 μενοι, τρίτον δὲ τοὺς ποίους καὶ πῶς ἔχοντας. διορισάμενοι οὖν τὸ ἀδικεῖν λέγωμεν τὰ ἑξῆς.

Ἔστω δὴ τὸ ἀδικεῖν τὸ βλάπτειν ἑκόντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον. νόμος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν ἴδιος ὁ δὲ κοινός. λέγω δὲ ἴδιον μὲν καθ' ὃν γεγραμμένον πολιτεύονται, κοινὸν δὲ ὅσα ἄγραφα παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. ἑκόντες δὲ ποιοῦσιν ὅσα εἰδότες καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζόμενοι. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἑκόντες, οὐ πάντα προαιρούμενοι,
4 ὅσα δὲ προαιρούμενοι, εἰδότες ἅπαντα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὃ προαιρεῖται ἀγνοεῖ. δι' ἃ δὲ προαιροῦνται βλάπτειν καὶ φαῦλα ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, κακία ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκρασία· ἐὰν γάρ τινες ἔχωσι μοχθηρίαν ἢ μίαν ἢ πλείους, περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὃ μοχθηροὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, καὶ ἄδικοί εἰσιν, οἷον ὁ μὲν ἀνελεύθερος περὶ χρήματα, ὁ δ' ἀκόλαστος περὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονάς, ὁ δὲ

forensic speakers, because the past, by reason of its obscurity, above all lends itself to the investigation of causes and to demonstrative proof. Such are the materials of virtually all praise or blame, the things that those who praise or blame should keep in view, and the sources of encomia and invective; for when these are known their contraries are obvious, since blame is derived from the contrary things.

10. We have next to speak of the number and quality of the propositions of which those syllogisms are constructed which have for their object accusation and defense. Three things have to be considered; first, the nature and the number of the motives that lead men to act unjustly; secondly, what is the state of mind of those who so act; thirdly, the character and dispositions of those who are exposed to injustice. We will discuss these questions in order, after we have defined acting unjustly.

Let injustice, then, be defined as voluntarily causing injury contrary to the law. Now, the law is either particular or general. By particular, I mean the written law in accordance with which a state is administered; by general, the unwritten laws which appear to be universally recognized. Men act voluntarily when they know what they do, and do not act under compulsion. What is done voluntarily is not always done with premeditation; but what is done with premeditation is always known to the agent, for no one is ignorant of what he decides to do. The motives which lead men to do injury and commit wrong actions are depravity and weakness of will. For if men have one or more vices, it is in what makes him vicious that he shows himself unjust; for example, the illiberal in regard to money, the licentious in regard to bodily pleasures, the

μαλακὸς περὶ τὰ ῥάθυμα, ὁ δὲ δειλὸς περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, ὁ δὲ φιλότιμος διὰ τιμήν, ὁ δ' ὀξύθυμος δι' ὀργήν, ὁ δὲ φιλόνικος διὰ νίκην, ὁ δὲ πικρὸς διὰ τιμωρίαν, ὁ δ' ἄφρων διὰ τὸ ἀπατᾶσθαι περὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, ὁ δ' ἀναίσχυντος δι' ὀλιγωρίαν δόξης. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

5 Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων δῆλον, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς εἰρημένων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰ πάθη ῥηθησομένων· λοιπὸν δ' εἰπεῖν τίνος ἕνεκα καὶ πῶς
6 ἔχοντες ἀδικοῦσι, καὶ τίνας. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διελώμεθα τίνων ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ ποῖα φεύγοντες ἐγχειροῦσιν ἀδικεῖν· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τῷ μὲν κατηγοροῦντι πόσα καὶ ποῖα τούτων ὑπάρχει τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σκεπτέον, τῷ δ' ἀπολογουμένῳ ποῖα καὶ πόσα τούτων οὐχ ὑπάρχει.
7 πάντες δὴ πράττουσι πάντα τὰ μὲν οὐ δι' αὐτοὺς τὰ δὲ δι' αὐτούς. τῶν μὲν οὖν μὴ δι' αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν διὰ τύχην πράττουσι τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ φύσει. ὥστε πάντα ὅσα μὴ δι' αὐτοὺς πράττουσι, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τύχης τὰ δὲ φύσει τὰ
1369 a δὲ βίᾳ. ὅσα δὲ δι' αὐτούς, καὶ ὧν | αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι, τὰ μὲν δι' ἔθος τὰ δὲ δι' ὄρεξιν, καὶ[1] τὰ μὲν διὰ λογιστικὴν
8 ὄρεξιν τὰ δὲ δι' ἄλογον· ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν βούλησις[2] ἀγα-

[1] καὶ: Kassel inserts ‹τῶν δὲ δι' ὄρεξιν› (of the results of desire) instead of καὶ (and), based on a conjecture in a late MS, but I think this can easily be understood from the context.

[2] Kassel inserts ‹ἡ δὲ βούλησις› after βούλησις, following an old conjecture by Spengel; the translation would have to be: "one is wish, and wish is a desire for good." But I see no reason

effeminate in regard to what makes for ease,[61] the coward in regard to dangers, the ambitious in his desire for honor, the irascible owing to anger, one who is eager to conquer in his desire for victory, the rancorous in his desire for vengeance; the foolish man from having mistaken ideas of right and wrong, the shameless from his contempt for the opinion of others. Similarly, each of the rest of mankind is unjust in regard to his underlying weakness.

Now this will be clear, partly from what has already been said about the virtues, and partly from what will be said about the emotions. It remains to state the motives and character of those who do wrong, and to whom they do so. First, then, let us define what those who set about acting unjustly desire or try to avoid; for it is evident that the accuser must examine the number and nature of the motives which are to be found in his opponent; the defendant, which of them are not to be found in him. Now, all humans act either not on their own initiative, or on their own initiative. Of the former actions, some are due to chance, others to necessity. Of those due to necessity, some are to be attributed to compulsion, others to nature, so that the things which men do not do of themselves are all the result of chance, nature, or compulsion. As for those that they do of themselves and of which they are the cause, some are the result of habit, others of desire, and some are due to rational, others to irrational desire. Now

[61] Or, "in the matter of ease," taking τὰ ῥάθυμα as = ῥαθυμία.

to change the MS text—if anything were missing, it would be a word like λογιστική (rational), which some translators supply; again, it seems clear from the context that wish is rational desire.

θοῦ ὄρεξις (οὐδεὶς γὰρ βούλεται ἀλλ' ἢ ὅταν οἰηθῇ εἶναι ἀγαθόν), ἄλογοι δ' ὀρέξεις ὀργὴ καὶ ἐπιθυμία, ὥστε πάντα ὅσα πράττουσιν ἀνάγκη πράττειν δι' αἰτίας ἑπτά, διὰ τύχην, διὰ φύσιν, διὰ βίαν, δι' ἔθος, διὰ λογισμόν, διὰ θυμόν, δι' ἐπιθυμίαν.

9 Τὸ δὲ προσδιαιρεῖσθαι καθ' ἡλικίας ἢ ἕξεις ἢ ἄλλ' ἄττα τὰ πραττόμενα περίεργον· εἰ γὰρ συμβέβηκε τοῖς νέοις ὀργίλοις εἶναι ἢ ἐπιθυμητικοῖς, οὐ διὰ τὴν νεότητα πράττουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ δι' ὀργὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. οὐδὲ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ πενίαν, ἀλλὰ συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πένησι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἐπιθυμεῖν χρημάτων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων ἡδονῶν. ἀλλὰ πράξουσι καὶ οὗτοι οὐ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ πενίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι καὶ οἱ ἄδικοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ λεγόμενοι κατὰ τὰς ἕξεις πράττειν, διὰ ταῦτα πράξουσιν· ἢ γὰρ διὰ λογισμὸν ἢ διὰ πάθος· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
10 δι' ἤθη καὶ πάθη χρηστά, οἱ δὲ διὰ τἀναντία. συμβαίνει μέντοι ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις ἕξεσι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκολουθεῖν, ταῖς δὲ τοιαῖσδε τὰ τοιάδε· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἴσως τῷ μὲν σώφρονι διὰ τὸ σώφρονα εἶναι δόξαι τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι χρηστὰ ἐπακολουθοῦσι περὶ τῶν ἡδέων, τῷ δ' ἀκολάστῳ αἱ ἐναντίαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
11 τούτων. διὸ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας διαιρέσεις ἐατέον, σκεπτέον δὲ ποῖα ποίοις εἴωθεν ἕπεσθαι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ λευκὸς ἢ μέλας ἢ μέγας ἢ μικρός, οὐδὲν τέτακται τῶν τοιούτων ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ δὲ νέος ἢ πρεσβύτης ἢ δίκαιος ἢ ἄδικος, ἤδη διαφέρει. καὶ ὅλως ὅσα τῶν

wish is a desire for good, for no one wishes for anything unless he thinks it is good; irrational desires are anger and appetite. Thus all the actions of men must necessarily be referred to seven causes: chance, nature, compulsion, habit, reason, passion, and passionate desire.

But it is superfluous to establish further distinctions of men's actions based upon age, dispositions, or anything else. For if the young happen to be irascible, or have passionate desires, it is not because of their youth that they act accordingly, but because of anger or strong desire. Nor is it because of wealth or poverty; but the poor happen to desire wealth because of their lack of it, and the rich desire unnecessary pleasures because they are able to procure them. Yet in their case too it will not be wealth or poverty, but their desire, that will be the mainspring of their action. Similarly, the just and the unjust, and all the others who are said to act in accordance with their dispositions, will act from these causes, namely either from reason or emotion, but some from good characters and emotions, and others from the opposite. Indeed, it so happens that such and such dispositions are followed by such and such consequences; for no doubt from the outset the fact of being temperate produces in the temperate man good opinions and desires in the matter of pleasant things, in the licentious man the contrary. Therefore we must leave these distinctions on one side, but we must examine what are the usual consequences of which conditions. For, if a man is fair or dark, tall or short, there is no rule that any such consequences should follow, but if he is young or old, just or unjust, it does make a difference. In a word, it will be

συμβαινόντων ποιεῖ διαφέρειν τὰ ἤθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἷον πλουτεῖν δοκῶν ἑαυτῷ ἢ πένεσθαι διοίσει τι, καὶ εὐτυχεῖν ἢ ἀτυχεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, νῦν δὲ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἴπωμεν πρῶτον.

12 Ἔστι δ' ἀπὸ τύχης μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα γιγνόμενα, ὅσων ἥ τε αἰτία ἀόριστος καὶ μὴ ἕνεκά του γίγνεται καὶ μήτε ἀεὶ μήτε ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μήτε τεταγμένως·
13 δῆλον δ' ἐκ τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ τῆς τύχης περὶ τούτων. φύ-
1369 b σει δέ, ὅσων ἥ τ' αἰτία | ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τεταγμένη· ἢ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει. τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὐδὲν δεῖ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, πότερα κατὰ φύσιν τινὰ ἢ ἄλλην αἰτίαν γίγνεται· δόξειε δ' ἂν καὶ
14 ἡ τύχη αἰτία εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων. βίᾳ δέ, ὅσα παρ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ τοὺς λογισμοὺς γίγνεται αὐτῶν τῶν
15 πραττόντων. ἔθει δέ, ὅσα διὰ τὸ πολλάκις πεποιηκέ-
16 ναι ποιοῦσιν. διὰ λογισμὸν δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ ὡς τέλος ἢ ὡς πρὸς τὸ τέλος, ὅταν διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν πράττηται· ἔνια γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀκόλαστοι συμφέροντα πράττουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν ἀλλὰ δι' ἡδονήν. διὰ θυμὸν δὲ καὶ ὀργὴν
17 τὰ τιμωρητικά. διαφέρει δὲ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κόλασις τοῦ πάσχοντος ἕνεκά ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ
18 τιμωρία τοῦ ποιοῦντος, ἵνα ἀποπληρωθῇ. τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ὀργή, δῆλον ἔσται ἐν τοῖς περὶ παθῶν, δι' ἐπιθυμίαν δὲ πράττεται ὅσα φαίνεται ἡδέα. ἔστι δὲ

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62 2.12–17. 63 See *Physics* 2.5. 64 2.2.

necessary to take account of all the circumstances that make men's characters different; for instance, if a man fancies himself rich or poor, fortunate or unfortunate, it will make a difference. We will, however, discuss this later;[62] let us now address what remains to be said here.

Things that are the result of chance are all those of which the cause is indefinite, those that do not happen for the sake of an end, and that neither always, nor in most cases, nor regularly. The definition of chance makes this clear.[63] Things that are the result of nature are all those of which the cause is in themselves and regular; for they turn out always, or in most cases, in the same way. As for those that happen contrary to nature, there is no need to investigate minutely whether their occurrence is due to nature or some other cause (it would seem, however, that such cases also are due to chance). Those things are the result of compulsion that are done by the agents in opposition to their own desire or reasoning. Things are the result of habit, when they are done because they have often been done. Things are the result of reasoning that are done because of those among the goods already mentioned that appear to be expedient, either as an end or means to an end, provided they are done by reason of their being expedient; for even the intemperate do certain things that are expedient, though for the sake, not of expediency, but of pleasure. Passion and anger are the causes of acts of revenge. But there is a difference between revenge and punishment; the latter is inflicted for the sake of the sufferer, the former for the sake of him who inflicts it, that he may obtain satisfaction. Anger will be defined when we come to speak of the emotions;[64] passionate desire is the cause of things being done that appear pleasant. (The

καὶ τὸ σύνηθες καὶ τὸ ἐθιστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἡδέσιν· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν φύσει μὴ ἡδέων, ὅταν ἐθισθῶσιν, ἡδέως ποιοῦσιν.

Ὥστε συλλαβόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅσα δι' αὐτοὺς πράττουσιν, ἅπαντ' ἐστὶν ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ ἢ ἡδέα ἢ φαινόμενα ἡδέα. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσα δι' αὐτούς, ἑκόντες πράττουσιν, οὐκ ἑκόντες δὲ ὅσα μὴ δι' αὐτούς, πάντ' ἂν εἴη, ὅσα ἑκόντες πράττουσιν, ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ ἢ ἡδέα ἢ φαινόμενα ἡδέα· τίθημι γὰρ καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἢ φαινομένων κακῶν ἢ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἢ ἀντὶ μείζονος ἐλάττονος μετάληψιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς (αἱρετὰ γάρ πως), καὶ τὴν τῶν λυπηρῶν ἢ φαινομένων ἢ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἢ μετάληψιν ἀντὶ μειζόνων ἐλαττόνων ἐν τοῖς ἡδέσιν ὡσαύτως. ληπτέον ἄρα τὰ συμ-
19 φέροντα καὶ τὰ ἡδέα, πόσα καὶ ποῖα. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἡδέος εἴπωμεν νῦν. δεῖ δὲ νομίζειν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ὅρους, ἐὰν ὦσι περὶ ἑκάστου μήτε ἀσαφεῖς μήτε ἀκριβεῖς.

11. Ὑποκείσθω δ' ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν κίνησίν τινα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατάστασιν ἁθρόαν καὶ αἰσθητὴν
2 εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν, λύπην δὲ τοὐναντίον. εἰ
1370 a δή ἐστιν ἡδονὴ τὸ | τοιοῦτον, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡδύ ἐστι τὸ ποιητικὸν τῆς εἰρημένης διαθέσεως, τὸ δὲ φθαρτικὸν ἢ τῆς ἐναντίας καταστάσεως ποιητικὸν λυπηρόν.
3 ἀνάγκη οὖν ἡδὺ εἶναι τό τε εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἰέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπειληφότα ᾖ τὴν

things which are familiar and to which we have become accustomed are also among pleasant things; for men do with pleasure many things that are not naturally pleasant, when they have become accustomed to them.)

In short, all things that men do of themselves either are, or seem, good or pleasant; and since men do voluntarily what they do of themselves, and involuntarily what they do not, it follows that all that men do voluntarily will be either what is or seems good, or what is or seems pleasant. For I reckon among good things the removal of what is evil or seems evil, or the exchange of a greater evil for a less, because these things are in a way desirable; in like manner, I reckon among pleasant things the removal of what is or appears painful, and the exchange of a greater pain for a less. We must therefore make ourselves acquainted with the number and quality of expedient and pleasant things. We have already spoken of the expedient when discussing deliberative rhetoric;[65] let us now speak of the pleasant. And we must regard definitions as sufficient in each case, provided they are neither obscure nor too precise.

11. Let us assume that pleasure is a certain movement of the soul, a sudden and perceptible settling down into its natural state, and pain the opposite. If such is the nature of pleasure, it is evident that what produces the condition we have described is pleasant, and that what destroys it or produces the settling down in the contrary state is painful. Necessarily, therefore, it must be pleasant in most cases to enter into the natural state (especially when what is done in accordance with that state has come into

[65] Cf. 1.6, above.

ἑαυτῶν φύσιν τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν γιγνόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἔθη· καὶ γὰρ τὸ εἰθισμένον ὥσπερ πεφυκὸς ἤδη γίγνεται· ὅμοιον γάρ τι τὸ ἔθος τῇ φύσει· ἐγγὺς γὰρ καὶ τὸ πολλάκις τῷ ἀεί, ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν φύσις τοῦ ἀεί, τὸ δὲ
4 ἔθος τοῦ πολλάκις. καὶ τὸ μὴ βίαιον· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ ἡ βία. διὸ αἱ ἀνάγκαι λυπηρόν, καὶ ὀρθῶς εἴρηται

πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμ' ἀνιαρὸν ἔφυ.

τὰς δ' ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὰς συντονίας λυπηράς· ἀναγκαῖα γὰρ καὶ βίαια ταῦτα, ἐὰν μὴ ἐθισθῶσιν· οὕτω δὲ τὸ ἔθος ποιεῖ ἡδύ. τὰ δ' ἐναντία ἡδέα· διὸ αἱ ῥαθυμίαι καὶ αἱ ἀπονίαι καὶ αἱ ἀμέλειαι καὶ αἱ παιδιαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀναπαύσεις καὶ ὁ ὕπνος τῶν
5 ἡδέων· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀνάγκην τούτων. καὶ οὗ ἂν ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἐνῇ, ἅπαν ἡδύ· ἡ γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἡδέος ἐστὶν ὄρεξις.

Τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν ἄλογοί εἰσιν αἱ δὲ μετὰ λόγου. λέγω δὲ ἀλόγους μέν, ὅσας μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν τι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ τοιαῦται ὅσαι εἶναι λέγονται φύσει, ὥσπερ αἱ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπάρχουσαι, οἷον ἡ τροφῆς, δίψα καὶ πεῖνα,[3] καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τροφῆς εἶδος ἐπιθυμία, καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ γευστὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια καὶ ὅλως τὰ ἁπτά, καὶ περὶ ὀσμὴν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ ὄψιν. μετὰ λόγου δὲ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ πει-

[3] Kassel brackets δίψα καὶ πεῖνα (thirst and hunger), which is found in all the MSS, as superfluous—but this may well be a case of correcting Aristotle, not the scribes.

its own nature); and the same with habits. For what has become habitual becomes as it were natural; in fact, habit is something like nature, for the distance between "often" and "always" is not great, and nature belongs to the idea of "always," habit to that of "often." What is not compulsory is also pleasant, for compulsion is contrary to nature. That is why what we are forced to do is painful, and it was rightly said,

For all that is done from necessity will bring pain.[66]

Application, study, and intense effort must also be painful, for these involve necessity and compulsion, if they have not become habitual; for then habit makes them pleasant. Things contrary to these are pleasant; for which reason states of ease, freedom from pain and from care, amusement, recreation,[67] and sleep are among pleasant things, because none of these is in any way compulsory. Everything for which we have passionate desire is pleasant, for this is a desire for pleasure.

Now, of desires some are irrational, others rational. I call irrational all those that are not the result of any assumption. Such are all those that are called natural; for instance, those that come into existence through the body—such as the appetite for food, thirst and hunger; the appetite for such and such food in particular; the desires connected with taste and sexual pleasures, or generally, with touch; and with smell, hearing, and sight. I call those desires rational that are due to being convinced; for there

[66] From Euenus of Paros, *IEG* fr. 8.
[67] Or, "rest."

σθῆναι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ θεάσασθαι καὶ κτήσασθαι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀκούσαντες καὶ πεισθέντες.

6 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἥδεσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαί τινος πάθους, ἡ δὲ φαντασία ἐστὶν αἴσθησίς τις ἀσθενής, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεμνημένῳ καὶ τῷ ἐλπίζοντι ἀκολουθοῖ ἂν φαντασία τις οὗ μέμνηται ἢ ἐλπίζει. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡδοναὶ ἅμα μεμνημένοις καὶ ἐλπίζου-
7 σιν, ἐπείπερ καὶ αἴσθησις. ὥστ' ἀνάγκη πάντα τὰ ἡδέα ἢ ἐν τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι εἶναι παρόντα ἢ ἐν τῷ μεμνῆσθαι γεγενημένα ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐλπίζειν μέλλοντα· |
1370 b αἰσθάνονται μὲν γὰρ τὰ παρόντα, μέμνηνται δὲ τὰ
8 γεγενημένα, ἐλπίζουσι δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν μνημονευτὰ ἡδέα ἐστίν, οὐ μόνον ὅσα ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτε παρῆν, ἡδέα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ οὐχ ἡδέα, ἂν ᾖ ὕστερον καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

ἀλλ' ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνῆσθαι πόνων,

καὶ

μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ
μνήμενος, ὅς τις πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ πολλὰ ἐόργῃ.

9 τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν κακόν. τὰ δ' ἐν ἐλπίδι, ὅσα παρόντα ἢ εὐφραίνειν ἢ ὠφελεῖν φαί-

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68 φαντασία, the faculty of forming mental images (variously translated "imagination," "mental impression," "fantasy"), is defined by Aristotle (*De an.* 3.3.11) as a *kind of movement*, which

are many things that people desire to see or acquire when they have heard them spoken of and are convinced that they are pleasant.

And since pleasure consists in the perception of a certain affection, and imagination is a weakened perception, then both the man who remembers and the man who hopes will be attended by a mental image of what he remembers or hopes.[68] This being so, it is evident that there is pleasure both for those who remember and for those who hope, since there is also sensation. Therefore all pleasant things must either be present in sensation, or past in recollection, or future in hope; for one perceives the present, recollects the past, and hopes for the future. Now our recollections are pleasant, not only when they recall things that when present were agreeable, but also some things that were not, if their consequence subsequently proves noble or good; whence the saying:

> Sweet to remember toils one has escaped,[69]

and,

> Even pains will be a joy to remember later for a man
> who has suffered much and achieved many things.[70]

The reason of this is that even to be free from evil is pleasant. Things which we hope for are pleasant, when their

cannot arise apart from sensation, and the movement produced must resemble the sensation which produced it.

[69] Eur. *Andromeda*, *TrGF* fr. 133.

[70] Hom. *Od.* 15.400–401, but adapted in the second line, which runs "who has suffered much and wandered much" (πόλλ' ἐπαλήθη).

νεται μεγάλα, καὶ ἄνευ λύπης ὠφελεῖν. ὅλως δ' ὅσα παρόντα εὐφραίνει, καὶ ἐλπίζοντας καὶ μεμνημένους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. διὸ καὶ τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι ἡδύ, ὥσπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε περὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ

ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο·

οὐθεὶς γὰρ ὀργίζεται τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ φαινομένῳ τιμωρίας τυχεῖν, οὐδὲ τοῖς πολὺ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς τῇ δυνάμει ἢ οὐκ ὀργίζονται ἢ ἧττον.

10 Καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις ἐπιθυμίαις ἀκολουθεῖ τις ἡδονή· ἢ γὰρ μεμνημένοι ὡς ἔτυχον ἢ ἐλπίζοντες ὡς τεύξονται χαίρουσί τινα ἡδονήν, οἷον οἵ τ' ἐν τοῖς πυρετοῖς ἐχόμενοι ταῖς δίψαις καὶ μεμνημένοι ὡς ἔπιον καὶ ἐλπίζοντες πιεῖσθαι χαίρουσιν, καὶ οἱ ἐρῶν-
11 τες καὶ διαλεγόμενοι καὶ γράφοντες, καὶ ποιοῦντές τι ἀεὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐρωμένου χαίρουσιν· ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις μεμνημένοι οἷον αἰσθάνεσθαι οἴονται τοῦ ἐρωμένου. καὶ ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ ἔρωτος αὕτη γίγνεται πᾶσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον παρόντος χαίρωσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ
12 ἀπόντος μεμνημένοι· ἐρῶσι δέ δη ὅταν καὶ λύπη προσγένηται τῷ μὴ παρεῖναι. καὶ ἐν τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ θρήνοις ἐγγίνεταί τις ἡδονή· ἡ μὲν γὰρ λύπη ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπάρχειν, ἡδονὴ δ' ἐν τῷ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ὁρᾶν πως ἐκεῖνον, καὶ ἃ ἔπραττε, καὶ οἷος ἦν. διὸ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως εἴρηται,

presence seems likely to afford us great pleasure or advantage, without the accompaniment of pain. In a word, all things that afford pleasure by their presence in most cases also afford pleasure when we hope for or remember them. For which reason even being angry is pleasant, as Homer said of anger that it is

Sweeter by far than dripping honey;[71]

for no one grows angry against those whom vengeance clearly cannot overtake, or those who are far more powerful than he is; against such, men feel either no anger or at any rate less.

Most of our desires are accompanied by a kind of pleasure, for the recollection of a past or the hope of a future pleasure creates a certain pleasurable enjoyment; thus, those suffering from fever and tormented by thirst enjoy the remembrance of having drunk and the hope that they will drink again. The lovesick always take pleasure in talking, writing, or composing verses[72] about the beloved; for it seems to them that in all this recollection makes the object of their affection almost perceptible. Love always begins in this manner, when men are happy not only in the presence of the beloved, but also in his absence when they recall him to mind. They are really in love when his absence is also painful. There is a certain amount of pleasure even in mourning and lamentation; for the pain is due to his loss, but there is pleasure in remembering and, as it were, seeing him and recalling his actions and personality. For which reason this, too, was rightly said:

[71] Hom. *Il.* 18.108.

[72] Or, "doing something that has to do with the beloved."

ὣς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο.

13 Καὶ τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι ἡδύ· οὗ γὰρ τὸ μὴ τυγχάνειν λυπηρόν, τὸ τυγχάνειν ἡδύ· οἱ δ' ὀργιζόμενοι λυποῦνται ἀνυπερβλήτως μὴ τιμωρούμενοι, ἐλπίζοντες δὲ
14 χαίρουσιν. καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἡδύ, οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλονίκοις ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν· φαντασία γὰρ ὑπεροχῆς γίγνεται, οὗ
15 πάντες ἔχουσιν ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ ἠρέμα ἢ μᾶλλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ νικᾶν ἡδύ, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ἡδείας εἶναι |
1371 a τὰς μαχητικὰς καὶ τὰς ἐριστικάς (πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν ταύταις γίγνεται τὸ νικᾶν) καὶ ἀστραγαλίσεις καὶ σφαιρίσεις καὶ κυβείας καὶ πεττείας. καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐσπουδασμένας δὲ παιδιὰς ὁμοίως· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡδεῖαι γίγνονται, ἄν τις ᾖ συνήθης, αἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἡδεῖαι, οἷον κυνηγία καὶ πᾶσα θηρευτική· ὅπου γὰρ ἅμιλλα, ἐνταῦθα καὶ νίκη ἐστίν. διὸ καὶ ἡ δικανικὴ καὶ ἡ ἐρι-
16 στικὴ ἡδεῖα τοῖς εἰθισμένοις καὶ δυναμένοις. καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εὐδοξία τῶν ἡδίστων διὰ τὸ γίγνεσθαι φαντασίαν ἑκάστῳ ὅτι τοιοῦτος οἷος ὁ σπουδαῖος, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν φῶσιν οὓς οἴεται ἀληθεύειν. τοιοῦτοι δ' οἱ ἐγγὺς μᾶλλον τῶν πόρρω, καὶ οἱ συνήθεις καὶ οἱ πολῖται τῶν ἄπωθεν, καὶ οἱ ὄντες τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ οἱ φρόνιμοι ἀφρόνων, καὶ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων· μᾶλλον γὰρ εἰκὸς ἀληθεύειν τοὺς εἰρημένους τῶν ἐναντίων· ἐπεὶ ὧν τις πολὺ καταφρονεῖ, ὥσπερ παιδίων ἢ θηρίων, οὐδὲν

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73 Hom. *Il.* 23.108, on the occasion of the mourning for Patroclus; also Hom. *Od.* 4.183, referring to the mourning for the absence of Odysseus.

Thus he spoke, and excited in all a longing to weep.[73]

And revenge is pleasant; for where it is painful to be unsuccessful, it is pleasant to succeed. Now, those who are angry are pained beyond measure when they fail to secure revenge, while the hope of it delights them. Victory is pleasant, not only to those who love to conquer, but to all; for there arises an impression of superiority, which all with more or less eagerness desire. And since victory is pleasant, amusements that involve fighting or competitive debate must be so too, for victories are often gained in them; so also in games with knucklebones, ball games, dicing, and drinking. It is the same with serious sports; for some become pleasant when one is familiar with them, while others are so from the outset, such as the chase with hounds and every kind of hunting; for where there is competition, there is also victory. This is why practice in the law courts and in debate are pleasant to those who are familiar with them and well qualified. Honor and good repute are among the most pleasant things, because every one imagines that he possesses the qualities of a worthy man, and still more when those whom he believes to be sincere say that he does. Such are neighbors rather than those who live at a distance; intimate friends and fellow citizens rather than strangers; contemporaries rather than those who come later; the sensible rather than the senseless; many rather than a few; for such persons are more likely to speak the truth than their opposites, since to those whom men look down upon, such as children and animals,

μέλει τῆς ὑπὸ τούτων τιμῆς ἢ τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς γε τῆς δόξης χάριν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, δι' ἄλλο τι.

17 Καὶ ὁ φίλος τῶν ἡδέων· τό τε γὰρ φιλεῖν ἡδύ (οὐδεὶς γὰρ φίλουνος μὴ χαίρων οἴνῳ) καὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἡδύ· φαντασία γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, οὗ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οἱ αἰσθανόμενοι· τὸ δὲ φιλεῖσθαι ἀγαπᾶσθαί ἐστιν αὐτὸν δι' αὐτόν,
18 καὶ τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι ἡδὺ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ τιμᾶσθαι. καὶ τὸ κολακεύεσθαι καὶ ὁ κόλαξ ἡδύ· φαινόμενος γὰρ
19 θαυμαστὴς καὶ φαινόμενος φίλος ὁ κόλαξ ἐστίν. καὶ τὸ ταὐτὰ πράττειν πολλάκις ἡδύ· τὸ γὰρ σύνηθες ἡδὺ
20 ἦν. καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλειν ἡδύ· εἰς φύσιν γὰρ γίγνεται μεταβάλλειν· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀεὶ ὑπερβολὴν ποιεῖ τῆς καθεστώσης ἕξεως· ὅθεν εἴρηται

μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ.

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ διὰ χρόνου ἡδέα ἐστί, καὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πράγματα· μεταβολὴ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐστίν,
21 ἅμα δὲ καὶ σπάνιον τὸ διὰ χρόνου. καὶ τὸ μανθάνειν καὶ τὸ θαυμάζειν ἡδὺ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ θαυμάζειν τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν μαθεῖν ἐστίν, ὥστε τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐπιθυμητόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ μανθάνειν τὸ εἰς τὸ κατὰ
22 φύσιν καθίστασθαι. καὶ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ εὖ πάσχειν τῶν ἡδέων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πάσχειν τυγχάνειν |
1371 b ἐστὶν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τὸ δὲ εὖ ποιεῖν ἔχειν καὶ ὑπερέχειν, ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἐφίενται. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἡδὺ εἶναι τὸ εὐποιητικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐπανορθοῦν ἡδὺ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
23 ἐστὶ τοὺς πλησίον, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐλλιπῆ ἐπιτελεῖν. ἐπεὶ

they pay no heed with regard to their respect or esteem, or, if they do, it is not for the sake of their esteem, but for some other reason.

A friend also is among pleasant things, for it is pleasant to love (for no one loves wine unless he finds pleasure in it), just as it is pleasant to be loved; for in this case also a man has the impression that he is really endowed with good qualities, a thing desired by all who notice it; and to be loved is to be cherished for one's own sake. And it is pleasant to be admired, for the same reason as to be honored. Flattery and the flatterer are pleasant, for the flatterer appears to be an admirer and a friend. It is pleasant to do the same things often; for what is familiar is, as we said, pleasant. Change also is pleasant, since change is in the order of nature; for perpetual sameness creates an excess of the existing condition; whence it was said:

Change in all things is sweet.[74]

This is also why what we only see at intervals, whether men or things, is pleasant; for there is a change from the present, and at the same time it is rare. And learning and wondering at something are in most cases pleasant; for wondering implies the desire to learn, so that what causes wonder is desired, and learning implies a return to the natural state. It is pleasant to bestow and to receive benefits; the latter means the attainment of what we desire, the former both possession and superiority, both of them things that men desire. Since it is pleasant to do good, it must also be pleasant for men to set their neighbors on their feet, and to supply their deficiencies. And since

[74] Eur. *Or.* 234.

δὲ τὸ μανθάνειν τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ θαυμάζειν, καὶ τὰ τοιάδε ἀνάγκη ἡδέα εἶναι οἷον τό τε μεμιμημένον, ὥσπερ γραφικῇ καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιίᾳ καὶ ποιητικῇ, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν εὖ μεμιμημένον ᾖ, κἂν ᾖ μὴ ἡδὺ αὐτὸ τὸ μεμιμημένον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαίρει, ἀλλὰ συλλογισμός ἐστιν ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο, ὥστε μανθάνειν τι
24 συμβαίνει. καὶ αἱ περιπέτειαι καὶ τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν σώζεσθαι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων· πάντα γὰρ θαυμαστὰ
25 ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἡδύ, τὰ συγγενῆ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, πάντα τὰ συγγενῆ καὶ ὅμοια ἡδέα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, οἷον ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἵππος ἵππῳ καὶ νέος νέῳ. ὅθεν καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι εἴρηνται, ὡς

ἥλιξ ἥλικα τέρπει,

καὶ

ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον,

καὶ

ἔγνω δὲ θῆρ θῆρα,

καὶ

ἀεὶ κολοιὸς παρὰ κολοιόν,

καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

26 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς ἡδὺ ἑαυτῷ ἅπαν, μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος τοῦτο πέπονθεν, ἀνάγκη πάντας φιλαύτους εἶναι ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧτ-

learning and wondering are pleasant, all things connected with them must also be pleasant; for instance, a work of imitation, such as by painting, sculpture, or poetry, and all that is well imitated, even if the object of imitation is not itself pleasant; for it is not the object that causes pleasure, but the inference that this is an imitation of that, so that the result is that we learn something.[75] The same may be said of sudden changes of fortune and narrow escapes from danger; for all these things excite wonder. And since what is in accordance with nature is pleasant, and things which are akin naturally go together, all things akin and like are for the most part pleasant to each other, as man to man, horse to horse, youth to youth. This is the origin of the proverbs:

Mate delights mate,
Like to like,[76]
Beast knows beast,
Birds of a feather flock together,[77]

and all similar sayings.

And since things that are like and akin to oneself are always pleasant, and every man in the highest degree feels this in regard to himself, it must follow that all men are

[75] Cf. *Poetics* 4.1448b8–17.
[76] Attested as early as Hom. *Od.* 17.218.
[77] Literally, "ever jackdaw to jackdaw."

τον· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει πρὸς αὐτὸν μάλι-
στα. ἐπεὶ δὲ φίλαυτοι πάντες, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη
ἡδέα εἶναι πᾶσιν, οἷον ἔργα καὶ λόγους. διὸ καὶ φι-
λοκόλακες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ φιλεραστοί καὶ φιλότι-
μοι καὶ φιλότεκνοι· αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔργα τὰ τέκνα. καὶ τὸ
27 ἐλλιπῆ ἐπιτελεῖν ἡδύ· αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔργον ἤδη γίγνεται.
καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἥδιστον, καὶ τὸ σοφὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι
ἡδύ· ἀρχικὸν γὰρ τὸ φρονεῖν, ἔστι δ' ἡ σοφία πολλῶν
καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπιστήμη. ἔτι ἐπεὶ φιλότιμοι ὡς ἐπὶ
τὸ πολύ, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς πέλας ἡδὺ εἶ-
28 ναι, καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐν ᾧ βέλτιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι
αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ, ἐνταῦθα διατρίβειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ποιη-
τής φησι

κἀπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγεται,
νέμων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πλεῖστον μέρος,
ἵν' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ τυγχάνει βέλτιστος ὤν.

29 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡ παιδιὰ τῶν ἡδέων καὶ πᾶσα
ἄνεσις, καὶ ὁ γέλως τῶν ἡδέων,[4] ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ γελοῖα
1372 a ἡδέα εἶναι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους | καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα· δι-
ώρισται δὲ περὶ γελοίων χωρὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητι-
κῆς. περὶ μὲν οὖν ἡδέων εἰρήσθω ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ λυ-
πηρὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις φανερά.

[4] Kassel follows Spengel and Vahlen in deleting the words καὶ ὁ γέλως τῶν ἡδέων (translated as "and so is laughter"), which are found in all MSS. Freese and Kennedy keep them in the text, and they may well be right.

more or less self-lovers; for it is in himself above all that such conditions are to be found. Since, then, all men are self-lovers, it follows that all find pleasure in what is their own, such as their deeds and words. That is why men as a rule are fond of those who flatter and love them; of honor; and of their children; for the last are their own work. It is also pleasant to supply what is wanting, for then it becomes our own work. And since it is most pleasant to be a ruler, it is also pleasant to be regarded as wise, for practical wisdom belongs to rulers, and theoretical wisdom consists in the knowledge of many things that excite wonder. Further, since most men are ambitious, it follows that it is also agreeable to find fault with our neighbors, and to rule over them. And if a man thinks he excels in anything, he likes to devote his time to it; as the poet says:

> And that is what he is striving for,
> to give the best part of each day
> to that in which he happens to be at his best.[78]

Similarly, since amusement and every kind of relaxation are pleasant, and so is laughter, ridiculous things—men, words, or deeds—must also be pleasant. The ridiculous has been discussed separately in the *Poetics*.[79] Let this suffice for things that are pleasant; those that are painful will be obvious from the contraries of these.

[78] Eur. *Antiope*, *TrGF* fr. 184.

[79] Only the definition appears in the existing text: "The ridiculous is an error, painless and nondestructive ugliness" (5).

12. Ὧν μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα ἀδικοῦσι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τίνων δ' ἔχοντες καὶ τίνας, λέγωμεν νῦν. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἵνα οἴωνται δυνατὸν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα πραχθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς δυνατόν, εἶτ' ἐὰν λαθεῖν πράξαντες, ἢ μὴ λαθόντες μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἢ δοῦναι μὲν ἀλλ' ἐλάττω τῆς
2 ζημίαν εἶναι τοῦ κέρδους ἑαυτοῖς ἢ ὧν κέρδονται. τίνα μὲν οὖν δυνατὰ φαίνεται καὶ ποῖα ἀδύνατα ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον ῥηθήσεται (κοινὰ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντων τῶν λόγων), αὐτοὶ δ' οἴονται δυνατοὶ εἶναι μάλιστα ἀζήμιοι ἀδικεῖν οἱ εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρακτικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἔμπειροι πολλῶν ἀγώνων, κἂν πολύφιλοι ὦσιν, κἂν
3 πλούσιοι. καὶ μάλιστα μέν, ἂν αὐτοὶ ὦσιν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἴονται δύνασθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, κἂν ὑπάρχωσιν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτοι φίλοι ἢ ὑπηρέται ἢ κοινωνοί· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα δύνανται καὶ πράττειν καὶ λανθάνειν καὶ
4 μὴ δοῦναι δίκην. καὶ ἐὰν φίλοι ὦσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἢ τοῖς κριταῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φίλοι ἀφύλακτοί τε πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ προκαταλλάττονται πρὶν ἐπεξελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ κριταὶ χαρίζονται οἷς ἂν φίλοι ὦσι, καὶ ἢ ὅλως ἀφιᾶσιν ἢ μικροῖς ζημιοῦσιν.

5 Λαθητικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἵ τ' ἐναντίοι τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν. οἷον ἀσθενὴς περὶ αἰκίας καὶ ὁ πένης καὶ αἰσχρὸς περὶ μοιχείας. καὶ οἱ τὰ λίαν ἐν φανερῷ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλ-
6 μοῖς· ἀφύλακτα γὰρ διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἂν οἴεσθαι. καὶ τὰ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἷα μηδ' ἂν εἷς· ἀφύλα-

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80 2.19.

12. Such are the motives of injustice; let us now state the frame of mind of those who commit it, and who are the sufferers from it. Men do wrong when they think that it can be done and that it can be done by them; when they think that their action will either be undiscovered, or if discovered will remain unpunished; or if it is punished, that the punishment will be less than the profit to themselves or to those for whom they care. As for the kind of things which seem possible or impossible, we will discuss them later,[80] for these topics are common to all kinds of speeches. Now men who commit wrong think they are most likely to be able to do so with impunity, if they are eloquent, business-like, experienced in judicial trials, if they have many friends, and if they are wealthy. They think there is the greatest chance of their being able to do so, if they themselves belong to the above classes; if not, if they have friends, slaves, or accomplices who do; for thanks to these qualities they are able to commit wrong and to escape discovery and punishment. Also, if they are friends of those who are being wronged, or of the judges; for friends are not on their guard against being wronged and, besides, they seek reconciliation before taking proceedings; and judges favor those whom they are fond of, and either let them off altogether or inflict a small penalty.

Those are likely to remain undetected whose qualities are out of keeping with the charges, for instance, if a man wanting in physical strength were accused of assault and battery, or a poor and ugly man of adultery. Also, those who act quite openly and in sight of all; these things are not guarded against, because no one would think of them. Also, actions that are so great and of such a nature that no one would even be likely to attempt them, for these also

κτα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα· πάντες γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὥσπερ ἀρρωστήματα φυλάττονται καὶ τἀδικήματα, ὃ δὲ μη-
7 δείς πω, οὐδεὶς εὐλαβεῖται. καὶ οἷς μηδεὶς ἐχθρὸς ἢ πολλοί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται λήσειν διὰ τὸ μὴ φυλάττεσθαι, οἱ δὲ λανθάνουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι φυλαττομένοις, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπολογίαν ἔχειν
8 ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐνεχείρησαν. καὶ οἷς ὑπάρχει κρύψις ἢ τρόποις ἢ τόποις ἢ διαθέσει εὔπορος. καὶ ὅσοις μὴ λαθοῦσιν ἐστὶ δίωσις δίκης ἢ ἀναβολὴ χρόνιος ἢ διαφθοραὶ κριτῶν. καὶ οἷς, ἐὰν γένηται ζημία, ἐστὶ δίωσις τῆς ἐκτίσεως ἢ ἀναβολὴ χρόνιος, ἢ ‹εἰ› δι'
9 ἀπορίαν μηδὲν ἕξει ὅ τι ἀπολέσῃ. καὶ οἷς τὰ μὲν κέρδη φανερὰ ἢ μεγάλα ἢ ἐγγύς, αἱ δὲ ζημίαι μικραὶ
1372 b ἢ ἀφανεῖς | ἢ πόρρω. καὶ ὧν μή ἐστι τιμωρία ἴση
10 τῇ ὠφελείᾳ, οἷον δοκεῖ ἡ τυραννίς. καὶ ὅσοις τὰ μὲν ἀδικήματα λήμματα, αἱ δὲ ζημίαι ὀνείδη μόνον. καὶ οἷς τοὐναντίον τὰ μὲν ἀδικήματα εἰς ἔπαινόν τινα, οἷον εἰ συνέβη ἅμα τιμωρήσασθαι ὑπὲρ πατρὸς ἢ μητρός, ὥσπερ Ζήνωνι, αἱ δὲ ζημίαι εἰς χρήματα ἢ φυγὴν ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι· δι' ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἀμφοτέρως ἔχοντες, πλὴν οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀλλ' οἱ ἐναν-
11 τίοι τοῖς ἤθεσιν. καὶ οἱ πολλάκις ἢ λεληθότες ἢ μὴ ἐζημιωμένοι. καὶ οἱ πολλάκις ἀποτετυχηκότες· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πολε-
12 μικοῖς, οἷοι ἀναμάχεσθαι. καὶ οἷς ἂν παραχρῆμα ᾖ τὸ

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[81] Zeno 29 A5 DK.

are not guarded against; for all guard against ordinary wrongs just as they do against ordinary illnesses, but no one takes precautions against crimes that no one has ever attempted. And those who have either no enemy at all or many; the former hope to escape notice because they are not watched, the latter do escape because they would not be thought likely to attack those who are on their guard and because they can defend themselves by the plea that they would never have attempted it. And those who have ample opportunity to hide their crimes, either by the way they do them, or by the place they are in, or by disposing of things. And those who, even if they do not remain undetected, can get the trial set aside or put off for a long time, or corrupt the judges. And those who, if a fine be imposed, can get payment in full set aside or delayed for a long time, or if, owing to poverty, a man has nothing to lose. And those for whom the profit is obvious, large, or close at hand, while the punishment is small, negligible, or remote. And where there is no punishment equal to the advantages, as seems to be the case with tyranny. And when the unjust acts are real gains and the only punishment is disgrace; and when, on the contrary, the unjust acts tend to our credit, for instance, if one thereby avenges father or mother, as was the case with Zeno,[81] while the punishment only involves loss of money, exile, or something of the kind. For men do wrong from both these motives and in both these states of mind; but the persons are not the same, and their characters are exactly opposite. And those who have often been undetected or have escaped punishment. And those who have often been unsuccessful; for in such cases too, as in actual warfare, there are men ready to return to the fight. And those who expect

ἡδύ, τὸ δὲ λυπηρὸν ὕστερον, ἢ τὸ κέρδος, ἡ δὲ ζημία
ὕστερον· οἱ γὰρ ἀκρατεῖς τοιοῦτοι, ἔστι δ' ἀκρασία
13 περὶ πάντα ὅσων ὀρέγονται. καὶ οἷς ἂν τοὐναντίον τὸ
μὲν λυπηρὸν ἥδη ᾖ ἢ ἡ ζημία, τὸ δὲ ἡδὺ καὶ ὠφέλι-
μον ὕστερα καὶ χρονιώτερα· οἱ γὰρ ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ
14 φρονιμώτεροι τὰ τοιαῦτα διώκουσιν. καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐνδέ-
χηται διὰ τύχην δόξαι πρᾶξαι ἢ δι' ἀνάγκην ἢ διὰ
φύσιν ἢ δι' ἔθος, καὶ ὅλως ἁμαρτεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀδικεῖν.
15 καὶ οἷς ἂν ᾖ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς τυχεῖν. καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ἐνδεεῖς
ὦσιν. διχῶς δ' εἰσὶν ἐνδεεῖς· ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἀναγκαίου,
ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες, ἢ ὡς ὑπερβολῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ πλού-
16 σιοι. καὶ οἱ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντες καὶ οἱ σφόδρα
ἀδοξοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ὡς οὐ δόξοντες, οἱ δ' ὡς οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον δόξοντες.

17 Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχοντες ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀδι-
κοῦσι δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τοὺς ἔχοντας
ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐνδεεῖς ἢ εἰς τἀναγκαῖα ἢ εἰς ὑπεροχὴν ἢ εἰς
18 ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ τοὺς πόρρω καὶ τοὺς ἐγγύς· τῶν μὲν
γὰρ ἡ λῆψις ταχεῖα, τῶν δ' ἡ τιμωρία βραδεῖα, οἷον
19 οἱ συλῶντες τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. καὶ τοὺς μὴ εὐλα-
βεῖς μηδὲ φυλακτικοὺς ἀλλὰ πιστευτικούς· ῥᾴδιον
γὰρ πάντας λαθεῖν. καὶ τοὺς ῥαθύμους· ἐπιμελοῦς
γὰρ τὸ ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ τοὺς αἰσχυντηλούς· οὐ γὰρ
20 μαχητικοὶ περὶ κέρδους. καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀδι-
κηθέντας καὶ μὴ ἐπεξελθόντας ὡς ὄντας κατὰ τὴν

pleasure at once, while the pain comes later, or profit, where the loss comes later. Such are the weak willed, weakness of will being concerned with all things that men long for. And those for whom, on the contrary, the pain or the loss is immediate, while the pleasure and the profit are later and more lasting; for self-controlled and wiser men pursue such aims. And those who may be thought to have acted by chance or from necessity, from some natural impulse or from habit, in a word, to have committed an error rather than a crime. And those who might obtain indulgence; and all those who are in need, which is of two kinds; for men either need what is necessary, as the poor, or what is superfluous, as the wealthy. And those who are highly esteemed or held in great contempt; the former will not be suspected, the latter no more than they are already.

In such a frame of mind men attempt to do wrong, and they do wrong to men of the following kind and in the following ways. Those who possess what they themselves lack, things either necessary, or superfluous, or enjoyable; both those who are far off and those who are near, for in the one case the gain is speedy, in the other reprisals are slow, so, for instance, those who plunder the Carthaginians.[82] And those who never take precautions and are never on their guard, but are trusting; for all these are easily taken unawares. And those who are careless; for it requires a man who takes pains to prosecute. And those who are bashful; for they are not likely to fight about money. And those who have often been wronged but have not prosecuted, being, as the proverb says, "Mysian

[82] Who were too far off to retaliate.

21 παροιμίαν τούτους Μυσῶν λείαν. καὶ οὓς μηδεπώποτε
καὶ οὓς πολλάκις· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἀφύλακτοι, οἱ μὲν
22 ὡς οὐδέποτε, οἱ δ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι. καὶ τοὺς διαβεβλη-
μένους ἢ εὐδιαβόλους· οἱ τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οὔτε προαιροῦν-
ται, φοβούμενοι τοὺς κριτάς, οὔτε δύνανται πείθειν·
23 ὧν οἱ μισούμενοι καὶ φθονούμενοί εἰσιν. καὶ πρὸς οὓς
1373 a | ἔχουσι πρόφασιν ἢ προγόνων ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ φίλων ἢ
ποιησάντων κακῶς ἢ μελλησάντων ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ προ-
γόνους ἢ ὧν κήδονται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ παροιμία, προ-
24 φάσεως δεῖται μόνον ἡ πονηρία. καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ
τοὺς φίλους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ῥᾴδιον, τοὺς δ' ἡδύ. καὶ
τοὺς ἀφίλους. καὶ τοὺς μὴ δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι· ἢ
γὰρ οὐκ ἐγχειροῦσιν ἐπεξιέναι, ἢ καταλλάττονται, ἢ
25 οὐδὲν περαίνουσιν. καὶ οἷς μὴ λυσιτελεῖ διατρίβειν
ἐπιτηροῦσιν ἢ δίκην ἢ ἔκτισιν, οἷον οἱ ξένοι καὶ
αὐτουργοί· ἐπὶ μικρῷ τε γὰρ διαλύονται καὶ ῥᾳδίως
26 καταπαύονται. καὶ τοὺς πολλὰ ἠδικηκότας, ἢ τοιαῦτα
οἷα ἀδικοῦνται· ἐγγὺς γάρ τι δοκεῖ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν
εἶναι, ὅταν τι τοιοῦτον ἀδικηθῇ τις οἷον εἰώθει καὶ
αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν· λέγω δ' οἷον εἴ τις τὸν εἰωθότα ὑβρί-
27 ζειν αἰκίσαιτο. καὶ τοὺς ἢ πεποιηκότας κακῶς ἢ βου-
ληθέντας ἢ βουλομένους ἢ ποιήσοντας· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ
τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ καλόν, καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν φαί-
28 νεται. καὶ οὓς χαριοῦνται ἢ φίλοις ἢ θαυμαζομένοις

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[83] A proverb meaning "easy prey." The Mysians were regarded as cowardly and unwarlike. [84] *aikia* (assault) was a less serious offense than *hybris* (wanton outrage).

booty."[83] And those who have never, or those who have often, suffered wrong; for both are off their guard, the one because they have never yet been attacked, the others because they think it could not happen again. And those who have been slandered, or are easy to slander; for such men neither care to go to law, for fear of the judges, nor, if they do, can they convince them; to this class belong those who are exposed to hatred or envy. And those about whom the wrongdoer can pretend that either their ancestors, or themselves, or their friends, have either committed, or intended to commit, wrong either against himself, or his ancestors, or those for whom he has great regard; for, as the proverb says, "evildoing only needs a pretext." And both enemies and friends; for it is easy to injure the latter, and pleasant to injure the former. And those who are friendless. And those who are unskilled in speech or action; for either they make no attempt to prosecute, or come to terms, or accomplish nothing. And those to whom it is no advantage to waste time waiting for the verdict or damages, such as strangers or farmers; for they are ready to compromise on easy terms and to drop proceedings. And those who have committed numerous wrongs, or such as those that are done to them; for it seems almost no injustice that a man should suffer a wrong such as he had been accustomed to make others suffer; if, for instance, one were to assault a man who was in the habit of outraging others.[84] And those who have already injured us, or intended, or intend, or are about to do so; for then it is both pleasant and honorable, and seems to be almost not an injustice. And those wronging whom will please our friends, or persons whom we admire or love, or our mas-

ἢ ἐρωμένοις ἢ κυρίοις ἢ ὅλως πρὸς οὓς ζῶσιν αὐτοί·
29 καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐστιν ἐπιεικείας τυχεῖν. καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐγκε-
κληκότες ὦσι καὶ προδιακεχωρηκότες, οἷον Κάλλιπ-
πος ἐποίει τὰ περὶ Δίωνα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγγὺς
30 τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν φαίνεται. καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλων μέλλον-
τας, ἂν μὴ αὐτοί, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδεχόμενον βουλεύσα-
σθαι, ὥσπερ λέγεται Αἰνεσίδημος Γέλωνι πέμψαι
κοττάβια ἀνδραποδισαμένῳ, ὅτι ἔφθασεν, ὡς καὶ αὐ-
31 τὸς μέλλων. καὶ οὓς ἀδικήσαντες δυνήσονται πολλὰ
δίκαια πράττειν, ὡς ῥᾳδίως ἰασόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἔφη
Ἰάσων ὁ Θετταλὸς δεῖν ἀδικεῖν ἔνια, ὅπως δύνηται
καὶ δίκαια πολλὰ ποιεῖν.

32 Καὶ ἃ πάντες ἢ πολλοὶ ἀδικεῖν εἰώθασιν· συγ-
33 γνώμης γὰρ οἴονται τεύξεσθαι. καὶ τὰ ῥᾴδια κρύψαι·
τοιαῦτα δ' ὅσα ταχὺ ἀναλίσκεται, οἷον τὰ ἐδώδιμα, ἢ
τὰ εὐμετάβλητα σχήμασιν ἢ χρώμασιν ἢ κράσεσιν.
34 ἢ ἃ πολλαχοῦ ἀφανίσαι εὔπορον· τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ εὐ-
35 βάστακτα καὶ ἐν μικροῖς τόποις ἀφανιζόμενα. καὶ οἷς
ἀδιάφορα καὶ ὅμοια πολλὰ προϋπῆρχε τῷ ἀδικοῦντι.

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[85] In our relations with whom, almost = from whom. Another interpretation is: "In reference to whom there is a chance . . . consideration *from others*," i.e., the judges.

[86] Callippus was a friend of Dion, who freed Syracuse from Dionysius the Younger. He afterward accused Dion and contrived his murder. His excuse was that Dion knew what he intended to do, and would be likely to strike first, if he did not anticipate him.

[87] Aenesidemus, tyrant of Leontini, being anticipated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, in the enslavement of a neighboring

ters, in a word, those by whom our life is ruled. And those in reference to whom there is a chance of obtaining merciful consideration.[85] And those against whom we have a complaint, or with whom we have had a previous difference, as Callippus acted in the matter of Dion;[86] for in such cases there seems to be almost no injustice. And those who are going to be attacked by others, if we do not attack first, since it is no longer possible to deliberate; thus, Aenesidemus is said to have sent the prize in the game of cottabus to Gelon,[87] who, having reduced a town to slavery, had anticipated him by doing what he had intended to do himself. And those to whom, after having injured them, we shall be enabled to do many acts of justice, in the thought that it will be easy to repair the wrong; as Jason the Thessalian[88] said, one should sometimes commit injustice in order also to be able to do many just things.

Men are ready to commit wrongs that all or many are in the habit of committing, for they think they will be forgiven. They steal objects that are easy to conceal; such are things that are quickly consumed, as eatables; things that can easily be changed in form or color or composition; things for which there are many convenient hiding places, such as those that are easy to carry or stow away in a corner; those of which a thief already possesses a considerable number exactly similar or hard to distinguish. Or they commit wrongs that the victims are ashamed to disclose,

state, sent him the cottabus prize, as a compliment for having "played the game" so skillfully. The cottabus was originally a Sicilian game.

[88] Tyrant of Pherae.

καὶ ὅσα αἰσχύνονται οἱ ἀδικηθέντες λέγειν, οἷον γυναικῶν οἰκείων ὕβρεις ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἢ εἰς υἱεῖς: καὶ ὅσα φιλοδικεῖν δόξειεν ἂν ὁ ἐπεξιών· τοιαῦτα δὲ τά τε μικρὰ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς συγγνώμη. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες ἀδικοῦσι, καὶ ποῖα καὶ ποίους καὶ διὰ τί, σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστίν. |

1373 b 13. Τὰ δ' ἀδικήματα πάντα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα διέλωμεν, ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον ἐντεῦθεν. ὥρισται δὴ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικα πρός τε νόμους δύο, καὶ πρὸς οὓς
2 ἐστι, διχῶς. λέγω δὲ νόμον τὸν μὲν ἴδιον τὸν δὲ κοινόν, ἴδιον μὲν τὸν ἑκάστοις ὡρισμένον πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μὲν ἄγραφον τὸν δὲ γεγραμμένον, κοινὸν δὲ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν. ἔστι γάρ, ὃ μαντεύονταί τι πάντες, φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη, οἷον καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη φαίνεται λέγουσα, ὅτι δίκαιον ἀπειρημένον θάψαι τὸν Πολυνείκη, ὡς φύσει ὂν τοῦτο δίκαιον·

οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθές, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
ζῇ τοῦτο, κοὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

καὶ ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει περὶ τοῦ μὴ κτείνειν τὸ ἔμψυχον· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ τισὶ μὲν δίκαιον τισὶ δ' οὐ δίκαιον,

ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πάντων νόμιμον διά τ' εὐρυμέδοντος
αἰθέρος ἠνεκέως τέταται διά τ' ἀπλέτου αὐγῆς.

such as outrages upon the women of their family, upon themselves, or upon their children. And all those wrongs in regard to which appeal to the law would make a man appear litigious; such are wrongs that are unimportant or venial. These are more or less all the dispositions that induce men to commit wrong, the nature and motive of the wrongs, and the kind of persons who are the victims of wrong.

13. Let us now classify just and unjust actions generally, starting from what follows. Justice and injustice have been defined in reference to two kinds of laws, and in reference to persons in two ways. By the two kinds of laws I mean the particular and the common, and by particular laws those established by each people in reference to themselves, which again are divided into written and unwritten; by common laws I mean those based upon nature. In fact, as all men in a manner divine, there is a common idea of just and unjust in accordance with nature, even if there is neither communication nor agreement between them. This is what Antigone in Sophocles[89] evidently means, when she declares that it is just, though forbidden, to bury Polynices, as being naturally just:

> For neither now nor yesterday, but for all times
> these statutes live, and no man knows their source.

And as Empedocles says in regard to not killing what has life, for this is not right for some and wrong for others,

> But this is a law for all, and extends throughout
> the wide-ruling sky and the boundless light.

[89] *Ant.* 456.

3 καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνιακῷ λέγει Ἀλκιδάμας. πρὸς οὓς δὲ, διώρισται δίχα· ὥρισται γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἢ πρὸς ἕνα τῶν κοινωνούντων, ἃ δεῖ πράττειν καὶ μὴ πράττειν.

Διὸ καὶ τἀδικήματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα διχῶς ἔστιν ἀδικεῖν καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς ἕνα καὶ ὡρισμένον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κοινόν· ὁ γὰρ μοιχεύων καὶ τύπτων ἀδικεῖ τινὰ τῶν ὡρισμένων, ὁ δὲ μὴ στρατευόμενος
4 τὸ κοινόν. ἁπάντων δὴ τῶν ἀδικημάτων διῃρημένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὄντων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἄλλον καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους, ἀναλαβόντες τί ἐστι τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι,
5 λέγωμεν τὰ λοιπά. ἔστι δὴ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ ἑκόντος τὰ ἄδικα πάσχειν· τὸ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν ὥρισται
6 πρότερον ἑκούσιον εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀδικούμενον βλάπτεσθαι καὶ ἀκουσίως βλάπτεσθαι, αἱ μὲν βλάβαι ἐκ τῶν πρότερον φανεραί εἰσιν· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ διῄρηται καθ' αὑτὰ πρότερον,
7 καὶ τὰ ἑκούσια, ὅτι ἐστὶν ὅσα εἰδότες. ὥστ' ἀνάγκη πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἢ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον εἶναι, καὶ ἢ ἀγνοοῦντος ἢ ἄκοντος, ἢ ἑκόντος καὶ εἰδότος, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν προελομένου τὰ δὲ διὰ
8 πάθος. περὶ μὲν οὖν θυμοῦ ῥηθήσεται ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰ

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90 Of Elis, pupil of Gorgias. The oration is not extant, but the scholiast supplies his words: ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε πάντας θεός· οὐδένα δοῦλον ἡ φύσις πεποίηκεν (fr. 3–4, "God has left all men free; nature has made none a slave"). The Messenians had revolted from Sparta.

Alcidamas[90] also speaks this way in his *Messeniacus*. And in relation to persons, there is a twofold division; for what one ought to do or ought not to do is determined with regard to the community, or to one of its members.

Therefore there are also two kinds of just and unjust acts, since they can be committed against a definite individual or against the community; he who commits adultery or an assault is guilty of wrong against a definite individual, he who refuses to serve in the army, of wrong against the community. All kinds of wrong acts having been thus distinguished, some of which affect the community, others one or several individuals, let us repeat the definition of being wronged,[91] and then proceed to the rest. Being wronged is to suffer injustice at the hands of one who voluntarily inflicts it, for it has already been established that injustice is a voluntary act. And since the man who suffers injustice necessarily sustains injury and that against his will, it is evident from what has been said in what the injuries consist; for things good and bad have already been distinguished in themselves,[92] and it has been said that voluntary acts are all such as are committed with knowledge of the case.[93] Hence it necessarily follows that all accusations concern the community or the individual, the accused having acted either ignorantly and against his will, or voluntarily and with knowledge, and in the latter case with malice aforethought or from passion. We will speak of anger when we come to treat the passions,[94] and we have already stated[95] in what circumstances

[91] 1.10.3. [92] 1.6. [93] 1.10.3.
[94] 2.2. [95] 1.11, 12.

πάθη, ποῖα δὲ προαιροῦνται καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, εἴρηται πρότερον.

9 Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁμολογοῦντες πολλάκις πεπραχέναι | ἢ τὸ
1374 a ἐπίγραμμα οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἢ περὶ ὃ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, οἷον λαβεῖν μὲν ἀλλ' οὐ κλέψαι, καὶ πατάξαι πρότερον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίσαι, καὶ συγγενέσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ μοιχεῦσαι, ἢ κλέψαι μὲν ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱεροσυλῆσαι (ου γὰρ θεοῦ τι), ἢ ἐπεργάσασθαι μὲν ἀλλ' οὐ δημόσιαν, ἢ διειλέχθαι μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀλλ' οὐ προδοῦναι, διὰ ταῦτα δέοι ἂν καὶ περὶ τούτων διωρίσθαι, τί κλοπή, τί ὕβρις, τί μοιχεία, ὅπως ἐάν τε ὑπάρχειν ἐάν τε μὴ ὑπάρχειν βουλώμεθα δεικνύναι, ἔχωμεν ἐμφανίζειν τὸ
10 δίκαιον. ἔστι δὲ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἄδικον εἶναι καὶ φαῦλον ἢ μὴ ἄδικον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις· ἐν γὰρ τῇ προαιρέσει ἡ μοχθηρία καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὀνομάτων προσσημαίνει τὴν προαίρεσιν, οἷον ὕβρις καὶ κλοπή· οὐ γὰρ εἰ ἐπάταξε, πάντως ὕβρισεν, ἀλλ' εἰ ἕνεκά του, οἷον τοῦ ἀτιμάσαι ἐκεῖνον ἢ αὐτὸς ἡσθῆναι. οὐδὲ πάντως, εἰ λάθρᾳ ἔλαβεν, ἔκλεψεν, ἀλλ' εἰ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ καὶ σφετερισμῷ ἑαυτοῦ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχει, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τούτων.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ἦν δύο εἴδη (τὰ μὲν γὰρ γεγραμμένα τὰ δ' ἄγραφα), περὶ ὧν μὲν οἱ νόμοι ἀγορεύουσιν εἴρηται, τῶν δ' ἀγράφων δύο
12 ἐστὶν εἴδη· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρε-

and with what dispositions men act with deliberate purpose.

But since a man, while admitting the fact, often denies the description of the charge or the point on which it turns—for instance, admits that he took something, but did not steal it; that he was the first to strike, but committed no outrage; that he had relations, but did not commit adultery, with a woman; or that he stole something but was not guilty of sacrilege, since the object in question was not consecrated; or that he trespassed, but not on public land; or that he held converse with the enemy, but did not commit treason—for this reason we will need a definition of these things also—of theft, outrage, or adultery, in order that, if we desire to prove that an offense has or has not been committed, we may be able to make clear what is just. In all such instances the question at issue is to know whether the supposed offender is a wrongdoer and a worthless person, or not; for vice and wrongdoing lie in the purpose, and such terms as outrage and theft further indicate purpose; for if a man has struck, it does not always follow that he has committed an outrage, but only if he has struck with a certain aim, for instance, to insult the other or to please himself. Again, if a man has taken something by stealth, it is not always certain that he has committed theft, but only if he has taken it to harm another or to get something for himself. It is the same in all the other cases as in these.

We have said that there are two kinds of justice and injustice (for some are written, but others are unwritten), and have spoken of those actions concerning which the laws are explicit; of those that are not written down there are two kinds. One kind arises from an excess of virtue or

τῆς καὶ κακίας, ἐφ' οἷς ὀνείδη καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ ἀτιμίαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δωρεαί, οἷον τὸ χάριν ἔχειν τῷ ποιήσαντι εὖ καὶ ἀντευποιεῖν τὸν εὖ ποιήσαντα καὶ βοηθητικὸν εἶναι τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, τὰ
13 δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου νόμου καὶ γεγραμμένου ἔλλειμμα. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, ἔστι δὲ ἐπιεικὲς τὸ παρὰ τὸν γεγραμμένον νόμον δίκαιον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἀκόντων τὰ δὲ ἑκόντων τῶν νομοθετῶν, ἀκόντων μὲν ὅταν λάθῃ, ἑκόντων δ' ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται διορίσαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον μὲν ᾗ καθόλου εἰπεῖν, μὴ ᾗ δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. καὶ ὅσα μὴ ῥᾴδιον διορίσαι δι' ἀπειρίαν, οἷον τὸ τρῶσαι σιδήρῳ πηλίκῳ καὶ ποίῳ
14 τινί· ὑπολείποι γὰρ ἂν ὁ αἰὼν διαριθμοῦντα. ἂν οὖν ᾗ ἀδιόριστον, δέῃ δὲ νομοθετῆσαι, ἀνάγκη ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ὥστε κἂν δακτύλιον ἔχων ἐπάρηται τὴν χεῖρα ἢ πατάξῃ, κατὰ μὲν τὸν γεγραμμένον νόμον ἔνοχός
1374 b ἐστι καὶ ἀδικεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, | καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τοῦτο ἐστίν.

15 Εἰ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον τὸ ἐπιεικές, φανερὸν ποῖά ἐστι τὰ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιεικῆ, καὶ ποῖοι οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖς ἄνθρωποι· ἐφ' οἷς τε γὰρ δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν,
16 ἐπιεικῆ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα μὴ τοῦ ἴσου ἀξιοῦν, μηδὲ τὰ ἀτυχήματα· ἔστι δ' ἀτυχήματα μὲν ὅσα παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας, ἁμαρτήματα δὲ ὅσα μὴ παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ πονηρίας, ἀδικήματα δὲ ὅσα μήτε παράλογα ἀπὸ
17 πονηρίας τ' ἐστίν. καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις συγγινώσκειν ἐπιεικές. καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πρὸς

vice, which is followed by praise or blame, honor or dishonor, and rewards; for instance, to be grateful to a benefactor, to render good for good, to help one's friends, and the like; the other kind contains what is omitted in the particular written law. For what is equitable seems to be just, and equity is justice that goes beyond the written law. These omissions are sometimes involuntary, sometimes voluntary, on the part of the legislators; involuntary when it may have escaped their notice, voluntary when, being unable to give precise definitions, they are obliged to make a universal statement, which does not hold for all, but only for most, cases; and whenever it is difficult to give a definition owing to the infinite number of cases, as, for instance, the size and kind of an iron instrument used in wounding; for life would not be long enough to reckon all the possibilities. If then no exact definition is possible, but legislation is necessary, one must have recourse to general terms; so that, if a man wearing a ring lifts up his hand to strike or actually strikes, according to the written law he is guilty of wrongdoing, but in reality he is not; and this is a case for equity.

If then our definition of equity is correct, it is easy to see what things and persons are equitable or not. Actions which should be leniently treated are cases for equity; erroneous acts, wrong acts, and misfortunes, must not be thought deserving of the same penalty. Misfortunes are all such things as are unexpected and not vicious; erroneous acts are not unexpected, but are not vicious; wrong acts are such as might be expected and vicious. And it is equitable to pardon human weaknesses. Also, to look not to the

τὸν νομοθέτην σκοπεῖν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νομοθέτου, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὴν
18 πρᾶξιν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ μέρος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, μηδὲ ποῖός τις νῦν, ἀλλὰ ποῖός τις ἦν ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. καὶ τὸ μνημονεύειν μᾶλλον ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν, καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὧν ἔπαθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐποίησεν. καὶ τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι ἀδικούμενον. καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον λόγῳ ἐθέλειν κρίνεσθαι ἢ ἔργῳ.
19 καὶ τὸ εἰς δίαιταν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς δίκην βούλεσθαι ἰέναι· ὁ γὰρ διαιτητὴς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὁρᾷ, ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς τὸν νόμον· καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα διαιτητὴς εὑρέθη, ὅπως τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἰσχύῃ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

14. Ἀδίκημα δὲ μεῖζον, ὅσῳ ἂν ἀπὸ μείζονος ᾖ ἀδικίας· διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐλάχιστα μέγιστα, οἷον ὃ Μελανώπου Καλλίστρατος κατηγόρει, ὅτι παρελογίσατο τρία ἡμιωβέλια ἱερὰ τοὺς ναοποιούς· ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνης δὲ τοὐναντίον. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐνυπάρχειν τῇ δυνάμει· ὁ γὰρ τρία ἡμιωβέλια ἱερὰ κλέψας κἂν ὁτιοῦν ἀδικήσειεν. ὁτὲ μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸ μεῖζον, ὁτὲ δ'
2 ἐκ τοῦ βλάβους κρίνεται. καὶ οὗ μή ἐστιν ἴση τιμωρία, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα ἐλάττων. καὶ οὗ μή ἐστιν ἴασις· χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον. καὶ οὗ μὴ ἔστι δίκην λαβεῖν

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[96] 1.7.13. Callistratus and Melanopus were rival orators. Nothing is known of this particular charge.

[97] The magistrates who superintended the building and its maintenance.

law but to the legislator; not to the letter of the law but to the intention of the legislator; not to the action itself, but to the purpose; not to the part, but to the whole; not to what a man is now, but to what he has been, always or most of the time. Also, to remember good rather than ill treatment, and benefits received rather than those conferred; to bear injury with patience; to be willing to appeal to the judgment of reason rather than to force; to prefer arbitration to the law court, for the arbitrator keeps equity in view, whereas the juror looks only to the law; and indeed for this reason arbitrators were appointed, that equity might prevail. Let this suffice as a determination of what is equitable.

14. Wrong acts are greater in proportion to the injustice from which they spring. For this reason the most trifling are sometimes the greatest, as in the charge brought by Callistratus[96] against Melanopus that he had fraudulently kept back three consecrated half-obols from the temple builders;[97] whereas, in the case of just actions, it is quite the contrary. The reason is that the greater potentially inheres in the less; for he who has stolen three consecrated half-obols will commit any wrong whatever. Wrong acts are judged greater sometimes in this way, sometimes by the extent of the injury done. A wrong act is greater when there is no adequate punishment for it, but all are insufficient; when there is no remedy, because it is difficult if not impossible to repair it;[98] and when the person injured cannot obtain legal satisfaction, since it is ir-

[98] Understanding *ἰᾶσθαι*. Or, "to punish adequately," supplying *οὐ μὴ ἴση τιμωρία*.

3 τὸν παθόντα· ἀνίατον γάρ· ἡ γὰρ δίκη καὶ κόλασις
ἴαυις. καὶ εἰ ὁ παθὼν καὶ ἀδικηθεὶς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν με-
γάλως ἐκόλαυεν· ἔτι γὰρ μείζονι ὁ ποιήσας δίκαιος
κολαυσθῆναι, οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ὑπὲρ Εὐκτήμονος συνη-
1375 a γορῶν, ἐπεὶ ἀπέσφαξεν | ἑαυτὸν ὑβρισθείς, οὐ τιμή-
4 σειν ἔφη ἐλάττονος ἢ ὁ παθὼν ἑαυτῷ ἐτίμησεν. καὶ ὃ
μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ἢ μετ' ὀλίγων πεποίηκεν. καὶ τὸ πολ-
λάκις τὸ αὐτὸ ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ δι' ὃ ἂν ζητηθῇ καὶ
εὑρεθῇ τὰ κωλύοντα καὶ ζημιοῦντα, οἷον ἐν Ἄργει
ζημιοῦται[5] δι' ὃν ἂν νόμος τεθῇ καὶ δι' οὗς τὸ δεσμω-
5 τήριον ᾠκοδομήθη. καὶ τὸ θηριωδέστερον ἀδίκημα
μεῖζον. καὶ ὃ ἐκ προνοίας μᾶλλον. καὶ ὃ οἱ ἀκούοντες
φοβοῦνται μᾶλλον ἢ ἐλεοῦσιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ῥητορικά
ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ὅτι πολλὰ ἀνῄρηκε δίκαια ἢ ὑπερβέβη-
6 κεν, οἷον ὅρκους δεξιὰς πίστεις ἐπιγαμίας· πολλῶν
γὰρ ἀδικημάτων ὑπεροχή. καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα οὐ κολάζον-
ται οἱ ἀδικοῦντες, ὅπερ ποιοῦσιν οἱ ψευδομαρτυροῦν-
τες· ποῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀδικήσειεν, εἴ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ δικα-
στηρίῳ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς αἰσχύνη μάλιστα. καὶ εἰ τοῦτον
ὑφ' οὗ εὖ πέπονθεν· πλείω γὰρ ἀδικεῖ, ὅτι τε κακῶς
7 ποιεῖ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ. καὶ ὃ παρὰ τὰ ἄγραφα δίκαια·
ἀμείνονος γὰρ μὴ δι' ἀνάγκην δίκαιον εἶναι. τὰ μὲν

[5] In Kassel's text the word ζημιοῦται (is punished) is enclosed in daggers, though the apparatus simply lists it as the reading of MS A. I suspect the daggers are a printer's error and have removed them in the text.

[99] An orator, not the tragic poet.

remediable; for justice and punishment are kinds of remedies. And if the sufferer, having been wronged, has inflicted some terrible punishment upon himself, the guilty person deserves even greater punishment; for which reason Sophocles,[99] when pleading on behalf of Euctemon, who had committed suicide after the outrage he had suffered, declared that he would not assess the punishment at less than the victim had assessed it for himself. A wrong act is also greater when it is unprecedented, or the first of its kind, or when committed with the aid of few accomplices; and when a man has committed the same crime many times; or when because of it new prohibitions and penalties have been sought and found: thus, at Argos the citizen owing to whom a new law has been passed is punished, as well as those on whose account the prison had to be built. The crime is greater, the more brutal it is; or when it has been for a long time premeditated; when the recital of it inspires terror rather than pity. Rhetorical ways of making the case are the following: the statement that the accused person has swept away or violated several principles of justice, for example, oaths, pledges of friendship, plighted word, the rights of intermarriage; for this amounts to heaping crime upon crime. And that the act was committed in the very place where wrongdoers are sentenced, as is done by false witnesses; for where would a man not commit wrong, if he does so in a court of justice? Crimes are also greater when accompanied by the greatest disgrace; when committed against one who has been the guilty person's benefactor, for in that case, the wrongdoer is guilty of wrong twice over, in that he not only does wrong, but also does not return good for good. So too, again, when a man offends against the unwritten laws, for

οὖν γεγραμμένα ἐξ ἀνάγκης, τὰ δ' ἄγραφα οὔ. ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον, εἰ παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα· ὁ γὰρ τὰ φοβερὰ ἀδικῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιζήμια καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐπιζήμια ἀδικήσειεν ἄν. περὶ μὲν οὖν ἀδικήματος μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττονος εἴρηται.

15. *Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀτέχνων καλουμένων πίστεων ἐχόμενόν ἐστι τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπιδραμεῖν· ἴδιαι γὰρ αὗται*
2 *τῶν δικανικῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, νόμοι μάρ-*
3 *τυρες συνθῆκαι βάσανοι ὅρκος. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ νόμων εἴπωμεν, πῶς χρηστέον καὶ προτρέποντα καὶ ἀποτρέποντα καὶ κατηγοροῦντα καὶ ἀπολογούμενον.*
4 *φανερὸν γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν ἐναντίος ᾖ ὁ γεγραμμένος τῷ πράγματι, τῷ κοινῷ νόμῳ χρηστέον καὶ τοῖς ἐπι-*
5 *εικέσιν ὡς δικαιοτέροις. καὶ ὅτι τὸ γνώμῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ τοῦτ' ἐστί, τὸ μὴ παντελῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς γεγραμμέ-*
6 *νοις. καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἀεὶ μένει καὶ οὐδέποτε μεταβάλλει, οὐδ' ὁ κοινός (κατὰ φύσιν γάρ ἐστιν), οἱ δὲ γεγραμμένοι πολλάκις· ὅθεν εἴρηται τὰ ἐν τῇ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνῃ· ἀπολογεῖται γὰρ ὅτι ἔθαψε παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Κρέοντος νόμον, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τὸν ἄγραφον·*

1375 b *οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθές, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε . . .*
ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός.

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[100] Although the use of these means of persuasion is almost entirely confined to forensic oratory, they may also sometimes be used in deliberative oratory; see, e.g., 1376a1 and 1376a15 in this chapter.

[101] The first line (456) is quoted at 1.13.2. The second differs somewhat from Sophocles (*Ant.* 458), where the passage runs

there is greater merit in doing right without being compelled; now the written laws involve compulsion, the unwritten do not. Looked at in another way, wrongdoing is greater if it violates the written laws; for a man who commits wrongs that involve a terrifying punishment will also be ready to commit wrongs for which he will not be punished. So much, then, for the treatment of the greater or less degree of wrongdoing.

15. Following on what we have just discussed, we have now briefly to run through what we called the means of persuasion that do not belong to the art, for these properly belong to forensic oratory. They are five in number: laws, witnesses, contracts, torture, oath. Let us first then speak of the laws, and state what use should be made of them when exhorting or dissuading,[100] accusing or defending. For it is evident that, if the written law is counter to our case, we must have recourse to the common law and equity, as more in accordance with justice; and we must argue that the words "to the best of my judgment" mean that one will not abide rigorously by the written laws; that equity is ever constant and never changes, even as the common law, for it is based on nature, whereas the written laws often vary (this is why Antigone in Sophocles justifies herself for having buried Polynices contrary to the law of Creon, but not contrary to the unwritten law:

> For neither now nor yesterday, but for all times . . .
> this I would not [infringe through fear] of any man.[101]

τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς | φρόνημα δείσασ', ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην | δώσειν ("I was not likely, through fear of the thought of any man, to incur the penalty for violating these statutes in the court of heaven").

7 καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀληθές τι καὶ συμφέρον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκοῦν· ὥστ' οὐ νόμος ὁ γεγραμμένος· οὐ γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸ ἔργον τὸ τοῦ νόμου· καὶ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἀργυρογνώμων ὁ κριτής ἐστιν, ὅπως διακρίνῃ τὸ κίβδηλον
8 δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἀληθές. καὶ ὅτι βελτίονος ἀνδρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀγράφοις ἢ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐμ-
9 μένειν. καὶ εἴ που ἐναντίος νόμῳ εὐδοκιμοῦντι ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ· οἷον ἐνίοτε ὁ μὲν κελεύει κύρια εἶναι ἅτ' ἂν συνθῶνται, ὁ δ' ἀπαγορεύει μὴ συντίθεσθαι παρὰ
10 τὸν νόμον. καὶ εἰ ἀμφίβολος, ὥστε στρέφειν καὶ ὁρᾶν ἐφ' ὁποτέραν τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἢ τὸ δίκαιον ἐφαρμόσει ἢ
11 τὸ συμφέρον, εἶτα τούτῳ χρῆσθαι. καὶ εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἐφ' οἷς ἐτέθη ὁ νόμος μηκέτι μένει, ὁ δὲ νόμος, πειρατέον τοῦτο δηλοῦν καὶ μάχεσθαι ταύτῃ
12 πρὸς τὸν νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ γεγραμμένος ᾖ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τό τε γνώμῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ λεκτέον ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἕνεκα δικάζειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἵνα, ἐὰν ἀγνοήσῃ τί λέγει ὁ νόμος, μὴ ἐπιορκῇ. καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὸ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθὸν αἱρεῖται οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ἢ μὴ κεῖσθαι ἢ μὴ χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις οὐ λυσιτελεῖ παρασοφίζεσθαι τὸν ἰατρόν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτο βλάπτει ἡ ἁμαρτία τοῦ ἰατροῦ ὅσον τὸ ἐθίζεσθαι ἀπειθεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι. καὶ ὅτι τὸ τῶν νόμων σοφώτερον ζητεῖν εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ ἐν τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις νόμοις ἀπαγορεύεται. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων οὕτω διωρίσθω.

13 Περὶ δὲ μαρτύρων, μάρτυρές εἰσι διττοί, οἱ μὲν

and further, that justice is real and beneficial, but not what only appears just; nor the written law either, because it does not do the work of the law; that the judge is like an assayer of silver, whose duty is to distinguish spurious from genuine justice; that it is the part of a better man to make use of and abide by the unwritten rather than the written law.[102] Again, it is necessary to see whether the law is contradictory to another approved law or to itself; sometimes, for instance, one law prescribes that all contracts should be binding, while another forbids making contracts contrary to the law. If the law is equivocal, we must turn it about, and see which interpretation suits the application of either justice or expediency, and have recourse to that. If the conditions that led to the enactment of the law are now obsolete, while the law itself remains, one must attempt to make this clear and to combat the law by this argument. But if the written law favors our case, we must say that the words "to the best of my judgment" does not mean that a juror should decide contrary to the law, but is only intended to relieve him from the charge of perjury, if he is ignorant of the meaning of the law. That no one chooses what is good absolutely, but what is good for himself; that there is no difference between not using the laws and their not being enacted. And that in the other arts there is no advantage in trying to be wiser than the physician, for an error on his part does not do so much harm as the habit of disobeying the authority. That to seek to be wiser than the laws is just what is forbidden in the laws that are praised. So much for the laws.

Witnesses are of two kinds, ancient and recent; of the

[102] Cf. 14.7 above.

παλαιοὶ οἱ δὲ πρόσφατοι, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν μετέχοντες τοῦ κινδύνου οἱ δ' ἐκτός. λέγω δὲ παλαιοὺς μὲν τούς τε ποιητὰς καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων γνωρίμων εἰσὶ κρίσεις φαναραί, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὁμήρῳ μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Γενέδιοι ἔναγχος Περιάνδρῳ τῷ Κορινθίῳ πρὸς Σιγειεῖς. καὶ Κλεοφῶν κατὰ Κριτίου τοῖς Σόλωνος ἐλεγείοις ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὅτι πάλαι ἀσελγὴς ἡ οἰκία· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε ἐποίησε Σόλων

εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτίᾳ πυρρότριχι πατρὸς ἀκούειν.

14 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν γενομένων οἱ τοιοῦτοι μάρτυρες, |
1376 a περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ οἱ χρησμολόγοι, οἷον Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὅτι ναυμαχητέον, τὸ ξύλινον λέγειν τεῖχος. ἔτι καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μαρτύρια ἐστίν· οἷον εἴ τις συμβουλεύει μὴ ποιεῖσθαι φίλον γέροντα, τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ ἡ παροιμία,

μήποτ' εὖ ἔρδειν γέροντα.

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103 Hom. *Il.* 2.557–58: "And Ajax brought twelve ships from Salamis / and placed them next to where the Athenian forces were mustered." The Spartans, acting as arbitrators between Athens and Megara, who were fighting for the possession of Salamis, decided in favor of Athens on the strength of these two lines, which were taken to show that Salamis belonged to Athens. But ancient sources cite an alternate version of the lines that favored Megara, or state that the second line, absent from some early MSS, is an interpolation by Solon or Peisistratus.

latter some share the risk of the trial, others are outside it. By ancient I mean the poets and men of repute whose judgments are known to all; for instance, the Athenians, in the matter of Salamis, appealed to Homer[103] as a witness, and recently the inhabitants of Tenedos appealed to Periander of Corinth[104] against the Sigeans. Cleophon also made use of the elegiacs of Solon against Critias, claiming that his family had long been notorious for licentiousness, otherwise Solon would never have written:

> Bid me the red-haired Critias listen to his father.[105]

One should appeal to such witnesses for the past, but also to interpreters of oracles for the future; thus, for instance, Themistocles interpreted the "wooden wall" to mean that the Athenians must become a naval power.[106] Further, proverbs too, as stated, are evidence; for instance, if one man advises another not to make a friend of an old man, the proverb

> Never be good to an old man

[104] It is not known to what this refers.

[105] *IEG* fr. 22a, where the line runs *εἰπέμεναι Κριτίᾳ ξανθότριχι πατρὸς ἀκούειν*. The Critias attacked by Cleophon is the well-known oligarch and grandson of the first. Cleophon argued from the phrase "bid him listen to his father" that his ancestor was a disobedient son and a degenerate. In reality, Solon had a high opinion of the family and probably meant to praise the father.

[106] Hdt. 7.143.2.

καὶ τὸ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀναιρεῖν ὧν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας,

νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει.

15 Πρόσφατοι δ' ὅσοι γνώριμοί τι κεκρίκασιν· χρήσιμοι γὰρ αἱ τούτων κρίσεις τοῖς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀμφισβητοῦσιν· οἷον Εὔβουλος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἐχρήσατο κατὰ Χάρητος ὃ Πλάτων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀρχίβιον, ὅτι ἐπιδέδωκεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὁμολογεῖν πονη-
16 ροὺς εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ κινδύνου, ἂν δόξωσι ψεύδεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι τῶν τοιούτων μόνον μάρτυρές εἰσιν, εἰ γέγονεν ἢ μή, εἰ ἔστιν ἢ μή, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποῖον οὐ μάρτυρες, οἷον εἰ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, εἰ
17 συμφέρον ἢ ἀσύμφορον· οἱ δ' ἄπωθεν καὶ περὶ τοιούτων. πιστότατοι δ' οἱ παλαιοί· ἀδιάφθοροι γάρ. πιστώματα δὲ περὶ μαρτυριῶν μάρτυρας μὲν μὴ ἔχοντι, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων δεῖ κρίνειν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ γνώμῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξαπατῆσαι τὰ εἰκότα ἐπὶ ἀργυρίῳ, καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἁλίσκεται τὰ εἰκότα ψευδομαρτυριῶν. ἔχοντι δὲ πρὸς μὴ ἔχοντα, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπόδικα τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει μαρτυριῶν, εἰ ἐκ
18 τῶν λόγων ἱκανὸν ἦν θεωρῆσαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μαρτυρίαι αἱ μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος, καὶ αἱ μὲν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος αἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤθους,

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107 *GEF* fr. 23, from the *Cypria* of the epic cycle.

108 Eubulus was an opponent of Demosthenes, Chares an Athenian commander both naval and military. Nothing is known of Archibius. Plato is probably the comic poet.

109 Or, "witnesses wholly unconnected with the case."

will furnish testimony for him. And if he advises another to kill the children, after having killed the fathers, he can say,

> Foolish is he who, killing the father, leaves the sons behind.[107]

By recent witnesses I mean all well-known persons who have given a decision on any point, for their decisions are useful to those who are arguing about similar cases. Thus, for instance, Eubulus,[108] when attacking Chares in the law courts, made use of what Plato said against Archibius, namely, "that the open confession of wickedness has increased in the city." And those who share the risk of the trial if they are thought to be perjurers. Such persons are witnesses only with regard to whether an act has taken place or not, whether it is or is not the case; but not if it is a question of the quality of the act, for instance, whether it is just or unjust, expedient or inexpedient; but witnesses from the outside[109] are trustworthy even in regard to this. The ancient witnesses are the most trustworthy of all, for they cannot be corrupted. Regarding the confirmation of evidence, when a man has no witnesses, he can say that the decision should be given in accordance with probabilities, and that this is the meaning of words "to the best of my judgment"; that probabilities cannot be bribed to deceive, and that they cannot be convicted of bearing false witness. But if a man has witnesses and his adversary has none, he can say that probabilities are not subject to trial, and that there would have been no need of testimonial evidence were a consideration of the arguments sufficient. Evidence partly concerns ourselves, partly our adversary, as to the fact itself or to character; so that it is evident that

ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδέποτ' ἔστιν ἀπορῆσαι μαρτυρίας χρησίμης· εἰ μὴ γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ πράγματος ἢ αὐτῷ ὁμολογουμένης ἢ τῷ ἀμφισβητοῦντι ἐναντίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ἤθους ἢ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἐπιείκειαν ἢ τοῦ
19 ἀμφισβητοῦντος εἰς φαυλότητα. τὰ δ' ἄλλα περὶ μάρτυρος ἢ φίλου ἢ ἐχθροῦ ἢ μεταξύ, ἢ εὐδοκιμοῦντος ἢ ἀδοξοῦντος ἢ μεταξύ, καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται διαφοραί, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων λεκτέον ἐξ οἵωνπερ καὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα λέγομεν.

20 Περὶ δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν τοσαύτη τοῦ λόγου χρῆσίς
1376 b ἐστιν ὅσον αὔξειν ἢ καθαιρεῖν ἢ πιστὰς ποιεῖν | ἢ ἀπίστους, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχωσι, πιστὰς καὶ κυ-
21 ρίας, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος τοὐναντίον. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πιστὰς ἢ ἀπίστους κατασκευάζειν οὐδὲν διαφέρει τῆς περὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας πραγματείας· ὁποῖοι γὰρ ἄν τινες ὦσιν οἱ ἐπιγεγραμμένοι ἢ φυλάττοντες, τούτοις αἱ συνθῆκαι πισταί εἰσιν. ὁμολογουμένης δ' εἶναι τῆς συνθήκης, οἰκείας μὲν οὔσης αὐξητέον· ἡ γὰρ συνθήκη νόμος ἐστὶν ἴδιος καὶ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ αἱ μὲν συνθῆκαι οὐ ποιοῦσι τὸν νόμον κύριον, οἱ δὲ νόμοι τὰς κατὰ τὸν νόμον συνθήκας. καὶ ὅλως αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος συνθήκη τις ἐστίν, ὥστε ὅστις ἀπιστεῖ ἢ
22 ἀναιρεῖ συνθήκην, τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρεῖ. ἔτι δὲ πράττεται τὰ πολλὰ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἑκούσια κατὰ συνθήκας, ὥστε ἀκύρων γιγνομένων ἀναιρεῖται ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρεία τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τἆλλα δὲ
23 ὅσα ἁρμόττει, ἐπιπολῆς ἰδεῖν ἔστιν. ἂν δ' ἐναντία ᾖ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων, πρῶτον μέν, ἅπερ ἄν

one never need lack useful evidence. For if we have no evidence as to the fact itself, neither in confirmation of our own case nor against our opponent, it will always be possible to obtain some evidence as to character that will establish either our own respectability or the worthlessness of our opponent. As for all the other questions relative to a witness, whether he is a friend, an enemy, or neutral, of good or bad or middling reputation, and for all other differences of this kind, we must have recourse to the same topics as those from which we derive our enthymemes.

As for contracts, argument may be used to the extent of magnifying or minimizing their importance, of proving that they do or do not deserve credit. If we have them on our side, we must try to prove them worthy of credit and authoritative; but if they are on the side of our opponent, we must do the opposite. In view of rendering them worthy or unworthy of credit, the procedure is exactly the same as in the case of witnesses; for contracts are trustworthy according to the character of their signatories or depositaries. When the existence of the contract is admitted, if it is in our favor, we must strengthen it by asserting that the contract is a law, private and partial; and it is not the contracts that make the law authoritative, but it is the laws that give force to legal contracts. And in a general sense the law itself is a kind of contract, so that whoever disobeys or subverts a contract, subverts the laws. Further, most ordinary and voluntary transactions are carried out according to contracts; so that if those lose their authority, the mutual relationships of men are destroyed. All other arguments suitable to the occasion are easy to see. But if the contract is against us and in favor of our opponents, in the first place those arguments are suitable that we should

τις πρὸς νόμον ἐναντίον μαχέσαιτο, ταῦθ' ἁρμόττει· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ τοῖς μὲν νόμοις, ἂν μὴ ὀρθῶς κείμενοι ὦσιν ἀλλ' ἐξαμάρτωσιν οἱ τιθέμενοι, οὐκ οἰόμεθα δεῖν
24 πείθεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ἀναγκαῖον. εἶθ' ὅτι τοῦ δικαίου ἐστὶ βραβευτὴς ὁ δικαστής· οὔκουν τοῦτο
25 σκεπτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς δικαιότερον. καὶ τὸ μὲν δίκαιον οὐκ ἔστι μεταστρέψαι οὔτ' ἀπάτῃ οὔτ' ἀνάγκῃ (πεφυκὸς γάρ ἐστιν), συνθῆκαι δὲ γίγνονται καὶ ἐξαπατηθέντων καὶ ἀναγκασθέντων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκοπεῖν εἰ ἐναντία ἐστί τινι ἢ τῶν γεγραμμένων νόμων ἢ τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἢ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, ἔπειτα εἰ ἄλλαις συνθήκαις ὑστέραις ἢ προτέραις· ἢ γὰρ αἱ ὕστεραι κύριαι, ἄκυροι δ' αἱ πρότεραι, ἢ αἱ πρότεραι ὀρθαί, αἱ δ' ὕστεραι ἠπατήκασιν, ὁποτέρως ἂν ᾖ χρήσιμον. ἔτι δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ὁρᾶν, εἴ πῃ ἐναντιοῦται τοῖς κριταῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα εὐθεώρητα ὁμοίως.

26 Αἱ δὲ βάσανοι μαρτυρίαι τινές εἰσιν, ἔχειν δὲ δοκοῦσι τὸ πιστόν, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τις πρόσεστιν. οὔκουν χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ περὶ τούτων ἰδεῖν τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα, ἐξ ὧν ἐάν τε ὑπάρχωσιν οἰκεῖαι αὔξειν ἔστιν, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς
1377 a μόναι τῶν | μαρτυριῶν εἰσὶν αὗται· ἐάν τε ὑπεναντίαι ὦσι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος, διαλύοι ἄν τις λέγων καθ' ὅλου τοῦ γένους τῶν βασάνων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧττον ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰ ψευδῆ λέγουσιν ἢ τἀληθῆ, καὶ διακαρτεροῦντες μὴ λέγειν τἀληθῆ, καὶ ῥᾳδίως

110 Kassel deletes the words ἢ τἀληθῆ (as to speak the truth).

oppose to the law were it against us; for it would be strange if, while we consider ourselves entitled to refuse to obey ill-made laws, whose authors have erred, we should be obliged to consider ourselves always bound by contracts. Or, that the judge is an arbitrator of justice; so that it is not the contents of the contract that he has to consider, but what is more just. Further, that one cannot alter justice either by fraud or compulsion, for it is based on nature, whereas contracts may be entered into through fraud or compulsion. In addition to this, we must examine whether the contract is contrary to any written law of our own or foreign countries, or to the common laws, or to other previous or subsequent contracts. For either the latter are valid and the former not, or the former are right and the latter fraudulent; we may put it in whichever way it seems fit. We must also consider the question of expediency: whether the contract is in any way opposed to the interest of the judges. There are a number of other arguments of the same kind that are equally easy to discern.

Torture is a kind of evidence that appears trustworthy because a sort of compulsion is attached to it. Nor is it difficult to see what may be said concerning it, and by what arguments. If it is in our favor, we can exaggerate its importance by asserting that it is the only true kind of evidence; but if it is against us and in favor of our opponent, we can refute it by speaking about all kinds of torture generally; for those under compulsion are just as likely to lie as to speak the truth, some being willing to endure everything rather than tell the truth,[110] while others are

but in speaking about torture generally, the MSS reading seems quite appropriate.

καταψευδόμενοι ὡς παυσόμενοι θᾶττον. δεῖ δ' ἔχειν ἐπαναφέρειν ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα γεγενημένα παραδείγματα ἃ ἴσασιν οἱ κρίνοντες. [δεῖ δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀληθεῖς αἱ βάσανοι· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ παχύφρονες, καὶ λιθόδερμοι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὄντες δυνατοὶ γενναίως ἐγκαρτεροῦσι ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, οἱ δὲ δειλοὶ καὶ εὐλαβεῖς πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἀνάγκας ἰδεῖν αὐτῶν καταθαρροῦσιν, ὥστε οὐδέν ἐστι πιστὸν ἐν βασάνοις.[6]]

27 Περὶ δ' ὅρκων τετραχῶς ἔστι διελεῖν· ἢ γὰρ δίδωσι καὶ λαμβάνει, ἢ οὐδέτερον, ἢ τὸ μὲν τὸ δ' οὔ, καὶ τούτων ἢ δίδωσι μὲν οὐ λαμβάνει δέ, ἢ λαμβάνει μὲν δίδωσι δ' οὔ. ἔτι ἄλλως παρὰ ταῦτα, εἰ ὀμώμοσται ἢ
28 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνου. οὐ δίδωσι μὲν οὖν, ὅτι ῥᾳδίως ἐπιορκοῦσιν, καὶ διότι ὁ μὲν ὀμόσας οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ὀμόσαντος οἴεται καταδικάσειν. καὶ ὡς
29 οὗτος ὁ κίνδυνος κρείττων ὁ ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πιστεύει τῷ δ' οὔ. οὐ λαμβάνει δ', ὅτι ἀντὶ χρημάτων ὅρκος. καὶ ὅτι εἰ ἦν φαῦλος, κατωμόσατο ἄν· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἕνεκά του φαῦλον εἶναι ἢ μηδενός·

[6] This passage [δεῖ δὲ λέγειν . . . βασάνοις], which is found in the best MS (Paris A^{c}), but not in the other branch of the MS tradition, is now generally rejected, mainly as being linguistically un-Aristotelian. The translation would be: ["One should say that evidence given under torture is not true; for many thick-witted and thick-skinned persons, and those who are stouthearted heroically hold out under sufferings, while the cowardly and cautious, before they see the sufferings before them, are bold enough; wherefore evidence from torture may be considered utterly untrustworthy."]

ready to make false charges against others, in the hope of being sooner released from torture. One should be able to refer to actual examples of the kind with which the judges are acquainted.

As to oaths,[111] four divisions may be made, for either one tenders an oath and accepts one, or one does neither, or the one without the other, and in the last case one either tenders but does not accept, or accepts but does not tender. In addition, one may consider whether an oath has already been taken either by oneself or by the other party. If you do not tender an oath, it is because men readily perjure themselves, and because, after he has taken the oath, the adversary will refuse to repay the money, while if he has not taken the oath, you think that the jurors will condemn him; and also because the risk incurred in leaving the decision to the jurors is preferable, for you have confidence in them but not in your adversary. If you refuse to take the oath yourself, you may argue that the oath is only taken with a view to money; that, if you had been a scoundrel, you would have taken it at once, for it is better to be a scoundrel for something than for nothing; then, if you would take it, you would win your case, if not, you

[111] In Attic legal procedure, the challenge (*πρόκλησις*) to take an oath on the question at issue was one method of deciding it. One party offered the other something to swear by (*δίδωσι ὅρκον*), and the other party either accepted (*λαμβάνει, δέχεται*) it or refused it. Both parties, of their own accord, might propose to take the oath.

ὀμόσας μὲν οὖν ἕξει, μὴ ὀμόσας δ' οὔ. οὕτω δὲ δι' ἀρετὴν ἂν εἴη, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐπιορκίαν τὸ μή. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ξενοφάνους ἁρμόττει, ὅτι οὐκ ἴση πρόκλησις αὕτη ἀσεβεῖ πρὸς εὐσεβῆ, ἀλλ' ὁμοία καὶ εἰ ἰσχυρὸς
30 ἀσθενῆ πατάξαι ἢ πληγῆναι προκαλέσαιτο. εἰ δὲ λαμβάνει, ὅτι πιστεύει αὐτῷ, ἐκείνῳ δ' οὔ. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ξενοφάνους μεταστρέψαντα φατέον οὕτως ἴσον εἶναι ἂν ὁ μὲν ἀσεβὴς διδῷ, ὁ δ' εὐσεβὴς ὀμνύῃ· δεινόν τε τὸ μὴ θέλειν αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκείνους ἀξιοῖ ὀμόσαν-
31 τας δικάζειν. εἰ δὲ δίδωσιν, ὅτι εὐσεβὲς τὸ θέλειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ αὐτὸν ἄλλων κρι-
32 τῶν δεῖσθαι· αὐτῷ γὰρ δίδωσι κρίνειν. καὶ ὅτι ἄτοπον τὸ μὴ θέλειν ὀμνύναι περὶ ὧν ἄλλους ἀξιοῖ ὀμνύναι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον δῆλον πῶς λεκτέον, καὶ συνδυαζομένων πῶς λεκτέον δῆλον· οἷον εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν θέλει λαμβάνειν διδόναι δὲ μή, καὶ εἰ δίδωσι μὲν λαμβάνειν δὲ μὴ θέλει, καὶ εἰ λαμβάνειν καὶ διδόναι
1377 b | θέλει εἴτε μηδέτερον· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνάγκη συγκεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀνάγκη συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων. ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ γεγενημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐναντίος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιορκία· ἑκούσιον γὰρ τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ δ' ἐπιορκεῖν ἀδικεῖν ἐστί, τὰ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ τὰ
33 ἀπάτῃ ἀκούσια. ἐνταῦθα οὖν συνακτέον καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν, ὅτι ἔστι τὸ τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ στόματι. ἐὰν δὲ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ ᾖ ὀμωμοσμένος, ὅτι πάντα ἀναιρεῖ ὁ

112 Xenophanes 21 A14 DK.

would lose it. So your refusal to take it is due to moral excellence, not to fear of committing perjury. And the saying of Xenophanes[112] is apposite: that "it is unfair for an impious man to challenge a pious one," for it is the same as a strong man challenging a weak one to hit or be hit. If you accept the oath, you may say that you have confidence in yourself, but not in your opponent, and, reversing the remark of Xenophanes, that the only fair way is that the impious man should tender the oath and the pious man take it; and that it would be monstrous to refuse to take the oath yourself, while demanding that the judges should take it before giving their verdict. But if you tender the oath, you may say that it is an act of piety to be willing to leave the matter to the gods; that your opponent has no need to look for other judges, for you allow him to make the decision himself; and that it would be ridiculous that he should be unwilling to take an oath in cases where he demands that the jurors take one.

Now, since we have shown how we must deal with each case individually, it is clear how we must deal with them when taken two and two; for instance, if one wishes to take the oath but not to tender it, to tender it but not to take it, to accept and tender it, or to do neither the one nor the other. For such cases, and similarly the arguments, must be a combination of those already mentioned. And if one has already taken an oath that contradicts the present one, one may argue that it is not perjury; for whereas wrongdoing is voluntary, and perjury is wrongdoing, what is done in error or under compulsion is involuntary. Here you must draw the conclusion that perjury consists in the intention, not in what is said. But if the opponent has taken such an oath, you may say that one who does not abide by

μὴ ἐμμένων οἷς ὤμοσεν· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς νόμοις χρῶνται ὀμόσαντες. καὶ "ὑμᾶς μὲν ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμμένειν οἷς ὀμόσαντες δικάζετε, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐμμένουσιν." καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἄλλα αὔξων τις εἴπειεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀτέχνων πίστεων εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

what he has sworn subverts everything, for this is the reason why the jurors take an oath before applying the laws. "They demand that you abide by your oath as judges, while they themselves do not abide by theirs." Further, whatever else one might say by way of exaggeration. Let this suffice for the means of persuasion that do not belong to the art.

B

1. Ἐκ τίνων μὲν οὖν δεῖ καὶ προτρέπειν καὶ ἀποτρέπειν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ψέγειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ ποῖαι δόξαι καὶ προτάσεις χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὰς τούτων πίστεις, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· περὶ γὰρ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τούτων τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, ὡς περὶ ἕκαστον εἰπεῖν
2 ἰδίᾳ τὸ γένος τῶν λόγων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἕνεκα κρίσεώς ἐστιν ἡ ῥητορική (καὶ γὰρ τὰς συμβουλὰς κρίνουσι καὶ ἡ δίκη κρίσις ἐστίν), ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὁρᾶν, ὅπως ἀποδεικτικὸς ἔσται καὶ πιστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
3 αὐτὸν ποιόν τινα καὶ τὸν κριτὴν κατασκευάζειν· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει πρὸς πίστιν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐν ταῖς συμβουλαῖς, εἶτα καὶ ἐν ταῖς δίκαις, τὸ ποιόν τινα φαίνεσθαι τὸν λέγοντα καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἔχειν πως αὐτόν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐὰν καὶ αὐτοὶ δια-
4 κείμενοί πως τυγχάνωσιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ποιόν τινα φαίνεσθαι τὸν λέγοντα χρησιμώτερον εἰς τὰς συμβουλάς ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ διακεῖσθαι πως τὸν ἀκροατὴν εἰς τὰς δίκας· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ φαίνεται φιλοῦσι καὶ μισοῦσιν,
1378 a οὐδ' ὀργιζομένοις καὶ πράως ἔχουσιν, | ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἕτερα ἢ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἕτερα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ

BOOK II

1. Such then are the materials that we must employ in exhorting and dissuading, praising and blaming, accusing and defending, and such are the opinions and propositions that are useful to produce conviction in these circumstances; for they are the subject and source of enthymemes, if we take each class of speeches by itself. But since the object of rhetoric is judgment—for judgments are pronounced in deliberative rhetoric and the judicial verdict is a judgment—it is not only necessary to consider how to make the speech itself demonstrative and convincing, but also that the speaker should show himself to be of a certain character and should know how to put the judge into a certain frame of mind. For it makes a great difference with regard to producing conviction—especially in deliberative, and, next to this, in forensic oratory—that the speaker should show himself to be possessed of certain qualities and that his hearers should think that he is disposed in a certain way toward them; and further, that they themselves should be disposed in a certain way toward him. In deliberative oratory, it is more useful that the orator should appear to be of a certain character, in forensic, that the hearer should be disposed in a certain way; for opinions vary, according as men love or hate, are angry or mild, and things appear either altogether different, or different

φιλοῦντι, περὶ οὗ ποιεῖται τὴν κρίσιν, ἢ οὐκ ἀδικεῖν ἢ μικρὰ δοκεῖ ἀδικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μισοῦντι τοὐναντίον· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντι καὶ εὐέλπιδι ὄντι, ἐὰν ᾖ τὸ ἐσόμενον ἡδύ, καὶ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι φαίνεται, τῷ δ' ἀπαθεῖ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τοὐναντίον.

5 Τοῦ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς εἶναι πιστοὺς τοὺς λέγοντας τρία ἐστὶ τὰ αἴτια· τοσαῦτα γάρ ἐστι δι' ἃ πιστεύομεν ἔξω τῶν ἀποδείξεων. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα φρόνησις καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ εὔνοια· διαψεύδονται γὰρ περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν ἢ συμβουλεύουσιν ἢ διὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἢ διὰ τούτων
6 τι· ἢ γὰρ δι' ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοξάζουσιν, ἢ δοξάζοντες ὀρθῶς διὰ μοχθηρίαν οὐ τὰ δοκοῦντα λέγουσιν, ἢ φρόνιμοι μὲν καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς εἰσὶν ἀλλ' οὐκ εὖνοι· διόπερ ἐνδέχεται μὴ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν γιγνώσκοντας. καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν. ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸν ἅπαντα δοκοῦντα ταῦτ' ἔχειν εἶναι τοῖς ἀκροωμέ-
7 νοις πιστόν. ὅθεν μὲν τοίνυν φρόνιμοι καὶ σπουδαῖοι φανεῖεν ἄν, ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς διῃρημένων ληπτέον· ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ κἂν ἕτερόν τις κἂν ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσειε τοιοῦτον· περὶ δ' εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰ πάθη λεκτέον.

8 Ἔστι δὲ τὰ πάθη, δι' ὅσα μεταβάλλοντες διαφέρουσι πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις, οἷς ἕπεται λύπη καὶ ἡδονή, οἷον ὀργὴ ἔλεος φόβος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ
9 τούτοις ἐναντία. δεῖ δὲ διαιρεῖν τὰ περὶ ἕκαστον εἰς

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[1] ἐπιεικής and σπουδαῖος both = ἀγαθός. In a restricted sense ἐπιεικής is "respectable," σπουδαῖος "serious."

[2] 1.9.

in degree; for when a man is favorably disposed toward one on whom he is passing judgment, he either thinks that the accused has committed no wrong at all or that his offense is trifling; but if he hates him, the reverse is the case. And if a man desires anything and has good hopes of getting it, if what is to come is pleasant, he thinks that it is sure to come to pass and will be good; but if a man is unemotional or in a bad mood, it is quite the reverse.

For the orator to be trusted three qualities are necessary; for, apart from demonstrations, the factors that induce belief are three in number. These qualities are good sense, virtue, and goodwill; for speakers are wrong, both in what they say and in the advice they give, because they lack either all three or one of them. For either through want of sense they form incorrect opinions, or, if their opinions are correct, through viciousness they do not say what they think, or, if they are sensible and good,[1] they lack goodwill; wherefore it may happen that they do not give the best advice, although they know what it is. These qualities are all that are necessary, so that the speaker who appears to possess all three will necessarily win the trust of his audience. The means whereby he may appear sensible and good must be inferred from the classification of the virtues;[2] for to make himself appear that way, he would employ the same means as he would in the case of others. We must now speak of goodwill and friendship in our discussion of the emotions.

The emotions are all those affections that change men so as to influence their judgments, and are accompanied by pleasure and pain; such are anger, pity, fear, and all similar emotions and their contraries. And the discussion of each of them must be divided under three headings; for

τρία· λέγω δ' οἷον περὶ ὀργῆς, πῶς τε διακείμενοι ὀργίλοι εἰσί, καὶ τίσιν εἰώθασιν ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ ποίοις· εἰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἓν ἢ τὰ δύο ἔχοιμεν τούτων, ἅπαντα δὲ μή, ἀδύνατον ἂν εἴη τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμποιεῖν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προειρημένων διεγράψαμεν τὰς πρυτάσεις, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ποιήσωμεν καὶ διέλωμεν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον.

2. Ἔστω δὴ ὀργὴ ὄρεξις μετὰ λύπης τιμωρίας [φαινομένης][1] διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν εἰς
2 αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὀλιγωρεῖν μὴ προσηκόντων. εἰ δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ ὀργή, ἀνάγκη τὸν ὀργιζόμενον ὀργίζεσθαι ἀεὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν τινι, οἷον Κλέωνι ἀλλ' οὐκ
1378 b ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν | αὐτοῦ τι πεποίηκεν ἢ ἤμελλεν, καὶ πάσῃ ὀργῇ ἕπεσθαί τινα ἡδονὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἡδὺ μὲν γὰρ τὸ οἴεσθαι τεύξεσθαι ὧν ἐφίεται, οὐδεὶς δὲ τῶν φαινομένων ἀδυνάτων ἐφίεται αὐτῷ, [ὁ δ' ὀργιζόμενος ἐφίεται δυνατῶν αὐτῷ]. διὸ καλῶς εἴρηται περὶ θυμοῦ

ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται·

[1] The definition of anger is difficult to translate because it is unclear whether the word φαινομένης(ν) should be rendered as "conspicuous" or as "apparent." The translators seem to be divided between those options, but both seem unsatisfactory: it is hard to see why anger should be caused only by obvious slights; however, the double occurrence of "apparent" strongly suggests that the slight is merely apparent, not real. Freese tried to avoid this problem by translating "real or apparent" in both places.

instance, in regard to anger, the disposition of mind that makes men angry, the persons with whom they are usually angry, and the occasions that give rise to anger. For if we knew one or even two of these headings, but not all three, it would be impossible to arouse anger. The same applies to the rest. Just as, then, we have given a list of propositions[3] in what we have previously said, we will do the same here and divide our discussion in the way we mentioned.

2. Let anger, then, be defined as a desire, accompanied by pain, for [an apparent] revenge, due to an apparent slight affecting a man himself or one of his friends, by persons who ought not to slight him. If this definition is correct, the angry man must always be angry with a particular individual (for instance, with Cleon, but not with men generally), and because this individual has done, or was on the point of doing, something against him or one of his friends; and lastly, anger is always accompanied by a certain pleasure, due to the hope of revenge to come. For it is pleasant to think that one will obtain what one aims at; now, no one aims at what is obviously impossible of attainment by him, [but the angry man aims at what is possible for himself]. Wherefore it has been well said of anger, that

> Far sweeter than dripping honey down the throat
> it spreads in men's hearts.[4]

[3] In Book 1 generally (cf. 1.2.22).
[4] Hom. *Il.* 18.109 (cf. 1.11.9).

However, Aristotle himself discusses this definition at *Topics* 8, 156a30–33, but without the word φαινομένης. (The parallel is not listed in Kassel's apparatus.) This gives a much better sense, and I have therefore followed Spengel in bracketing the word.

ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἡδονή τις διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διότι διατρίβουσιν ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἡ οὖν τότε γινομένη φαντασία ἡδονὴν ἐμποιεῖ, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ἐνυπνίων.

3 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ὀλιγωρία ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια δόξης περὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἄξιον φαινόμενον· καὶ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τἀγαθὰ ἄξια οἰόμεθα σπουδῆς εἶναι, καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς αὐτά· ὅσα δὲ μηδέν τι ἢ μικρόν, οὐδενὸς ἄξια ὑπολαμβάνομεν. τρία δ' ἐστὶν εἴδη ὀλιγωρίας, κατα-
4 φρόνησίς τε καὶ ἐπηρεασμὸς καὶ ὕβρις· ὅ τε γὰρ καταφρονῶν ὀλιγωρεῖ· ὅσα γὰρ οἴονται μηδενὸς ἄξια, τούτων καταφρονοῦσιν, τῶν δὲ μηδενὸς ἀξίων ὀλιγωροῦσιν· καὶ ὁ ἐπηρεάζων [φαίνεται καταφρονεῖν]. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ἐπηρεασμὸς ἐμποδισμὸς ταῖς βουλήσεσιν οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ ἵνα αὐτῷ τι, ὀλιγωρεῖ· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε βλάψειν ὑπολαμβάνει· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ οὐκ ὠλιγώρει· οὔτ' ὠφελῆσαι ἂν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου· ἐφρόντιζε γὰρ ἂν ὥστε φίλος εἶναι.

5 Καὶ ὁ ὑβρίζων δ' ὀλιγωρεῖ· ἔστι γὰρ ὕβρις τὸ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἐφ' οἷς αἰσχύνη ἐστὶ τῷ πάσχοντι, μὴ ἵνα τι γένηται αὐτῷ ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡσθῇ· οἱ γὰρ ἀντιποιοῦντες οὐχ ὑβρίζου-

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5 The thought of revenge in the future, as distinguished from dwelling on it in the present.

6 In Attic law *hybris* (insulting, degrading treatment) was a more serious offense than *aikia* (bodily ill-treatment). It was the subject of a State criminal prosecution (γραφή) of a private ac-

for it is accompanied by a certain pleasure, for this reason first,[5] and also because men dwell on the thought of revenge, and the vision that rises before us produces the same pleasure as a vision seen in dreams.

Slighting is an actualization of opinion in regard to something that appears valueless; for things that are really bad or good, or tend to become so, we consider worthy of attention, but those unimportant or trifling we ignore. Now there are three kinds of slight: disdain, spitefulness, and insult. For he who disdains, slights, since men disdain what they consider valueless and slight what is of no account. And the spiteful man [appears to show disdain]; for spitefulness consists in placing obstacles in the way of another's wishes, not in order that any advantage may accrue to him who spites, but to prevent any accruing to the other. Since then he does not act in this manner from self-interest, it is a slight; for it is evident that he has no idea that the other is likely to hurt him, for in that case he would be afraid of him instead of slighting him; nor that he will be of any use to him worth speaking of, for in that case his thought would be how to become his friend.

Similarly, he who insults another also slights him; for insult[6] consists in doing or saying things whereby the sufferer is disgraced, not to obtain any other advantage for oneself besides the performance of the act, but for one's

tion (δίκη) for damages. The penalty was assessed by the dicasts and might even be death. It had to be proved that the defendant struck the first blow (2.24.9). One of the best-known instances is the action brought by Demosthenes against Midias for a personal outrage on himself, when *choregos* of his tribe (responsible for the equipment of a chorus for musical competitions at public festivals).

6 σιν ἀλλὰ τιμωροῦνται. αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς τοῖς ὑβρίζουσιν, ὅτι οἴονται κακῶς δρῶντες αὐτοὶ ὑπερέχειν μᾶλλον. διὸ οἱ νέοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι ὑβρισταί· ὑπερέχειν γὰρ οἴονται ὑβρίζοντες. ὕβρεως δὲ ἀτιμία, ὁ δ' ἀτιμάζων ὀλιγωρεῖ· τὸ γὰρ μηδενὸς ἄξιον οὐδεμίαν ἔχει τιμήν, οὔτ' ἀγαθοῦ οὔτε κακοῦ. διὸ λέγει ὀργιζόμενος ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς

ἠτίμησεν· ἑλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς

καὶ

ὡσεί τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην,

7 ὡς διὰ ταῦτα ὀργιζόμενος. προσήκειν δ' οἴονται πολυωρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων κατὰ γένος, κατὰ δύνα-
1379 a μιν, κατ' ἀρετήν, καὶ ὅλως | ἐν ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπερέχῃ πολύ, οἷον ἐν χρήμασιν ὁ πλούσιος πένητος καὶ ἐν τῷ λέγειν ῥητορικὸς ἀδυνάτου εἰπεῖν καὶ ἄρχων ἀρχομένου καὶ ἄρχειν ἄξιος οἰόμενος τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ἀξίου. διὸ εἴρηται

θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων

καὶ

ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον·

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7 Hom. *Il.* 1.356.

8 Hom. *Il.* 9.648. μετανάστης, literally, "one who changes his abode," used as a term of reproach.

9 Hom. *Il.* 2.196.

own pleasure; for retaliation is not insult, but punishment. The cause of the pleasure felt by those who insult is the idea that, in ill-treating others, they are more fully showing their own superiority. That is why the young and the wealthy are given to insults; for they think that, in committing them, they are showing their superiority. Dishonor is characteristic of insult; and one who dishonors another slights him; for what is worthless, whether as good or evil, receives no honor. Hence Achilles in his wrath exclaims:

> He has dishonored me, since he keeps for himself the prize he has taken,[7]

and

> like a dishonored vagrant,[8]

as being wrathful for these reasons. Now men think that they have a right to be highly esteemed by those inferior to them in birth, power, and virtue, and generally, in whatever respect a man is far superior to another; for example, the rich man to the poor man in the matter of money, the eloquent to the incompetent speaker in the matter of oratory, the governor to the governed, and the man who thinks himself worthy to rule to one who is only fit to be ruled. Wherefore it has been said:

> Great is the wrath of kings cherished by Zeus,[9]

and

> Yet it may be that even afterward he cherishes his resentment,[10]

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[10] Hom. *Il.* 1.82. The words are those of the soothsayer Calchas to Achilles, and the reference is to Agamemnon.

8 ἀγανακτοῦσι γὰρ διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχήν. ἔτι ὑφ' ὧν τις οἴεται εὖ πάσχειν δεῖν· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οὓς εὖ πεποίηκεν ἢ ποιεῖ, ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ δι' αὐτόν τις ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τις, ἢ βούλεται ἢ ἐβουλήθη.

9 Φανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ἤδη πῶς τ' ἔχοντες ὀργίζονται αὐτοὶ καὶ τίσι καὶ διὰ ποῖα. αὐτοὶ μὲν γάρ, ὅταν λυπῶνται· ἐφίεται γάρ τινος ὁ λυπούμενος· ἐάν τε οὖν κατ' εὐθυωρίαν ‹πρὸς› ὁτιοῦν ἀντικρούσῃ τις, οἷον τῷ διψῶντι πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν, ἐάν τε μή [ὁμοίως ταὐτὸ φαίνεται ποιεῖν]· καὶ ἐάν τε ἀντιπράττῃ τις ἐάν τε μὴ συμπράττῃ ἐάν τε ἄλλο τι ἐνοχλῇ οὕτως ἔχοντα,

10 τοῖς πᾶσιν ὀργίζεται [διὸ κάμνοντες, πενόμενοι, ἐρῶντες, διψῶντες, ὅλως ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ μὴ κατορθοῦντες ὀργίλοι εἰσὶ καὶ εὐπαρόρμητοι, μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ παρόντος ὀλιγωροῦντας], οἷον κάμνων μὲν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν νόσον, πενόμενος δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πενίαν, πολεμῶν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐρῶν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις· προωδοποίηται γὰρ ἕκαστος πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστου ὀργὴν

11 ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος πάθους. ἔτι δ' ἐὰν τἀναντία τύχῃ προσδεχόμενος· λυπεῖ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ πολὺ παρὰ δόξαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τέρπει τὸ πολὺ παρὰ δόξαν, ἐὰν γένηται ὃ βούλεται. διὸ καὶ ὧραι καὶ χρόνοι καὶ διαθέσεις

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11 That is, by one making light of his illness.

for kings are resentful in consideration of their superior rank. Further, men are angry at slights from those by whom they think they have a right to expect to be well treated; such are those on whom they have conferred or are conferring benefits, either themselves, or some one else for them, or one of their friends; and all those whom they desire, or did desire, to benefit.

It is now evident from these considerations what is the disposition of those who are angry, with whom they are angry, and for what reasons. Men are angry when they are pained, because one who is pained aims at something; if then anyone directly opposes him in anything, as, for instance, prevents him from drinking when thirsty, or not directly, [but seems to be doing just the same;] and if anyone goes against him or refuses to assist him, or troubles him in any other way when he is in this frame of mind, he is angry with all such persons. [Wherefore the sick, the necessitous, the lovesick, the thirsty, in a word, all who desire something and cannot obtain it, are prone to anger and easily excited, especially against those who make light of their present condition;] For instance, the sick man is easily provoked in regard to his illness,[11] the needy man in regard to his poverty, the warrior in regard to warlike affairs, the lover in regard to love affairs, and so with all the rest; for the passion present in his mind in each case paves the way for his anger. Again, men are angry when the event is contrary to their expectation, for the more unexpected a thing, the more it pains; just as they are overjoyed if, contrary to expectation, what they desire comes to pass. From this it is obvious what are the seasons, times, states

καὶ ἡλικίαι ἐκ τούτων φανεραί, ποῖαι εὐκίνητοι πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ ποῦ καὶ πότε, καὶ ὅτι ὅτε μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις εἰσί, μᾶλλον καὶ εὐκίνητοι.

12 Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχοντες εὐκίνητοι πρὸς ὀργήν, ὀργίζονται δὲ τοῖς τε καταγελῶσι καὶ χλευάζουσι καὶ σκώπτουσιν· ὑβρίζουσι γάρ. καὶ τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα βλάπτουσιν ὅσα ὕβρεως σημεῖα. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοιαῦτα εἶναι ἃ μήτε ἀντί τινος μήτ' ὠφέλιμα τοῖς ποιοῦσιν·
13 ἤδη γὰρ δοκεῖ δι' ὕβριν. καὶ τοῖς κακῶς λέγουσι καὶ καταφρονοῦσι περὶ ἃ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα σπουδάζουσιν, οἷον οἱ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ φιλοτιμούμενοι ἐάν τις εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐάν τις εἰς τὴν ἰδέαν,
14 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ταῦτα δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον, ἐὰν ὑποπτεύσωσι μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, ἢ ὅλως ἢ
1379 b μὴ ἰσχυρῶς, ἢ | μὴ δοκεῖν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ σφόδρα οἴωνται ὑπερέχειν ἐν τούτοις ἐν οἷς σκώπτονται, οὐ φρον-
15 τίζουσιν. καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς μὴ φίλοις· οἴονται γὰρ προσήκειν μᾶλλον πάσχειν εὖ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
16 ἢ μή. καὶ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τιμᾶν ἢ φροντίζειν, ἐὰν πάλιν μὴ οὕτως ὁμιλῶσιν· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων οἴον-
17 ται καταφρονεῖσθαι· ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἂν ποιεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἀντιποιοῦσιν εὖ, μηδὲ τὴν ἴσην ἀνταποδιδοῦσιν. καὶ τοῖς τἀναντία ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν ἥττους ὦσιν·

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12 εὐκίνητοι refers grammatically to διαθέσεις and ἡλικίαι.

of mind, and conditions of age in which we are easily moved[12] to anger; and when and where; and that the more we are in such conditions, the more prone we are to anger.

Such then are the dispositions of those who are easily roused to anger. As to the objects of their anger, men are angry with those who ridicule, mock, and scoff at them, for this is an insult. And with those who injure them in ways that are indications of insult. But these acts must be of such a kind that they are neither retaliatory nor advantageous to those who commit them; for if they are, they then appear due to gratuitous insult. And men are angry with those who speak ill of or despise things which they themselves consider of the greatest importance; for instance, if a man speaks contemptuously of philosophy or of personal beauty in the presence of those who pride themselves upon them; and so in all other cases. But they are far angrier if they suspect that they do not possess these qualities, either not at all, or not to any great extent, or when others do not think they possess them. For when they feel that they are far superior in those qualities that are the subject of mockery, they pay no heed to it. And they are angrier with those who are their friends than with those who are not, for they think that they have a right to be treated well by them rather than ill. And they are angry with those who have been in the habit of honoring and treating them with respect, if they no longer behave so toward them; for they think that they are being treated with contempt by them, otherwise they would treat them as before. And with those who do not return their kindnesses nor requite them in full; and with those who oppose them, if they are inferiors; for all such appear to treat them

καταφρονεῖν γὰρ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι φαίνονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἡττόνων οἱ δ' ὡς παρ' ἡττόνων.

18 Καὶ τοῖς ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ οὖσιν, ἄν τι ὀλιγωρῶσι, μᾶλλον· ὑπόκειται γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας πρὸς τοὺς μὴ προσήκοντας, προσήκει δὲ τοῖς ἥττοσι μὴ
19 ὀλιγωρεῖν. τοῖς δὲ φίλοις, ἐάν τε μὴ εὖ λέγωσιν ἢ ποιῶσιν, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐὰν τἀναντία, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ αἰσθάνωνται δεομένων, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀντιφῶντος Πλήξιπ-πος τῷ Μελεάγρῳ· ὀλιγωρίας γὰρ τὸ μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι
20 σημεῖον· ὧν γὰρ φροντίζομεν, οὐ λανθάνει. καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχαίρουσι ταῖς ἀτυχίαις καὶ ὅλως εὐθυμουμένοις ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀτυχίαις· ἢ γὰρ ἐχθροῦ ἢ ὀλιγωροῦντος σημεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὴ φροντίζουσιν, ἐὰν λυπήσωσιν·
21 διὸ καὶ τοῖς κακὰ ἀγγέλλουσιν ὀργίζονται. καὶ τοῖς ἢ ἀκούουσι περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ θεωμένοις τὰ αὐτῶν φαῦλα· ὅμοιοι γάρ εἰσιν ἢ ὀλιγωροῦσιν ἢ ἐχθροῖς· οἱ γὰρ
22 φίλοι συναλγοῦσιν, θεώμενοι δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα φαῦλα πάντες ἀλγοῦσιν. ἔτι τοῖς ὀλιγωροῦσι πρὸς πέντε, πρὸς οὓς φιλοτιμοῦνται, [πρὸς] οὓς θαυμάζουσιν, ὑφ' ὧν βούλονται θαυμάζεσθαι, ἢ οὓς αἰσχύνονται, ἢ ἐν τοῖς αἰσχυνομένοις αὐτούς· ἐν τούτοις ἐάν τις ὀλι-
23 γωρῇ, ὀργίζονται μᾶλλον. καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀλιγωροῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν μὴ βοηθεῖν,

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13 Plexippus was Meleager's uncle. The allusion is obscure; it may refer to Meleager giving the skin of the Calydonian boar to Atalanta, which his uncle wanted. One of Antiphon's tragedies was entitled *Meleager*.

with contempt, the latter as if they regarded them as inferiors, the former as if they had received kindnesses from inferiors.

And they are angrier with those who are of no account, if they slight them; for anger at a slight was assumed to be felt at those who ought not to behave in such a manner; and inferiors ought not to slight their superiors. And they are angry with friends, if they neither speak well of nor treat them well, and in an even greater degree, if they do the opposite. And if they fail to perceive that they want something from them, as Plexippus[13] in Antiphon's tragedy reproached Meleager; for failure to perceive this is a sign of slight; since, when we care for people, these things are noticed. And they are angry with those who rejoice, or in a general way are cheerful when they are unfortunate; for this is an indication of enmity or slight. And with those who do not care if they pain them; whence they are angry with those who bring bad news. And with those who listen to the tale of their faults, or look on them with indifference, for they resemble slighters or enemies; for friends sympathize and all men are pained to see their own faults exposed.[14] And further, with those who slight them before five classes of persons: namely, their rivals, those whom they admire, those by whom they would like to be admired, those whom they respect, or those who respect them; when anyone slights them before these, their anger is greater. They are also angry with those who slight such persons as it would be disgraceful for them not to defend,

[14] The real friend, therefore, would feel as much pain as the other whose faults are exposed.

οἷον γονεῖς, τέκνα, γυναῖκας, ἀρχομένους. καὶ τοῖς
χάριν μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσιν· παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον γὰρ ἡ ὀλι-
24 γωρία. καὶ τοῖς εἰρωνευομένοις πρὸς σπουδάζοντας·
25 καταφρονητικὸν γὰρ ἡ εἰρωνεία. καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων
εὐποιητικοῖς, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατα-
26 φρονητικόν, τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ὧν πάντας καὶ αὐτόν. ποι-
ητικὸν δ' ὀργῆς καὶ ἡ λήθη, οἷον καὶ ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων
οὕτως οὖσα περὶ μικρόν· ὀλιγωρίας γὰρ δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ
λήθη σημεῖον εἶναι· δι' ἀμέλειαν μὲν γὰρ ἡ λήθη
27 γίγνεται, ἡ δ' ἀμέλεια ὀλιγωρία ἐστίν. οἷς μὲν οὖν |
1380 a ὀργίζονται καὶ ὡς ἔχοντες καὶ διὰ ποῖα, ἅμα εἴρηται·
δῆλον δ' ὅτι δέοι ἂν αὐτὸν κατασκευάζειν τῷ λόγῳ
τοιούτους οἷοι ὄντες ὀργίλως ἔχουσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἐναν-
τίους τούτοις ἐνόχους ὄντας ἐφ' οἷς ὀργίζονται, καὶ
τοιούτους οἵοις ὀργίζονται.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ὀργίζεσθαι ἐναντίον τὸ πραΰνεσθαι
καὶ ὀργὴ πραότητι, ληπτέον πῶς ἔχοντες πρᾶοί εἰσι
καὶ πρὸς τίνας πράως ἔχουσι καὶ διὰ τίνων πραύνον-
2 ται. ἔστω δὴ πράϋνσις κατάστασις καὶ ἠρέμησις ὀρ-
3 γῆς. εἰ οὖν ὀργίζονται τοῖς ὀλιγωροῦσιν, ὀλιγωρία δέ
ἐστιν ἑκούσιον, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν τούτων
ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἀκουσίως ποιοῦσιν ἢ φαινομένοις τοι-
4 ούτοις πρᾶοί εἰσιν. καὶ τοῖς τἀναντία ὧν ἐποίησαν
βουλομένοις. καὶ ὅσοι καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς τοιοῦτοι·
5 οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δοκεῖ ὀλιγωρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ὁμο-
λογοῦσι καὶ μεταμελομένοις· ὡς γὰρ ἔχοντες δίκην τὸ
λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς πεποιημένοις παύονται τῆς ὀργῆς.

for instance, parents, children, wives, and dependents. And with those who are ungrateful, for the slight is contrary to all sense of obligation. And with those who employ irony, when they themselves are in earnest; for irony shows contempt. And with those who do good to others, but not to them; for not to think them worthy of what they bestow upon all others also shows contempt. Forgetfulness also is a cause of anger, such as forgetting names, although it is a mere trifle, since even forgetfulness seems a sign of slight; for it is caused by indifference, and indifference is a slight. We have thus stated at the same time the frame of mind and the reasons which make men angry, and the objects of their anger. It is evident then that it will be necessary for the speaker, by his eloquence, to put the hearers into the frame of mind of those who are inclined to anger, and to show that his opponents are responsible for things that rouse men to anger and are people of the kind with whom men are angry.

3. And since the opposite of becoming angry is becoming mild, and anger of mildness, we must determine the state of mind that makes men mild, toward whom they become mild, and the reasons that make them so. Let us then define making mild as the quieting and appeasing of anger. If then men are angry with those who slight them, and slight is voluntary, it is evident that they are mild toward those who do none of these things, or do them involuntarily, or at least appear to be such; and toward those who intended the opposite of what they have done, and all who behave in the same way to themselves, for no one is likely to slight himself. And toward those who admit and are sorry for a slight; for finding as it were satisfaction in the pain the offenders feel at what they have done, men

σημεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν κολάσεως· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγοντας καὶ ἀρνουμένους μᾶλλον κολάζομεν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας δικαίως κολάζεσθαι παυόμεθα θυμούμενοι. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι ἀναισχυντία τὸ τὰ φανερὰ ἀρνεῖσθαι, ἡ δ' ἀναισχυντία ὀλιγωρία καὶ καταφρόνησις· ὧν γοῦν πολὺ καταφρονοῦμεν, οὐκ
6 αἰσχυνόμεθα. καὶ τοῖς ταπεινουμένοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέγουσιν· φαίνονται γὰρ ὁμολογεῖν ἥττους εἶναι, οἱ δ' ἥττους φοβοῦνται, φοβούμενος δὲ οὐδεὶς ὀλιγωρεῖ. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινουμένους παύεται ἡ ὀργή, καὶ οἱ κύνες δηλοῦσιν οὐ δάκνοντες
7 τοὺς καθίζοντας. καὶ τοῖς σπουδάζουσι πρὸς [τοὺς] σπουδάζοντας· δοκεῖ γὰρ σπουδάζεσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ
8 καταφρονεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μείζω κεχαρισμένοις. καὶ
9 τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ παραιτουμένοις· ταπεινότεροι γάρ. καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑβρισταῖς μηδὲ χλευασταῖς μηδ' ὀλιγώροις, ἢ εἰς μηδένα ἢ μὴ εἰς χρηστοὺς μηδ' εἰς
10 τοιούτους οἷοί περ αὐτοί. ὅλως δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δεῖ σκοπεῖν τὰ πραϋντικά. καὶ οὓς φοβοῦνται ἢ αἰσχύνονται· ἕως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἔχωσιν, οὐκ ὀργίζονται· ἀδύ-
11 νατον γὰρ ἅμα φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι. καὶ τοῖς δι' ὀργὴν ποιήσασιν ἢ οὐκ ὀργίζονται ἢ ἧττον ὀργίζονται· οὐ γὰρ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν φαίνονται πρᾶξαι· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὀργιζόμενος ὀλιγωρεῖ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀλιγωρία

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[15] Cf. Hom. *Od.* 14.29–31, "Suddenly the wildly baying dogs saw Odysseus, and ran at him with much barking, and Odysseus prudently sat on the ground."

cease to be angry. Evidence of this may be seen in the punishment of slaves; for we punish more severely those who contradict us and deny their offense, but cease to be angry with those who admit that they are justly punished. The reason is that to deny what is evident is disrespect, and disrespect is slight and contempt; anyhow, we show no respect for those for whom we entertain a profound contempt. Men also are mild toward those who humble themselves before them and do not contradict them, for they seem to recognize that they are inferior; now, those who are inferior are afraid, and no one who is afraid slights another. Even the behavior of dogs proves that anger ceases toward those who humble themselves, for they do not bite those who sit down.[15] And men are mild toward those who are serious with them when they are serious, for they think they are being treated seriously, not with contempt. And toward those who have rendered them greater services.[16] And toward those who pray and beg for mercy, for they are humbler. And toward those who refrain from insulting, mocking, or slighting anyone, or any virtuous man, or those who resemble themselves. And generally speaking, one should determine the reasons that make for mildness by their opposites. Thus, men are mild toward those whom they fear or respect, as long as they feel so toward them, for it is impossible to be afraid and angry at the same time. And against those who have acted in anger they either feel no anger or in a less degree, for they do not seem to have acted from a desire to slight. For no one slights another when angry, since slight is free from

[16] That is, greater than their present disservices.

1380 b 12 ἄλυπον, | ἡ δ' ὀργὴ μετὰ λύπης. καὶ τοῖς αἰσχυνομένοις αὐτούς.

Καὶ ἔχοντες δὲ ἐναντίως τῷ ὀργίζεσθαι δῆλον ὅτι πρᾶοι εἰσίν, οἷον ἐν παιδιᾷ, ἐν γέλωτι, ἐν ἑορτῇ, ἐν εὐημερίᾳ, ἐν κατορθώσει, ἐν πληρώσει, ὅλως ἐν ἀλυπίᾳ καὶ ἡδονῇ μὴ ὑβριστικῇ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐπιεικεῖ.
13 ἔτι κεχρονικότες καὶ μὴ ὑπόγυοι τῇ ὀργῇ ὄντες· παύει γὰρ ὀργὴν ὁ χρόνος. παύει δὲ καὶ ἑτέρου ὀργὴ μείζων ἢ παρ' ἄλλου ληφθεῖσα τιμωρία πρότερον· διὸ εὖ Φιλοκράτης, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὀργιζομένου τοῦ δήμου "τί οὐκ ἀπολογεῖ;" "οὔπω γε" ἔφη. "ἀλλὰ πότε;" "ὅταν ἄλλον ἴδω διαβεβλημένον·" πρᾶοι γὰρ γίγνονται, ὅταν εἰς ἄλλον τὴν ὀργὴν ἀναλώσωσιν, οἷον συνέβη ἐπὶ Ἐργοφίλου· μᾶλλον γὰρ χαλεπαίνοντες ἢ Καλλισθένει ἀφεῖσαν διὰ τὸ Καλλισθένους τῇ προτεραίᾳ
14 καταγνῶναι θάνατον. καὶ ἐὰν ἕλωσιν· καὶ ἐὰν μεῖζον κακὸν πεπονθότες ὦσιν ἢ οἱ ὀργιζόμενοι ἂν ἔδρασαν·
15 ὥσπερ εἰληφέναι γὰρ οἴονται τιμωρίαν. καὶ ἐὰν ἀδικεῖν οἴωνται αὐτοὶ καὶ δικαίως πάσχειν· [οὐ γίγνεται ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον·] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον οἴονται πάσχειν, ἡ δ' ὀργὴ τοῦτο ἦν. διὸ δεῖ τῷ λόγῳ προκολάζειν· ἀγανακτοῦσι γὰρ ἧττον κολαζό-

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[17] Opponent of Demosthenes and one of the pro-Macedonian faction. Impeached for his share in the disastrous "Peace of Philocrates," he went into exile and was condemned to death in absentia. [18] Ergophilus failed in an attack on Cotys, king of Thrace, while Callisthenes concluded a premature peace with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia.

pain, but anger is accompanied by it. And men are not angry with those who usually show respect for them.

It is also evident that those are mild whose condition is contrary to what excites anger, as in amusement, when laughing, at a feast, in prosperity, in success, in abundance, and in general, in freedom from pain, in pleasure that does not involve insult, or in honest hope. Further, those whose anger is of long standing and not in its full flush, for time appeases anger. Again, anger is appeased by greater anger against some other person, or vengeance previously taken on another. For this reason Philocrates,[17] when someone asked him why he did not justify himself when the people were angry with him, made the judicious reply, "Not yet." "When then?" "When I see someone else slandered."; for men grow mild when they have exhausted their anger upon another, as happened in the case of Ergophilus.[18] For although the Athenians were more indignant with him than with Callisthenes, they acquitted him because they had condemned Callicrates to death on the previous day. Men also grow mild toward those whom they have convicted, and if an offender has suffered greater evil than those who are angry would have inflicted, for they think that they have as it were obtained reparation. And if they think that they themselves are wrong and deserve what they suffer, [anger is not aroused against what is just]; they no longer think that they are being treated otherwise than they should be, which, as we have said, is the essence of anger. Wherefore we should inflict a preliminary verbal chastisement, for even slaves are less indignant at punishment of this kind. And men are milder if they think that

16 μενοι καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ αἰσθήσεσθαι οἴωνται ὅτι δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπαθον· [ἡ γὰρ ὀργὴ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν ἐστιν·][2] δῆλον δ' ἐκ τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ. διὸ ὀρθῶς πεποίηται

φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον,

ὡς οὐ τετιμωρημένος, εἰ μὴ ᾔσθετο καὶ ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου. ὥστε οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι μὴ αἰσθάνονται ὀργίζονται, οὔτε τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἔτι, ὡς πεπονθόσι τε τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ οὐκ ἀλγήσουσιν οὐδ' αἰσθησομένοις, οὗ οἱ ὀργιζόμενοι ἐφίενται. διὸ εὖ περὶ τοῦ Ἕκτορος ὁ ποιητής, παῦσαι βουλόμενος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τῆς ὀργῆς τεθνεῶτος,

κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων.

17 δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τοῖς καταπραΰνειν βουλομένοις ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων λεκτέον, αὐτοὺς μὲν παρασκευάζουσι τοιούτους, οἷς δ' ὀργίζονται, ἢ φοβεροὺς ἢ αἰσχύνης ἀξίους ἢ κεχαρισμένους ἢ ἄκοντας ἢ ὑπεραλγοῦντας τοῖς πεποιημένοις.

4. Τίνας δὲ φιλοῦσι καὶ μισοῦσι, καὶ διὰ τί, τὴν

2 Kassel deletes these words, on the assumption that the definition contained the word φαινομένης (sc. τιμωρίας). But see the reference to individuals immediately following the definition.

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19 Therefore, if you think that a man will never learn *who* took vengeance on him, you will be less cruel; for anger is personal.

those punished will never know that the punishment comes from *them* in requital for their own wrongs; [for anger has to do with the individual], as is clear from our definition.[19] For this reason it is justly said by the poet,

Tell him that it is Odysseus, sacker of cities,[20]

as if Odysseus would not have considered himself avenged had Polyphemus remained ignorant who had blinded him and why. So that men are not angry either with any others who are not aware who punishes them,[21] or with the dead, since they have paid the last penalty and will not feel pain or anything else that those who are angry aim to inflict on them. So then, in regard to Hector, Homer, wishing to restrain the anger of Achilles against a dead man, well says,

For it is senseless clay that he outrages in his wrath.[22]

It is evident, then, that men must have recourse to these topics when they desire to appease their audience, putting them into the frame of mind required and representing those with whom they are angry as either formidable or deserving of respect, or as having rendered them great services, or acted involuntarily, or as exceedingly grieved at what they have done.

4. Let us now state who are the persons that men love[23]

and so Odysseus, because he was angry, inflicted a savage punishment and wished Polyphemus to know it. [20] Hom. *Od.* 9.504.

[21] Or, "with any who can no longer feel their anger."

[22] Hom. *Il.* 24.54. [23] φιλεῖν may be translated "to love" or "to like"; φιλία by "love," "liking," or "friendship"; for φίλος, "friend" alone is suitable. For the two meanings, compare the use of *aimer* in French and *lieben* in German.

2 φιλίαν καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν ὁρισάμενοι λέγωμεν. ἔστω δὴ τὸ φιλεῖν τὸ βούλεσθαί τινι ἃ οἴεται ἀγαθά, ἐκείνου
1381 a ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ μὴ αὑτοῦ, | καὶ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν πρακτικὸν εἶναι τούτων. φίλος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ φιλῶν καὶ ἀντιφιλούμενος. οἴονται δὲ φίλοι εἶναι οἱ οὕτως ἔχειν οἰόμε-
3 νοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τούτων δὲ ὑποκειμένων ἀνάγκη φίλον εἶναι τὸν συνηδόμενον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ συναλγοῦντα τοῖς λυπηροῖς μὴ διά τι ἕτερον ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκεῖνον. γιγνομένων γὰρ ὧν βούλονται χαίρουσι πάντες, τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ λυποῦνται, ὥστε τῆς βουλήσεως ση-
4 μεῖον αἱ λῦπαι καὶ αἱ ἡδοναί. καὶ οἷς δὴ ταὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, καὶ οἱ τοῖς αὐτοῖς φίλοι, καὶ οἱ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχθροί· ταὐτὰ γὰρ τούτοις βούλεσθαι ἀνάγκη, ὥστε ἅ περ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ βουλόμενος, τούτῳ φαίνεται φίλος εἶναι.

5 Καὶ τοὺς πεποιηκότας εὖ φιλοῦσιν, ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ ὧν κήδονται· ἢ εἰ μεγάλα, ἢ εἰ προθύμως, ἢ εἰ ἐν τοιούτοις καιροῖς, καὶ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα· ἢ οὓς ἂν οἴωνται βούλεσθαι
6 ποιεῖν εὖ. καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων φίλους καὶ φιλοῦντας οὓς αὐτοὶ φιλοῦσιν. καὶ τοὺς φιλουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν
7 φιλουμένων αὐτοῖς. καὶ τοὺς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχθροὺς καὶ μισοῦντας οὓς αὐτοὶ μισοῦσιν, καὶ τοὺς μισουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῖς μισουμένων· πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ταὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ φαίνεται εἶναι καὶ αὐτοῖς, ὥστε βούλεσθαι τὰ
8 αὐτοῖς ἀγαθά, ὅ περ ἦν τοῦ φίλου. ἔτι τοὺς εὐποιητικοὺς εἰς χρήματα καὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν· διὸ τοὺς ἐλευθερίους καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους τιμῶσι καὶ τοὺς δικαίους.

or hate, and why, after we have defined love and loving. Let loving, then, be defined as wishing for anyone the things that we believe to be good, for his sake but not for our own, and procuring them for him as far as lies in our power. A friend is one who loves and is loved in return, and those who think their relationship is of this character consider themselves friends. This being granted, it necessarily follows that he is a friend who shares our joy in good fortune and our sorrow in affliction, for our own sake and not for any other reason. For all men rejoice when what they desire comes to pass and are pained when the contrary happens, so that their pain and pleasure are indications of their wish. And those are friends who have the same ideas of good and evil, and love and hate the same persons, since they necessarily wish the same things; wherefore one who wishes for another what he wishes for himself seems to be the other's friend.

We also like those who have done good either to us or to those whom we hold dear, if the services are important, or are cordially rendered, or under certain circumstances, and for our sake only; and all those whom we think desirous of doing us good. And those who are friends of our friends and who like those whom we like, and those who are liked by those who are liked by us; and those whose enemies are ours, those who hate those whom we ourselves hate, and those who are hated by those who are hated by us; for all such persons have the same idea as ourselves of what is good, so that they wish what is good for us, which, as we said, is the characteristic of a friend. Further, we like those who are ready to help others in the matter of money or personal safety; for this reason men honor those who are liberal and courageous and just. And

9 τοιούτους δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τοὺς μὴ ἀφ' ἑτέρων ζῶν-
τας· τοιοῦτοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ
ἀπὸ γεωργίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ αὐτουργοὶ μάλιστα.
10 καὶ τοὺς σώφρονας, ὅτι οὐκ ἄδικοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀπρά-
11 γμονας διὰ τὸ αὐτό. καὶ οἷς βουλόμεθα φίλοι εἶναι,
ἐὰν φαίνωνται βουλόμενοι· εἰσὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι οἵ τ' ἀγα-
θοὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ οἱ εὐδόκιμοι ἢ ἐν ἅπασιν ἢ ἐν τοῖς
βελτίστοις ἢ ἐν τοῖς θαυμαζομένοις ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἐν
12 τοῖς θαυμάζουσιν αὐτούς. ἔτι τοὺς ἡδεῖς συνδιαγαγεῖν
καὶ συνδιημερεῦσαι· τοιοῦτοι δ' οἱ εὔκολοι καὶ μὴ
ἐλεγκτικοὶ τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων καὶ μὴ φιλόνεικοι
μηδὲ δυσέριδες· πάντες γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μαχητικοί, οἱ
δὲ μαχόμενοι τἀναντία φαίνονται βούλεσθαι.
13 Καὶ οἱ ἐπιδέξιοι καὶ τωθάσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι· ἐπὶ
ταὐτὸ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι σπεύδουσι τῷ πλησίον, δυνά-
14 μενοί τε σκώπτεσθαι καὶ ἐμμελῶς σκώπτοντες. καὶ
τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθά, καὶ τούτων
1381 b μάλιστα ἃ φοβοῦνται μὴ ὑπάρχειν | αὐτοῖς. καὶ τοὺς
15 καθαρίους περὶ ὄψιν, περὶ ἀμπεχόνην, περὶ ὅλον τὸν
16 βίον. καὶ τοὺς μὴ ὀνειδιστὰς μήτε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων

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[24] Aristotle's opinion of agriculture, in which tillage, planting, and the keeping of bees, fish, and fowl were included, was elsewhere (except in the probably spurious *Economics*) not nearly as favorable as that of Xenophon in his *Oeconomicus*. In two lists of the elements of a State given in the *Politics*, it comes first at the head of the lower occupations. In its favor it is said that it forms the best material of a rural democracy, furnishes good sailors and a healthy body of men (not money-grubbers like merchants and

such we consider those who do not live on others; the sort of men who live by their exertions, and among them agriculturists, and, beyond all others, those who work with their own hands.[24] And the temperate, because they are not likely to commit injustice; and those who are not busybodies, for the same reason. And those with whom we wish to be friends, if they also seem to wish it; such are those who excel in virtue and enjoy a good reputation, either generally, or among the best, or among those who are admired by us or by whom we are admired. Further, those who are agreeable to live or spend time with; such are those who are good-tempered and not given to carping at our errors, neither quarrelsome nor contentious, for all such persons are pugnacious, and the wishes of the pugnacious appear to be opposed to ours.

And those are liked who are clever at making or taking a joke, for each has the same end in view as his neighbor, being able to take a mockery and return it in good taste. And those who praise our good qualities, especially those that we ourselves are afraid we do not possess; those who are neat in their personal appearance and dress, and clean-living; those who do not make our errors or the benefits

tradesmen), and does not make men unfit to bear arms. On the other hand, it claims so much of a man's time that he is unable to devote proper attention to political duties and should be excluded from holding office. He further says that farmers, if possible, should be slaves (neither of the same race nor hot-tempered, for they will work better and are less likely to revolt), or, as the next best alternative, barbarians or serfs. The favorable view taken by Aristotle here and in the *Economics* (probably not his) does not agree with the one put forward in the *Politics*.

17 μήτε τῶν εὐεργετημάτων· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἐλεγκτικοί, καὶ τοὺς μὴ μνησικάκους, μηδὲ φυλακτικοὺς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλ' εὐκαταλλάκτους· οἵους γὰρ ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσιν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
18 οἴονται. καὶ τοὺς μὴ κακολόγους μηδὲ εἰδότας μήτε τὰ τῶν πλησίον κακὰ μήτε τὰ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τἀγαθά·
19 ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς τοῦτο δρᾷ. καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἀντιτείνοντας τοῖς ὀργιζομένοις ἢ σπουδάζουσιν· μαχητικοὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι. καὶ τοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπουδαίως πως ἔχοντας, οἷον θαυμάζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους ὑπο-
20 λαμβάνοντας καὶ χαίροντας αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα πεπονθότας περὶ ἃ μάλιστα βούλονται αὐτοὶ ἢ
21 θαυμάζεσθαι ἢ σπουδαῖοι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἢ ἡδεῖς. καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ ταὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας, ἐὰν μὴ παρενυχλῶσι μηδ' ἀπὸ ταὐτοῦ ᾖ ὁ βίος· γίγνεται γὰρ οὕτω τὸ

κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ,

22 καὶ τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας, ὧν ἐνδέχεται ἅμα μετέχειν αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ταὐτὸ καὶ οὕτω συμβαίνει.
23 καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὕτως ἔχουσιν ὥστε μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι τὰ
24 πρὸς δόξαν, μὴ καταφρονοῦντες. καὶ πρὸς οὓς αἰσχύνονται τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. καὶ πρὸς οὓς φιλοτιμοῦνται, ἢ ὑφ' ὧν ζηλοῦσθαι βούλονται καὶ μὴ φθονεῖ-

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25 Two of a trade are always angry at each other (Hes. *Op.* 25).

26 Those with whom we are eager to compete for distinction. There is no unfriendliness, whereas envy produces it.

they have conferred a matter of reproach, for both these are inclined to be censorious; those who bear no malice and do not cherish the memory of their wrongs, but are easily appeased; for we think that they will be to ourselves such as we suppose them to be to others; and those who are neither given to slander, or eager to know the faults of their neighbors nor our own, but only the good qualities; for this is the way in which the good man acts. And those who do not oppose us when we are angry or seriously engaged, for such persons are pugnacious; and those who show any good feeling toward us; for instance, if they admire us, think us good men, and take pleasure in our company, especially those who are so disposed toward us in regard to things for which we particularly desire to be either admired or to be thought worthy or agreeable. And we like those who resemble us and have the same occupation, provided their interests do not clash with ours and that they do not gain their living from the same source; for then it becomes a case of

Potter against potter.[25]

And those who desire the same things, provided it is possible for us to share them; otherwise the same thing would happen again. And those with whom we are on such terms that we do not blush before them for faults merely condemned by public opinion, provided that this is not due to contempt; and those before whom we do blush for faults that are really bad. And those whose rivals we are,[26] or by whom we wish to be emulated, but not envied, these we

σθαι, τούτους ἢ φιλοῦσιν ἢ βούλονται φίλοι εἶναι.
25 καὶ οἷς ἂν τἀγαθὰ συμπράττωσιν, ἐὰν μὴ μέλλῃ
26 αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι μείζω κακά. καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς
ἀπόντας καὶ τοὺς παρόντας φιλοῦσιν· διὸ καὶ τοὺς
περὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας τοιούτους πάντες φιλοῦσιν.

Καὶ ὅλως τοὺς σφόδρα φιλοφίλους καὶ μὴ ἐγ-
καταλείποντας· μάλιστα γὰρ φιλοῦσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν
27 τοὺς φιλεῖν ἀγαθούς. καὶ τοὺς μὴ πλαττομένους πρὸς
αὐτούς· τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ φαῦλα τὰ ἑαυτῶν λέγον-
τες. εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τὰ πρὸς δόξαν
οὐκ αἰσχυνόμεθα· εἰ οὖν ὁ αἰσχυνόμενος μὴ φιλεῖ, ὁ
μὴ αἰσχυνόμενος φιλοῦντι ἔοικεν. καὶ τοὺς μὴ φοβε-
28 ρούς, καὶ οὓς θαρροῦμεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὃν φοβεῖται φι-
λεῖ. εἴδη δὲ φιλίας ἑταιρεία οἰκειότης συγγένεια καὶ
29 ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ποιητικὰ δὲ φιλίας χάρις, καὶ τὸ μὴ
δεηθέντος ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ ποιήσαντα μὴ δηλῶσαι·
αὐτοῦ γὰρ οὕτως ἕνεκα φαίνεται καὶ οὐ διά τι ἕτερον.

30 Περὶ δ' ἔχθρας καὶ τοῦ μισεῖν | φανερὸν ὡς ἐκ τῶν
1382 a ἐναντίων δεῖ θεωρεῖν. ποιητικὰ δ' ἔχθρας ὀργή, ἐπη-
31 ρεασμός, διαβολή. ὀργὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς
ἑαυτόν, ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ἐὰν γὰρ
ὑπολαμβάνωμεν εἶναι τοιόνδε, μισοῦμεν. καὶ ἡ μὲν
ὀργὴ ἀεὶ περὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, οἷον Καλλίᾳ ἢ Σω-
κράτει, τὸ δὲ μῖσος καὶ πρὸς τὰ γένη· τὸν γὰρ κλέ-
πτην μισεῖ καὶ τὸν συκοφάντην ἅπας. καὶ τὸ μὲν
ἰατὸν χρόνῳ, τὸ δ' ἀνίατον. καὶ τὸ μὲν λύπης ἔφεσις,

either like or wish to be friends with them. And those whom we are ready to assist in obtaining what is good, provided greater evil does not result for ourselves. And those who show equal fondness for friends, whether absent or present; the reason why all men like those who show such feeling for the dead.

In a word, men like those who are strongly attached to their friends and do not leave them in the lurch; for among good men they chiefly like those who are good friends. And those who do not dissemble with them; such are those who do not fear to mention even their faults. (For, as we have said, before friends we do not blush for faults merely condemned by public opinion; if then he who is ashamed is not a friend, he who is not is likely to be one). And men like those who are not frightening, and in whom they have confidence; for no one likes one whom he fears. Companionship, intimacy, kinship, and similar relations are species of friendship. Things that create friendship are doing a favor, and doing it unasked, and not making it public after doing it; for then it seems to have been rendered for the sake of the friend, and not for any other reason.

As for enmity and hatred, it is evident that they must be examined in the light of their contraries. The causes which produce enmity are anger, spitefulness, slander. Anger arises from acts committed against us, enmity even from those that are not; for if we imagine a man to be of such and such a character, we hate him. Anger has always an individual as its object, for instance Callias or Socrates, whereas hatred applies to classes; for instance, every one hates a thief or informer. Anger is curable by time, hatred not; the aim of anger is pain, of hatred evil; for the angry

τὸ δὲ κακοῦ· αἴσθεσθαι γὰρ βούλεται ὁ ὀργιζόμενος, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν διαφέρει. (ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν λυπηρὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα κακὰ ἥκιστα αἰσθητά, ἀδικία καὶ ἀφροσύνη· οὐδὲν γὰρ λυπεῖ ἡ παρουσία τῆς κακίας.) καὶ τὸ μὲν μετὰ λύπης, τὸ δ' οὐ μετὰ λύπης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὀργιζόμενος λυπεῖται, ὁ δὲ μισῶν οὔ. καὶ ὁ μὲν πολλῶν ἂν γενομένων ἐλεήσειεν, ὁ δ' οὐδενός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀντιπαθεῖν βούλεται ᾧ ὀργίζεται, ὁ δὲ μὴ
32 εἶναι. φανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὅτι ἐνδέχεται ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους καὶ ὄντας ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ μὴ ὄντας ποιεῖν καὶ φάσκοντας διαλύειν, καὶ δι' ὀργὴν ἢ δι' ἔχθραν ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἐφ' ὁπότερ' ἂν προαιρῆταί τις ἄγειν. ποῖα δὲ φοβοῦνται καὶ τίνας καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, ὧδ' ἔσται φανερόν.

5. Ἔστω δὴ φόβος λύπη τις καὶ ταραχὴ ἐκ φαντασίας μέλλοντος κακοῦ φθαρτικοῦ ἢ λυπηροῦ· οὐ γὰρ πάντα τὰ κακὰ φοβοῦνται, οἷον εἰ ἔσται ἄδικος ἢ βραδύς, ἀλλ' ὅσα λύπας μεγάλας ἢ φθορὰς δύναται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐὰν μὴ πόρρω ἀλλὰ σύνεγγυς φαίνηται ὥστε μέλλειν. τὰ γὰρ πόρρω σφόδρα οὐ φοβοῦνται· ἴσασι γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἀποθανοῦνται, θανοῦνται, ἀλλ'
2 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγγύς, οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν. εἰ δὴ ὁ φόβος τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀνάγκη τὰ τοιαῦτα φοβερὰ εἶναι ὅσα

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27 He wishes to see and know the result of the measures taken against those with whom he is angry. Or it may mean that he wishes the object of his anger to feel his wrath, and to know by whom, and for what, he is punished.

28 This is an odd comment on the claim that those who hate

man wishes to see what happens;[27] to one who hates it does not matter. (The things that cause pain are all perceptible, while things that are especially bad, such as injustice or folly, are least perceptible; for the presence of vice causes no pain.)[28] Anger is accompanied by pain, but hatred not; for he who is angry suffers pain, but he who hates does not. One who is angry might feel compassion in many cases, but one who hates, never; for the former wishes that the object of his anger should suffer in his turn, the latter, that he should perish. It is evident, then, from what we have just said, that it is possible to prove that men are enemies or friends, or to make them such if they are not; to refute those who pretend that they are, and when they oppose us through anger or enmity, to bring them over to whichever side may be preferred. The things and persons that men fear and in what frame of mind, will be evident from the following considerations.

5. Let fear be defined as a kind of pain and trouble caused by the impression of an imminent evil that causes destruction or pain; for men do not fear all evils, for instance, becoming unjust or slow-witted, but only such as involve great pain or destruction, and only if they appear to be not far off but near at hand and threatening, for men do not fear things that are very remote; all know that they have to die, but as death is not near at hand, it is not a concern. If then this is fear, all those things must inspire fear that appear to have great power of destroying or in-

do not care about seeing what happens to those they hate, for the evils that hatred aims at are clearly not those imperceptible moral or intellectual evils. Being reminiscent of Plato's *Gorgias* 477b–e, it may well come from a marginal note.

φαίνεται δύναμιν ἔχειν μεγάλην τοῦ φθείρειν ἢ βλάπτειν βλάβας εἰς λύπην μεγάλην συντεινούσας. διὸ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν τοιούτων φοβερά· ἐγγὺς γὰρ φαί-
3 νεται τὸ φοβερόν· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κίνδυνος, φοβερὸν πλησιασμός. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἔχθρα τε καὶ ὀργὴ δυναμένων ποιεῖν τι· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι βούλονται, ὥστε ἐγγύς εἰσι
4 τοῦ ποιεῖν. καὶ ἀδικία δύναμιν ἔχουσα· τῷ προαιρεῖ-
5 σθαι γὰρ ὁ ἄδικος ἄδικος. καὶ ἀρετὴ | ὑβριζομένη
1382 b δύναμιν ἔχουσα· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι προαιρεῖται μέν, ὅταν
6 ὑβρίζηται, ἀεί, δύναται δὲ νῦν. καὶ φόβος τῶν δυναμένων τι ποιῆσαι· ἐν παρασκευῇ γὰρ ἀνάγκη εἶναι
7 καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πολλοὶ χείρους καὶ ἥττους τοῦ κερδαίνειν καὶ δειλοὶ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, φοβερὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὥστε οἱ συνειδότες πεποιηκότι τι δεινὸν φοβεροὶ ἢ κατειπεῖν ἢ
8 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. καὶ οἱ δυνάμενοι ἀδικεῖν τοῖς δυναμένοις ἀδικεῖσθαι· ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀδικοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν δύνωνται. καὶ οἱ ἠδικημένοι ἢ νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι· ἀεὶ γὰρ τηροῦσι καιρόν. καὶ οἱ ἠδικηκότες, ἐὰν δύναμιν ἔχωσι, φοβεροί, δεδιότες τὸ
9 ἀντιπαθεῖν· ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο φοβερόν. καὶ οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνταγωνισταί, ὅσα μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἅμα ὑπάρχειν ἀμφοῖν· ἀεὶ γὰρ πολεμοῦσι πρὸς τοὺς τοι-
10 ούτους. καὶ οἱ τοῖς κρείττοσιν αὐτῶν φοβεροί· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν δύναιντο βλάπτειν αὐτούς, εἰ καὶ τοὺς κρείττους. [καὶ οὓς φοβοῦνται οἱ κρείττους αὐτῶν, διὰ

flicting injuries that tend to produce great pain. That is why even the signs of such misfortunes are fearful, for the fearful thing itself appears to be near at hand, and danger is the approach of anything fearful. Such signs are the enmity and anger of those able to injure us in any way; for it is evident that they have the desire, so that they are not far from doing so. And injustice possessed of power is fearful, for the unjust man is unjust through his own choice. And outraged virtue when it has power, for it is evident that it always desires satisfaction, whenever it is outraged, and now it has the power. And fear felt by those able to injure us in some way, for such as these also must be ready to act. And since most men are rather bad than good and the slaves of gain and cowardly in time of danger, being at the mercy of another is fearful in most cases, so that one who has committed a crime has reason to fear his accomplices as likely to denounce or leave him in the lurch. And those who are able to ill-treat others are to be feared by those who can be so treated; for as a rule men do wrong whenever they can. Those who have been, or think they are being, wronged, are also to be feared, for they are ever on the look out for an opportunity. And those who have committed some wrong, when they have the power, since they are afraid of retaliation, which was assumed to be something to be feared. And those who are our rivals for the same things, whenever it is impossible to share them, for men are always contending with such persons. And those who are feared by those who are stronger than we are, for they would be better able to injure us, if they could injure those stronger than ourselves. [And those whom those who are stronger than ourselves are

11 ταὐτό.][3] καὶ οἱ τοὺς κρείττους αὐτῶν ἀνῃρηκότες. καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἥττοσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτιθέμενοι· ἢ γὰρ ἤδη φοβεροὶ ἢ αὐξηθέντες.

Καὶ τῶν ἠδικημένων καὶ ἐχθρῶν ἢ ἀντιπάλων οὐχ οἱ ὀξύθυμοι καὶ παρρησιαστικοί, ἀλλ' οἱ πρᾶοι καὶ εἴρωνες καὶ πανοῦργοι· ἄδηλοι γὰρ εἰ ἐγγύς, ὥστ'
12 οὐδέποτε φανεροὶ ὅτι πόρρω. πάντα δὲ τὰ φοβερὰ φοβερώτερα, ὅσα, ἂν ἁμάρτωσιν, ἐπανορθώσασθαι μὴ ἐνδέχεται, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅλως ἀδύνατα, ἢ μὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις. καὶ ὧν βοήθειαι μή εἰσιν ἢ μὴ ῥᾴδιαι. ὡς δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, φοβερά ἐστιν ὅσα ἐφ' ἑτέρων γιγνόμενα ἢ μέλλοντα ἐλεεινά ἐστιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν φοβερά, καὶ ἃ φοβοῦνται, σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ μέγιστα ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ὡς δὲ διακείμενοι αὐτοὶ φοβοῦνται, νῦν λέγωμεν.

13 Εἰ δή ἐστιν ὁ φόβος μετὰ προσδοκίας τοῦ πείσεσθαί τι φθαρτικὸν πάθος, φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδεὶς φοβεῖται τῶν οἰομένων μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἃ μὴ οἴονται παθεῖν, οὐδὲ τούτους ὑφ' ὧν μὴ οἴονται, οὐδὲ τότε ὅτε μὴ οἴονται. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς οἰομένους τι παθεῖν ἄν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ
14 ταῦτα καὶ τότε. οὐκ οἴονται δὲ παθεῖν ἂν οὔτε οἱ ἐν |
1383 a εὐτυχίαις μεγάλαις ὄντες καὶ δοκοῦντες, διὸ ὑβρισταὶ

[3] This doublet appears in all MSS and is also printed by Kassel, but I doubt that it implies a distinction between being frightening and being afraid, as Cope and Sandys suggest, following Victorius. It seems more likely that some scribe did not quite understand the first sentence.

afraid of, for the same reason]. And those who have overthrown those who are stronger than us and those who attack those who are weaker, for they are either already to be feared, or will be, when they have grown stronger.

And among those whom we have wronged, or are our enemies or rivals, we should fear not the hot-tempered or outspoken, but those who are mild, dissemblers, and thorough rascals; for it is uncertain whether they are on the point of acting, so that one never knows whether they are far from it. All things that are to be feared are more so when, after an error has been committed, it is impossible to repair it, either because it is absolutely impossible, or no longer in our power, but in that of our opponents; also when there is no possibility of help or it is not easy to obtain. In a word, all things are to be feared which, when they happen, or are on the point of happening, to others, excite compassion. These are, so to say, nearly all the most important things which are to be feared and which men fear. Let us now describe the frame of mind that leads men to fear.

If then fear is accompanied by the expectation that we are going to suffer some fatal misfortune, it is evident that none of those who think that they will suffer nothing at all is afraid either of those things that he does not think will happen to him, or of those from whom he does not expect them, or at a time when he does not think them likely to happen. It is therefore the case that those who think they are likely to suffer anything should be afraid, either of the persons at whose hands they expect it, or of certain things, and at certain times. Those who either are, or seem to be, highly prosperous do not think they are likely to suffer anything; wherefore they are insolent, contemptuous, and

καὶ ὀλίγωροι καὶ θρασεῖς (ποιεῖ δὲ τοιούτους πλοῦτος ἰσχὺς πολυφιλία δύναμις), οὔτε οἱ ἤδη πεπονθέναι πάντα νομίζοντες τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἀπεψυγμένοι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι ἤδη· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τινὰ ἐλπίδα ὑπεῖναι σωτηρίας, περὶ οὗ ἀγωνιῶσιν. σημεῖον δέ· ὁ γὰρ φόβος βουλευτικοὺς ποιεῖ, καίτοι
15 οὐδεὶς βουλεύεται περὶ τῶν ἀνελπίστων. ὥστε δεῖ τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν, ὅταν ᾖ βέλτιον τὸ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτούς, ὅτι τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἷοι παθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλοι μείζους ἔπαθον· καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους δεικνύναι πάσχοντας ἢ πεπονθότας, καὶ ὑπὸ τοιούτων ὑφ' ὧν οὐκ ᾤοντο, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τότε ὅτε οὐκ ᾤοντο.

16 Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ φόβου φανερὸν τί ἐστι, καὶ τῶν φοβερῶν, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες δεδίασι, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν τί ἐστι, καὶ περὶ ποῖα θαρραλέοι καὶ πῶς διακείμενοι θαρραλέοι εἰσίν· τό τε γὰρ θάρσος ἐναντίον τῷ φόβῳ καὶ τὸ θαρραλέον τῷ φοβερῷ· ὥστε μετὰ φαντασίας ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν σωτηρίων ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντων, τῶν δὲ φοβερῶν ἢ μὴ ὄντων ἢ πόρρω
17 ὄντων, ἔστι δὲ θαρραλέα τά τε δεινὰ πόρρω ὄντα καὶ τὰ †θαρραλέα ἐγγύς. καὶ ἐπανορθώσεις ἐὰν ὦσι καὶ βοήθειαι, ἢ πολλαὶ ἢ μεγάλαι ἢ ἄμφω, καὶ μήτε ἠδικημένοι μήτε ἠδικηκότες ὦσιν, ἀνταγωνισταί τε ἢ μὴ ὦσιν ὅλως, ἢ μὴ ἔχωσι δύναμιν, ἢ δύναμιν ἔχοντες ὦσι φίλοι ἢ πεποιηκότες εὖ ἢ πεπονθότες. ἢ ἐὰν

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[20] τὰ σωτήρια or some other word instead of τὰ θαρραλέα would be expected, to avoid the tautology.

rash, and what makes them such is wealth, strength, a number of friends, power. It is the same with those who think that they have already suffered all possible ills and are coldly indifferent to the future, like those who are already being crucified; for there must remain some hope of being saved, if they are to feel anguish. A sign of this is that fear makes men deliberate, whereas no one deliberates about things that are hopeless. So that whenever it is preferable that the audience should feel afraid, it is necessary to make them think they are likely to suffer, by reminding them that others greater than they have suffered, and showing that their equals are suffering or have suffered, and that at the hands of those from whom they did not expect it, in such a manner and at times when they did not think it likely.

Now, since we have made clear what fear and fearful things are, and the frame of mind in each case that makes men fear, one can see from this what confidence is, what are the things that produce it, and the frame of mind of those who possess it; for confidence is the contrary of fear and what gives confidence of what causes fear, so that confidence is the hope of what is salutary, accompanied by an impression that it is quite near at hand, while the things to be feared are either nonexistent or far off. Confidence is inspired by the remoteness of fearful things, or by the nearness of things that justify it.[29] If remedies are possible, if there are means of help, either great or numerous, or both; if we have neither committed nor suffered wrong; if we have no rivals at all, or only such as are powerless, or, if they have power, are our friends, or have either done us good or have received it from us; if those whose interests

πλείους ὦσιν οἷς ταὐτὰ συμφέρει, ἢ κρείττους, ἢ
18 ἄμφω. αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντες θαρραλέοι εἰσίν, ἐὰν πολλὰ κατωρθωκέναι οἴωνται καὶ μὴ πεπονθέναι, ἢ ἐὰν πολλάκις ἐληλυθότες εἰς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ διαπεφευγότες ὦσιν· διχῶς γὰρ ἀπαθεῖς γίγνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἢ τῷ μὴ πεπειρᾶσθαι ἢ τῷ βοηθείας ἔχειν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνοις οἵ τε ἄπειροι χειμῶνος θαρροῦσι τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ οἱ βοηθείας ἔχοντες
19 διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. καὶ ὅταν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ᾖ μὴ φοβερόν, μηδὲ τοῖς ἥττοσι καὶ ὧν κρείττους οἴονται εἶναι· οἴονται δέ, ὧν κεκρατήκασιν ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν
20 κρειττόνων ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων. καὶ ἐὰν ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς
1383 b οἴωνται πλείω καὶ μείζω, οἷς ὑπερέχοντες | φοβεροί εἰσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ πλῆθος χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ φίλων καὶ χώρας καὶ τῶν πρὸς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν, ἢ πασῶν ἢ τῶν μεγίστων. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἠδικηκότες ὦσιν ἢ μηδένα ἢ μὴ πολλοὺς ἢ μὴ τοιούτους
21 περὶ ὧν φοβοῦνται. ‹καὶ ὅταν ἀδικῶνται› καὶ ὅλως ἂν τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχῃ, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ σημείων καὶ λογίων· θαρραλέον γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖν ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖσθαι ὀργῆς ποιητικόν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ὑπολαμβάνεται βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις.
22 καὶ ὅταν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἢ μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν ἢ κατορθώσειν οἴωνται. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν φοβερῶν καὶ θαρραλέων εἴρηται.

6. Ποῖα δ' αἰσχύνονται καὶ ἀναισχυντοῦσιν, καὶ
2 πρὸς τίνας καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῶνδε δῆλον. ἔστω δὴ αἰσχύνη λύπη τις καὶ ταραχὴ περὶ τὰ εἰς ἀδοξίαν

are the same as ours are more numerous, or stronger, or both. We feel confidence in the following states of mind: if we believe that we have often succeeded and have not suffered, or if we have often been in danger and escaped it; for men are unaffected by fear in two ways, either because they have never been tested or have means of help; thus in dangers at sea, those who have never experienced a storm and those who have means of help as the result of experience have confidence about the future. We are also reassured when something does not inspire fear in our equals, our inferiors, or those to whom we think ourselves superior; and we think ourselves superior to those whom we have conquered, either themselves or their superiors or equals. And if we think we possess more or more considerable advantages, such as make their possessors formidable; such are abundance of money, men, friends, territory, military equipment, either all or the most important. And if we have never done wrong to anyone, or only to a few, or not to such as are to be feared; and if we are suffering wrong, and generally, if it is well with us in regard to the gods, especially as to intimations from signs and oracles, and everything else of the kind; for anger inspires confidence, and doing no wrong but suffering it causes anger, and the gods are supposed to assist those who are wronged. Lastly, we feel confidence when, at the beginning of any undertaking, we do not expect disaster, or think that we will succeed. Such are the things that inspire fear or confidence.

6. What are the things in regard to which men are ashamed or shameless, and before whom, and in what frame of mind, will be clear from the following considerations. Let shame then be defined as a kind of pain and

φαινόμενα φέρειν τῶν κακῶν, ἢ παρόντων ἢ γεγονότων ἢ μελλόντων, ἡ δ' ἀναισχυντία ὀλιγωρία τις
3 καὶ ἀπάθεια περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα. εἰ δή ἐστιν αἰσχύνη ἡ ὁρισθεῖσα, ἀνάγκη αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν κακῶν ὅσα αἰσχρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ αὐτῷ ἢ ὧν φροντίζει· τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα ἀπὸ κακίας ἔργα ἐστίν, οἷον τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν ἀσπίδα ἢ φυγεῖν· ἀπὸ δειλίας γάρ.
4 καὶ τὸ ἀποστερῆσαι παρακαταθήκην· ἀπ' ἀδικίας γάρ. καὶ τὸ συγγενέσθαι οἷς οὐ δεῖ ἢ ὅπου οὐ δεῖ ἢ
5 ὅτε μὴ δεῖ· ἀπ' ἀκολασίας γάρ. καὶ τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἢ ἀπ' αἰσχρῶν ἢ ἀπ' ἀδυνάτων, οἷον πενήτων ἢ τεθνεώτων· ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία, τὸ κἂν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ φέρειν· ἀπὸ αἰσχροκερδείας γὰρ καὶ ἀνελευθερίας.
6 καὶ τὸ μὴ βοηθεῖν δυνάμενον εἰς χρήματα, ἢ ἧττον βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ βοηθεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἧττον εὐπόρων.
7 καὶ δανείζεσθαι ὅτε δόξει αἰτεῖν, καὶ αἰτεῖν ὅτε ἀπαιτεῖν, καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν ὅτε αἰτεῖν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἵνα δόξῃ αἰτεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἀποτετυχηκότα μηδὲν ἧττον· πάντα γὰρ
8 ἀνελευθερίας ταῦτα σημεῖα. τὸ δ' ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας κολακείας, καὶ τὸ τἀγαθὰ μὲν ὑπερεπαινεῖν τὰ δὲ φαῦλα συναλείφειν, καὶ τὸ ὑπεραλγεῖν ἀλγοῦντι παρόντα, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὅσα τοιαῦτα· κολακείας γὰρ σημεῖα.

9 Καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπομένειν πόνους οὓς οἱ | πρεσβύτεροι
1384 a ἢ οἱ τρυφῶντες ἢ οἱ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἢ ὅλως
10 οἱ ἀδυνατώτεροι· πάντα γὰρ μαλακίας σημεῖα. καὶ τὸ ὑφ' ἑτέρου εὖ πάσχειν, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις, καὶ ὃ εὖ ἐποίησεν ὀνειδίζειν· μικροψυχίας γὰρ πάντα καὶ τα-

trouble in respect of deeds, past, present, or future, which seem to tend to bring ill repute; and shamelessness as contempt and indifference in regard to these same things. If this definition of shame is correct, it follows that we are ashamed of all such misdeeds as seem to be disgraceful, either for ourselves or for those whom we care for. Such are all those that are due to vice, such as throwing away one's shield or taking to flight, for this is due to cowardice; or withholding a deposit, for this is due to injustice. And illicit sexual relations with any persons, or at forbidden places or times, for this is due to licentiousness. And making profit out of what is petty or disgraceful, or out of the weak, such as the indigent or dead; whence the proverb, "to rob even a corpse," for this is due to base love of gain and stinginess. And to refuse assistance in money matters when we are able to render it, or to give less than we can; to accept assistance from those less able to afford it than ourselves; to borrow when someone seems likely to ask for a loan, to ask for a loan from one who wants his money back, and asking for repayment from one who wants to borrow; to praise so as to seem to be begging for money, and when you have failed to obtain it to keep on none the less; for all these are signs of stinginess. To praise people when they are present is flattery, and to overpraise their good qualities and to palliate the bad, to show excessive grief at another's grief when present, and all similar actions are shameful; for they are signs of flattery.

And not to submit to toils, which those endure who are older or live luxuriously or hold higher positions, or, generally speaking, are less fitted to do so; for all these are signs of effeminacy. To accept favors from another, and often, and then to throw them in his teeth; for all these things

11 πεινότητος σημεῖα. καὶ τὸ περὶ αὑτοῦ πάντα λέγειν καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τἀλλότρια αὑτοῦ φάσκειν· ἀλαζονείας γάρ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστης τῶν τοῦ ἤθους κακιῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα
12 καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· αἰσχρὰ γὰρ καὶ αἰσχυντικά. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ τῶν καλῶν ὧν πάντες μετέχουσιν ἢ οἱ ὅμοιοι πάντες ἢ οἱ πλεῖστοι, μὴ μετέχειν. ὁμοίους δὲ λέγω ὁμοεθνεῖς, πολίτας, ἥλικας, συγγενεῖς, ὅλως τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἤδη τὸ μὴ μετέχειν, οἷον παιδεύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον, ἂν δι' ἑαυτὸν φαίνηται· οὕτω γὰρ ἤδη ἀπὸ κακίας μᾶλλον, ἂν αὐτὸς ᾖ αἴτιος τῶν
13 ὑπαρξάντων ἢ ὑπαρχόντων ἢ μελλόντων. πάσχοντες δὲ ἢ πεπονθότες ἢ πεισόμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰσχύνονται ὅσα εἰς ἀτιμίαν φέρει καὶ ὀνείδη, ὧν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑβρίζεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς ἀκολασίαν καὶ ἑκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα (τὰ δ' εἰς βίαν ἄκοντα)· ἀπὸ ἀνανδρίας γὰρ ἢ δειλίας ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνονται, ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα·
14 ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ ἀδοξίας φαντασία ἐστὶν ἡ αἰσχύνη, καὶ ταύτης αὐτῆς χάριν ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, οὐδεὶς δὲ τῆς δόξης φροντίζει ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τοὺς δοξάζον-
15 τας, ἀνάγκη τούτους αἰσχύνεσθαι ὧν λόγον ἔχει. λόγον δ' ἔχει τῶν θαυμαζόντων, καὶ οὓς θαυμάζει, καὶ

are signs of meanness and abasement of soul. And to speak at great length about oneself and to make all kinds of claims, and to take the credit for what another has done; for this is a sign of boastfulness. Similarly, in regard to each of all the other vices of character, the acts resulting from them, their signs, and the things that resemble them, all these are disgraceful, and should make us ashamed. It is also shameful not to have a share in the honorable things that all men, or all who are like us, or the majority of them, have a share in. By those who are like us I mean those of the same race, of the same city, of the same age, of the same family, and, generally speaking, those who are on an equal level; for then it is disgraceful not to have a share, for instance, in education and other things, to the same extent. All these things are the more disgraceful, if the fault appears to be our own; for then they are seen to be due rather to depravity if we ourselves are the cause of past, present, or future defects. And we are ashamed when we suffer or have suffered or are likely to suffer things that tend to ignominy and reproach, such as submitting to outrageous treatment. So also of actions that promote licentiousness, whether voluntary or involuntary (involuntary being those that tend to involve compulsion), since meek endurance and the absence of resistance are the result of unmanliness or cowardice.

These and similar things are those of which men are ashamed. And since shame is an impression of ill repute, and that for its own sake and not for its results; and since no one heeds the opinion of others except on account of those who hold it, it follows that men feel shame before those whom they esteem. Now men esteem those who admire them and those whom they admire, those by whom

ὑφ' ὧν βούλεται θαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς οὓς φιλοτι-
16 μεῖται, καὶ ὧν μὴ καταφρονεῖ τῆς δόξης. θαυμάζε-
σθαι μὲν οὖν βούλονται ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ θαυμάζουσι
τούτους ὅσοι τι ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν τῶν τιμίων, ἢ παρ'
ὧν τυγχάνουσι δεόμενοι σφόδρα τινὸς ὧν ἐκεῖνοι
17 κύριοι, οἷον οἱ ἐρῶντες· φιλοτιμοῦνται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
ὁμοίους, φροντίζουσι δ' ὡς ἀληθευόντων τῶν φρονί-
μων· τοιοῦτοι δ' οἵ τε πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ πεπαιδευμέ-
18 νοι. καὶ τὰ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν φανερῷ μᾶλλον·
ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία, τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶναι αἰδῶ. διὰ
τοῦτο τοὺς ἀεὶ παρεσομένους μᾶλλον αἰσχύνονται καὶ
1384 b τοὺς προσέχοντας | αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀμ-
φότερα.

19 Καὶ τοὺς μὴ περὶ ταὐτὰ ἐνόχους· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι
τἀναντία δοκεῖ τούτοις. καὶ τοὺς μὴ συγγνωμονικοὺς
τοῖς φαινομένοις ἁμαρτάνειν· ἃ γάρ τις αὐτὸς ποιεῖ,
ταῦτα λέγεται τοῖς πέλας οὐ νεμεσᾶν, ὥστε ἃ μὴ
20 ποιεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι νεμεσᾷ. καὶ τοὺς ἐξαγγελτικοὺς πολ-
λοῖς· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει μὴ δοκεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐξαγγέλλειν.
ἐξαγγελτικοὶ δὲ οἵ τε ἠδικημένοι διὰ τὸ παρατηρεῖν
καὶ οἱ κακολόγοι· εἴπερ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτάνον-
τας, ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας. καὶ οἷς ἡ δια-
τριβὴ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πέλας ἁμαρτίαις, οἷον χλευασταῖς
καὶ κωμῳδοποιοῖς· κακολόγοι γάρ πως οὗτοι καὶ ἐξ-
αγγελτικοί. καὶ ἐν οἷς μηδὲν ἀποτετυχήκασιν· ὥσπερ

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[30] Eur. *Cresphontes*, *TrGF* fr. 457.

they wish to be admired, those whose rivals they are, and whose opinion they do not despise. They desire to be admired by those, and admire those who possess anything good that is greatly esteemed, or from whom they urgently require something that it is in their power to give, as is the case with lovers. And they are rivals of those who are like them; and they listen to the men of practical wisdom as likely to be truthful; such are the older and well educated. They are also more ashamed of things that are done before the eyes of others and in broad daylight; whence the proverb, modesty is born in the eyes.[30] That is why they feel more ashamed before those who are likely to be always with them or who pay attention to them, because in both cases they are under the eyes of others.

Men are also ashamed before those who are not open to the same accusations, for it is evident that their opinions are contrary. And before those who are not indulgent toward those who appear to err; for a man is supposed not to reproach others with what he does himself, so it is clear that he reproaches them with what he does not do himself. And before those who are likely to tell many others, for not to talk about the fault of another amounts to not regarding it as a fault at all. Now those who are inclined to tell others are those who have been wronged by someone, because they always have their eyes upon them; and slanderers, because, if they traduce the innocent, still more will they traduce the guilty. And before those who spend their time in looking for their neighbors' faults, for instance, mockers and comic poets; for they are also in a manner slanderers and gossips. And before those who have never seen them fail, for those are disposed to have great esteem for them. For this reason they also feel

γὰρ θαυμαζόμενοι διάκειντα· διὸ καὶ τοὺς πρῶτον δεηθέντας τι αἰσχύνονται ὡς οὐδέν πω ἠδοξηκότες ἐν αὐτοῖς. τοιοῦτοι δ' οἵ τε ἄρτι βουλόμενοι φίλοι εἶναι (τὰ γὰρ βέλτιστα τεθέανται, διὸ εὖ ἔχει ἡ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους) καὶ τῶν
21 πάλαι γνωρίμων οἱ μηδὲν συνειδότες. αἰσχύνονται δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ τὰ ῥηθέντα αἰσχυντηλὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα, οἷον οὐ μόνον ἀφροδισιάζοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὐ μόνον ποιοῦντες τὰ αἰσχρά,
22 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγοντες. ὁμοίως δὲ οὐ τοὺς εἰρημένους μόνον αἰσχύνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δηλώσοντας αὐτοῖς,
23 οἷον θεράποντας καὶ φίλους τούτων. ὅλως δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται οὔθ' ὧν πολὺ καταφρονοῦσι τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἀληθεύειν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ παιδία καὶ θηρία αἰσχύνεται) οὔτε ταὐτὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς ἀγνῶτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμους τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δοκοῦντα τοὺς δὲ ἄπωθεν τὰ πρὸς τὸν νόμον.

24 Αὐτοὶ δὲ ὧδε διακείμενοι αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἄν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ὑπάρχοιεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες οὕτω τινὲς οἵους ἔφαμεν εἶναι οὓς αἰσχύνονται. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι ἢ θαυμαζόμενοι ἢ θαυμάζοντες ἢ ὑφ' ὧν βούλονται θαυμάζεσθαι, ἢ ὧν δέονται ‹κατά› τινα χρείαν ὧν μὴ τεύξονται ἄδοξοι ὄντες, καὶ οὗτοι ἢ ὁρῶντες (ὥσπερ Κυδίας περὶ τῆς Σάμου κληρουχίας ἐδημηγόρησεν·

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31 The scholiast says: "Euripides, having been sent as ambassador to the Syracusans to ask for peace and friendship, when they refused said, 'Syracusans, if for no other reason than that we are

ashamed before those from whom they ask for something for the first time, as never yet having lost their good opinion. Such are those who have recently sought their friendship (for they have only seen what is best in them, which is the point of the answer of Euripides to the Syracusans),[31] or old acquaintances who know nothing against them. And men are ashamed not only of the disgraceful things we have spoken of but also of indications of them, for instance not only of making love but also of the indications of them; and not only of doing but also of saying disgraceful things. Similarly, men are ashamed not only before those who have been mentioned but also before those who will reveal their faults to them, such as their slaves or friends. In a word, they are not ashamed either before those whose opinion in regard to the truth they greatly despise—for instance, no one feels shame before children or animals—or of the same things before those who are known to them and those who are not; before the former, they are ashamed of things that appear really disgraceful, before strangers, of those which are condemned by convention.

Men are likely to feel shame in the following situations; first, if there are any who are so related to them as those before whom we said that they feel shame. These, as we pointed out, are those who are admired by them or who admire them, or by whom they wish to be admired, or from whom they need some service, which they will not obtain if they lose their reputation. And such persons either see what is going on (just as Cydias, when haranguing

just feeling the need of your friendship, you ought to respect our admiration.'" Nothing is known of this embassy. Hyperides has been suggested instead of Euripides.

ἠξίου γὰρ ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστάναι κύκλῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς ὁρῶντας καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκουσομένους ἃ ἂν ψηφίσωνται), ἢ ἂν πλησίον ὦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἢ μέλλωσιν αἰσθήσεσθαι. διὸ καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι ἀτυχοῦντες ὑπὸ τῶν ζηλούντων ποτὲ οὐ βούλον-
1385 a ται· θαυμασταὶ | γὰρ οἱ ζηλωταί. καὶ ὅταν ἔχωσιν ἃ
25 καταισχυνοῦσιν ἔργα καὶ πράγματα ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ προγόνων ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν πρὸς οὓς ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς ἀγχιστεία τις. καὶ ὅλως ὑπὲρ ὧν αἰσχύνονται αὐτοί· εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι οἱ εἰρημένοι καὶ οἱ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀναφερόμενοι, οἷον ὧν διδάσκαλοι ἢ σύμβουλοι γεγόνασι, ἢ ἐὰν
26 ὦσιν ἕτεροι ὅμοιοι, πρὸς οὓς φιλοτιμοῦνται· πολλὰ γὰρ αἰσχυνόμενοι διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ ποιοῦσι καὶ
27 οὐ ποιοῦσιν. καὶ μέλλοντες ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν φανερῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι τοῖς συνειδόσιν αἰσχυντηλοὶ μᾶλλον εἰσίν. ὅθεν καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ ποιητὴς μέλλων ἀποτυπανίζεσθαι ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἶπεν, ἰδὼν τοὺς συναποθνήσκειν μέλλοντας ἐγκαλυπτομένους ὡς ᾔεσαν διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, "τί ἐγκαλύπτεσθε" ἔφη· "ἢ μὴ αὔριόν τις ὑμᾶς ἴδῃ τούτων;" περὶ μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνης ταῦτα· περὶ δὲ ἀναισχυντίας δῆλον ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐπορήσομεν.

7. Τίσι δὲ χάριν ἔχουσι καὶ ἐπὶ τίσιν ἢ πῶς αὐτοὶ
2 ἔχοντες, ὁρισαμένοις τὴν χάριν δῆλον ἔσται. ἔστω δὴ

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32 When on an embassy to Syracuse he was asked by the tyrant Dionysius which was the best kind of brass. On his replying, "that from which the Athenians made their statues of [the tyrant-

the people about the allotment of the territory of Samos, asked the Athenians to suppose that the Greeks were standing around them and would not only hear but also see what they were going to decree); or they are near, or will be aware of what happens. That is why men, when unfortunate, do not like to be seen by those who were once their rivals, for rivalry presumes admiration. Men also feel shame when there are actions or things on which they will bring disgrace, either their own or their ancestors' or of any others with whom they are closely connected, and generally those for whom they themselves would feel ashamed; such are those mentioned and those who are related to them, for instance, those whose teachers or advisers they have been. Also, when they are in rivalry with others who are like them; for there are many things which they either do or do not do owing to shame with respect to such persons. And they are more likely to be ashamed when they are going to be seen and openly approach those who are aware of their disgrace. For this reason the tragic poet Antiphon,[32] when he was about to be flogged to death by order of Dionysius, seeing that those who were to die with him covered their faces as they passed through the gates, said, "Why cover your faces? Is it because you are afraid that one of the crowd should see you tomorrow?" Let this account of shame suffice; as for shamelessness, it is evident that we shall be able to obtain ample knowledge of it from the contrary arguments.

7. Those to whom men feel grateful, and for what reasons, and in what frame of mind, will be clear when we

slayers] Harmodius and Aristogiton," Dionysius ordered him to be put to death.

χάρις, καθ' ἣν ὁ ἔχων λέγεται χάριν ἔχειν, ὑπουργία δεομένῳ μὴ ἀντί τινος, μηδ' ἵνα τι αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπουργοῦντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα τι ἐκείνῳ· μεγάλη δ' ἂν ᾖ σφόδρα δεομένῳ, ἢ μεγάλων καὶ χαλεπῶν, ἢ ἐν καιροῖς τοι-
3 ούτοις, ἢ μόνος, ἢ πρῶτος, ἢ μάλιστα. δεήσεις δ' εἰσὶν αἱ ὀρέξεις, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα αἱ μετὰ λύπης τοῦ μὴ γιγνομένου· τοιαῦται δὲ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι, οἷον ἔρως. καὶ αἱ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κακώσεσι καὶ ἐν κινδύνοις· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κινδυνεύων ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ ὁ λυπούμενος. διὸ οἱ ἐν πενίᾳ παριστάμενοι καὶ φυγαῖς, κἂν μικρὰ ὑπηρετήσωσιν, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δεήσεως καὶ τὸν καιρὸν κεχαρισμένοι, οἷον ὁ ἐν Λυκείῳ τὸν φορ-
4 μὸν δούς. ἀνάγκη οὖν μάλιστα μὲν εἰς ταὐτὰ ἔχειν τὴν ὑπουργίαν, εἰ δὲ μή, εἰς ἴσα ἢ μείζω.

Ὥστ' ἐπεὶ φανερὸν καὶ οἷς καὶ ἐφ' οἷς γίγνεται χάρις καὶ πῶς ἔχουσι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τούτων παρασκευαστέον, τοὺς μὲν δεικνύντας ἢ ὄντας ἢ γεγενημένους ἐν τοιαύτῃ δεήσει καὶ λύπῃ, τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετηκότας ἐν τοιαύτῃ χρείᾳ τοιοῦτόν τι ἢ ὑπηρετοῦντας.
5 φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ὅθεν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἐνδέχεται τὴν χάριν
1385 b καὶ ποιεῖν ἀχαρίστους· | ἢ γὰρ ὅτι αὐτῶν ἕνεκα ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἢ ὑπηρέτησαν (τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν χάρις), ἢ ὅτι ἀπὸ τύχης συνέπεσεν ἢ συνηναγκάσθησαν, ἢ ὅτι ἀπέδωκαν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδωκαν, εἴτ' εἰδότες εἴτε μή· ἀμ-

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33 Probably given to a beggar or vagrant who had nothing to sleep on.

have defined what favor is. Let favor, then, with regard to which the person who receives it is said to be grateful, be a service to one who needs it, not in return for something nor in the interest of him who renders it, but in that of the recipient. And the favor will be great if the recipient is in pressing need, or if the service or the times and circumstances are important or difficult, or if the benefactor is the only one, or the first who has rendered it, or has done so in the highest degree. By needs I mean desires, especially for things the failure to obtain which is accompanied by pain; such are the appetitive desires, for instance, erotic ones; also those arising in bodily sufferings and dangers, for when a man is in pain or danger he also desires something. That is why those who help a man who is poor or an exile, even if the service be ever so small, are regarded as doing him a favor owing to the urgency and occasion of the need; for instance, the man who gave the mat[33] to another in the Lyceum. It is necessary then, if possible, that the service should be in the same direction; if not, that it should apply to cases of similar or greater need.

Since then it is evident to whom, for what reasons, and in what frame of mind a feeling of gratitude arises, it is clear that we must derive our arguments from this—to show that the one side either has been, or still is, in such pain or need, and that the other has rendered, or is rendering, such a service in such a time of need. It is evident also by what means it is possible to make out that there is no favor at all, and to make men ungrateful; for it can either be said that those who render the service do, or have done so, for their own sake, in which case there is no favor; or that it was mere chance; or that they acted under compulsion; or that they were making a return, not a gift, whether

φοτέρως γὰρ τὶ ἀντί τινος, ὥστ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν εἴη
6 χάρις. καὶ περὶ ἁπάσας τὰς κατηγορίας σκεπτέον· ἡ γὰρ χάρις ἐστὶν ἢ ὅτι τοδὶ ἢ τοσονδὶ ἢ τοιονδὶ ἢ ποτὲ ἢ ποῦ. σημεῖον δέ, εἰ ἔλαττον μὴ ὑπηρέτησαν, καὶ εἰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἢ ταὐτὰ ἢ ἴσα ἢ μείζω· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἡμῶν ἕνεκα. ἢ εἰ φαῦλα εἰδώς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁμολογεῖ δεῖσθαι φαύλων.

8. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀχαριστεῖν εἴρηται· ποῖα δ' ἐλεεινὰ καὶ τίνας ἐλεοῦσι, καὶ πῶς
2 αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες, λέγωμεν. ἔστω δὴ ἔλεος λύπη τις ἐπὶ φαινομένῳ κακῷ φθαρτικῷ ἢ λυπηρῷ τοῦ ἀναξίου τυγχάνειν, ὃ κἂν αὐτὸς προσδοκήσειεν ἂν παθεῖν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅταν πλησίον φαίνηται· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἀνάγκη τὸν μέλλοντα ἐλεήσειν ὑπάρχειν τοιοῦτον οἷον οἴεσθαι παθεῖν ἄν τι κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα, καὶ τοιοῦτο κακὸν οἷον εἴρηται ἐν
3 τῷ ὅρῳ ἢ ὅμοιον ἢ παραπλήσιον. διὸ οὔτε οἱ παντελῶς ἀπολωλότες ἐλεοῦσιν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔτι παθεῖν οἴονται· πεπόνθασι γάρ) οὔτε οἱ ὑπερευδαιμονεῖν οἰόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑβρίζουσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντα οἴονται ὑπάρχειν τἀγαθά, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι παθεῖν
4 μηδὲν κακόν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ἀγαθῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι οἷοι νομίζειν παθεῖν ἂν οἵ τε πεπονθότες ἤδη καὶ διαπεφευγότες, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διὰ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ οἱ δει-

they knew it or not; for in both cases it is just an exchange, so that in this case also there is no favor. And the action must be considered in reference to all the categories; for if there is a favor it is so because it is a particular thing, or a particular quantity, quality, time, or place. And it is a sign that there was no favor, if persons have refrained from rendering a smaller service, or if they have rendered similar, equal, or greater services to our enemies; for it is evident that they do not act for our sake in this case either. Or if the service was trivial, and rendered by one who knew it; for no one admits that he has need of what is trivial.

8. Let this suffice for being grateful and ungrateful. We will now describe what things and persons excite pity, and the state of mind of those who feel it. Let pity then be a kind of pain about an apparent evil, deadly or painful, that befalls one who does not deserve it; an evil that one might expect also to come upon himself or one of his friends, and when it seems near. For it is evident that one who is likely to feel pity must be such as to think that he, or one of his friends, is liable to suffer some evil, and such an evil as has been stated in the definition, or one similar, or nearly similar. For that reason neither those who are utterly ruined are capable of pity, for they think they have nothing more to suffer since they have exhausted suffering, nor those who think themselves supremely fortunate, who rather are insolent. For if they think that all good things are theirs, it is clear that they think that they cannot possibly suffer evil, for this is one of the good things. Now those persons who think they are likely to suffer are those who have already suffered and escaped; the advanced in age, by reason of their wisdom and experience; and the

5 λότεροι μᾶλλον, καὶ οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι· εὐλόγιστοι γάρ. καὶ οἷς ὑπάρχουσι γονεῖς ἢ τέκνα ἢ γυναῖκες·
6 αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ ταῦτα, καὶ οἷα παθεῖν τὰ εἰρημένα. καὶ οἱ μήτε ἐν ἀνδρείας πάθει ὄντες, οἷον ἐν ὀργῇ ἢ θάρρει (ἀλόγιστα γὰρ τοῦ ἐσομένου ταῦτα) μήτ' ἐν ὑβριστικῇ διαθέσει (καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ἀλόγιστοι τοῦ πείσεσθαί τι), ἀλλ' οἱ μεταξὺ τούτων. μήτ' αὖ φοβούμενοι σφόδρα· οὐ γὰρ ἐλεοῦσιν οἱ ἐκπεπληγμένοι διὰ τὸ
7 εἶναι πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει. κἂν οἴωνταί τινας εἶναι τῶν ἐπιεικῶν· ὁ γὰρ μηδένα οἰόμενος πάντας οἰήσεται
1386 a | ἀξίους εἶναι κακοῦ. καὶ ὅλως δὴ ὅταν ἔχῃ οὕτως ὥστ' ἀναμνησθῆναι τοιαῦτα συμβεβηκότα ἢ αὐτῷ ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἐλπίσαι γενέσθαι ἢ αὐτῷ ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ.
8 Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες ἐλεοῦσιν, εἴρηται, ἃ δ' ἐλεοῦσιν, ἐκ τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ δῆλον· ὅσα τε γὰρ τῶν λυπηρῶν καὶ ὀδυνηρῶν, πάντα ἐλεεινά, καὶ ὅσα ἀναιρετικά, καὶ
9 ὅσων ἡ τύχη αἰτία κακῶν μέγεθος ἐχόντων. ἔστι δ' ὀδυνηρὰ μὲν καὶ φθαρτικὰ θάνατοι καὶ αἰκεῖαι καὶ σωμάτων κακώσεις καὶ γῆρας καὶ νόσοι καὶ τροφῆς
10 ἔνδεια, ὧν δ' ἡ τύχη αἰτία κακῶν, ἀφιλία, ὀλιγοφιλία (διὸ καὶ τὸ διεσπάσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἐλεεινόν), αἶσχος, ἀσθένεια, ἀναπηρία. καὶ τὸ ὅθεν
11 προσῆκεν ἀγαθόν τι ὑπάρξαι, κακόν τι συμβῆναι. καὶ

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[34] Kassel transfers the clause "but it is those . . . feel pity" to the end of the next sentence, presumably because anger and insolence can hardly be seen as opposite extremes, but this does not really improve the text, since then people would have to be "be-

weak, and those who are rather more timid; and the educated, for they reckon rightly; and those who have parents, children, or wives, for these are part of them and likely to suffer the evils of which we have spoken; and those who are not influenced by any courageous emotion, such as anger or confidence, for these emotions do not take thought of the future; and those who are not in a wantonly insolent frame of mind, for they also take no thought of future suffering; but it is those who are between the extremes that feel pity.[34] Also those who are not in great fear; for those who are panic-stricken are incapable of pity, because they are preoccupied with their own emotion. And men feel pity if they think that there are some good persons; for he who considers no one good will think that all deserve misfortune. And generally speaking, a man is moved to pity when he is so affected that he remembers that such evils have happened, or expects that they may happen, either to himself or to one of his friends.

We have stated the frame of mind that leads men to pity; and the things that arouse this feeling are clearly shown by the definition. They are all painful and distressing things, and all that are deadly; and all evils of which fortune is the cause, if they are great. Things distressing and destructive are various kinds of death, personal ill-treatment and bodily injuries, old age, disease, and lack of food. The evils for which fortune is responsible are lack of friends, or few friends (wherefore it is pitiable to be torn away from friends and intimates), ugliness, weakness, mutilation; if some misfortune comes to pass from a quarter

tween" three extremes. Perhaps the reference to insolence was an afterthought inserted by Aristotle himself.

τὸ πολλάκις τοιοῦτον. καὶ τὸ πεπονθότος γενέσθαι τι ἀγαθόν, οἷον Διοπείθει τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως τεθνεῶτι κατεπέμφθη. καὶ τὸ ἢ μηδὲν γεγενῆσθαι ἀγαθόν, ἢ γενομένων μὴ εἶναι ἀπόλαυσιν.

Ἐφ' οἷς μὲν οὖν ἐλεοῦσι, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά
12 ἐστιν· ἐλεοῦσι δὲ τούς τε γνωρίμους, ἐὰν μὴ σφόδρα ἐγγὺς ὦσιν οἰκειότητι· περὶ δὲ τούτους ὥσπερ περὶ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας ἔχουσιν. διὸ καὶ Ἄμασις ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ υἱεῖ ἀγομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐδάκρυσεν, ὡς φασίν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ φίλῳ προσαιτοῦντι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐλεεινόν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δεινόν· τὸ γὰρ δεινὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐλεεινοῦ καὶ ἐκκρουστικὸν τοῦ ἐλέου καὶ πολλάκις τῷ
13 ἐναντίῳ χρήσιμον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐλεοῦσιν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ ὄντος. καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐλεοῦσι κατὰ ἡλικίας, κατὰ ἤθη, κατὰ ἕξεις, κατὰ ἀξιώματα, κατὰ γένη· ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις μᾶλλον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτῷ ἂν ὑπάρξαι· ὅλως γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ λαβεῖν ὅτι, ὅσα ἐφ' αὐτῶν φοβοῦνται, ταῦτα ἐπ' ἄλλων γιγνό-
14 μενα ἐλεοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς φαινόμενα τὰ πάθη ἐλεεινά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γενόμενα ἢ ἐσόμενα οὔτ' ἐλπίζοντες οὔτε μεμνημένοι ἢ ὅλως οὐκ ἐλεοῦσιν ἢ οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀνάγκη τοὺς συναπεργαζομένους σχήμασι καὶ φωναῖς καὶ ἐσθῆτι[4] καὶ ὅλως ἐν ὑποκρί-

[4] Kassel reads *αἰσθήσει* (by perception ?) with MS A here, instead of *ἐσθῆτι* (by dress) with MS F and most other editors. I have kept the reading of MS F, since Aristotle is explaining why the audience may feel pity at events that are long past when they appear in a tragedy.

whence one might have reasonably expected something good; and if this happens often; and if good fortune does not come until a man has already suffered, as when the presents from the Great King were not dispatched to Diopeithes until he was dead. Those also are to be pitied to whom no good has ever accrued, or who are unable to enjoy it when it has.

These and the like, then, excite pity. The persons men pity are those whom they know, provided they are not too closely connected with them; for if they are, they feel the same as if they themselves were likely to suffer. This is why Amasis[35] is said not to have wept when his son was led to execution but did weep at the sight of a friend reduced to beggary, for the latter excited pity, the former terror. The terrible is different from the pitiable, for it drives out pity, and often serves to produce the opposite feeling. For men cease to pity when the terrible comes close to themselves. Men also pity those who resemble them in age, character, habits, position, or family; for all such relations make a man more likely to think that their misfortune may befall him as well. For in general, here also we may conclude that all that men fear in regard to themselves excites their pity when others are the victims. And since sufferings are pitiable when they appear close at hand, while those that are past or future, ten thousand years backward or forward, either do not excite pity at all or only in a less degree, because men neither expect the one nor remember the other, it follows that those who contribute to the effect by gestures, voice, dress, and dramatic action generally, are

[35] Hdt. 3.14, where the story is told not of Amasis but of his son Psammenitus.

σει ἐλεεινοτέρους εἶναι· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ποιοῦσι φαίνεσθαι τὸ κακὸν πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιοῦντες, ἢ ὡς μέλλον ἢ ὡς
15 γεγονός. καὶ | τὰ γεγονότα ἄρτι ἢ μέλλοντα διὰ τα-
1386 b
16 χέων ἐλεεινότερα· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα, οἷον ἐσθῆτάς τε τῶν πεπονθότων καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, καὶ λόγους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῶν ἐν τῷ πάθει ὄντων, οἷον ἤδη τελευτώντων. ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς φαίνεσθαι μᾶλλον ποιεῖ τὸν ἔλεον. καὶ μάλιστα τὸ σπουδαίους εἶναι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς ὄντας ἐλεεινόν, καὶ ὡς ἀναξίου ὄντος, καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένου τοῦ πάθους.

9. Ἀντίκειται δὲ τῷ ἐλεεῖν μάλιστα μὲν ὃ καλοῦσι νεμεσᾶν· τῷ γὰρ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀναξίαις κακοπραγίαις ἀντικείμενόν ἐστι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤθους τὸ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀναξίαις εὐπρα-
2 γίαις. καὶ ἄμφω τὰ πάθη ἤθους χρηστοῦ· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀναξίως πράττουσι κακῶς συνάχθεσθαι καὶ ἐλεεῖν, τοῖς δὲ εὖ νεμεσᾶν· ἄδικον γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν γιγνόμενον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδίδομεν τὸ
3 νεμεσᾶν. δόξειε δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ φθόνος τῷ ἐλεεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντικεῖσθαι τρόπον ὡς σύνεγγυς ὢν καὶ ταὐτὸν τῷ νεμεσᾶν, ἔστι δ' ἕτερον· λύπη μὲν γὰρ ταραχώδης καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς εὐπραγίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ ἀναξίου ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ὁμοίου. τὸ δὲ μὴ ὅτι αὐτῷ τι συμβήσεται ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν τὸν πλησίον, ἅπασιν ὁμοίως δεῖ ὑπάρχειν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἔσται τὸ μὲν

more pitiable; for they make the evil appear close at hand, setting it before our eyes as either future or past. And disasters that have just happened or are soon about to happen excite more pity. Pity is also aroused by signs, such as the garments of those who have suffered, and all such objects, and the words and everything else that come from those who are actually suffering, for instance, those who are at the point of death; for all these things, because they come immediately under our observation, increase the feeling of pity. And it is especially pitiable when noble men are in such dire situations, both because the sufferer does not seem to deserve his fate and because the suffering is before our eyes.

9. Most clearly opposed to pity is what is called indignation;[36] for being pained at undeserved good fortune is in a way contrary to being pained at undeserved bad fortune and arises from the same character. And both emotions show good character, for if we sympathize with and pity those who suffer undeservedly, we ought to be indignant with those who prosper undeservedly; for what happens beyond a man's deserts is unjust, wherefore we attribute this feeling even to gods. It would seem that envy also is opposed to pity in the same way, as being akin to or identical with indignation, although it is really different; envy also is indeed a disturbing pain and directed against good fortune, but not that of one who does not deserve it, but of one who is our equal and like. Now all who feel envy and indignation must have this in common, that they are disturbed, not because they think that any harm will happen to themselves but on account of their neighbor; for it

[36] *νεμεσᾶν*: "the nobler brother of envy" (Nietzsche).

νέμεσις τὸ δὲ φθόνος, ἀλλὰ φόβος, ἐὰν διὰ τοῦτο ἡ λύπη ὑπάρχῃ καὶ ἡ ταραχή, ὅτι αὐτῷ τι ἔσται φαῦλον
4 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου εὐπραξίας. φανερὸν δ' ὅτι ἀκολουθήσει καὶ τὰ ἐναντία πάθη τούτοις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναξίως κακοπραγοῦσιν ἡσθήσεται ἢ ἄλυπος ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίως κακοπραγοῦσιν· οἷον τοὺς πατραλοίας καὶ μιαιφόνους, ὅταν τύχωσι τιμωρίας, οὐδεὶς ἂν λυπηθείη χρηστός· δεῖ γὰρ χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι κατ' ἀξίαν· ἄμφω γὰρ δίκαια, καὶ ποιεῖ χαίρειν τὸν ἐπιεικῆ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐλπίζειν ὑπάρξαι ἄν, ἅπερ
5 τῷ ὁμοίῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ. καὶ ἔστι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤθους ἅπαντα ταῦτα, τὰ δ' ἐναντία τοῦ ἐναντίου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν
1387 a ἐπιχαιρέκακος | καὶ φθονερός· ἐφ' ᾧ γάρ τις λυπεῖται γιγνομένῳ καὶ ὑπάρχοντι, ἀναγκαῖον τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῇ στερήσει καὶ τῇ φθορᾷ τῇ τούτου χαίρειν. διὸ κωλυτικὰ μὲν ἐλέου πάντα ταῦτα ἐστί, διαφέρει δὲ διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας· ὥστε πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλεεινὰ ποιεῖν ἅπαντα ὁμοίως χρήσιμα.

6 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ νεμεσᾶν λέγωμεν, τίσι τε νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες αὐτοί, εἶτα
7 μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων· εἰ γάρ ἐστι τὸ νεμεσᾶν λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ ἀναξίως εὐπραγεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὅτι οὐχ
8 οἷόν τ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς νεμεσᾶν· οὐ γὰρ εἰ δίκαιος ἢ ἀνδρεῖος, ἢ εἰ ἀρετὴν λήψεται, νεμεσήσει τούτῳ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔλεοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τούτων εἰ-

will cease to be indignation and envy but will be fear, if the pain and disturbance arise from the idea that harm may come to themselves from another's good fortune. And it is evident that these two emotions will be accompanied by opposite feelings; for he who is pained at the sight of those who are undeservedly unfortunate will rejoice or will at least not be pained at the sight of those who are deservedly so; for instance, no good man would be pained at seeing parricides or assassins punished; we should rather rejoice at their lot, and at that of men who are deservedly fortunate; for both these are just and cause the worthy man to rejoice, because he cannot help hoping that what has happened to his like may also happen to himself. And all these feelings arise from the same character and their contraries from the contrary; for he who is malicious is also envious, since if the envious man is pained at another's possession or acquisition of some good, he is bound to rejoice at the loss or destruction of it. For this reason all these emotions are a hindrance to pity, although they differ for the reasons stated, so that they are all equally useful for preventing any feeling of pity.

Let us then first speak about indignation, the persons with whom men feel indignant, for what reasons, and in what frame of mind; and then proceed to the rest of the emotions. What we have just said will make matters clear. For if indignation is pain at the sight of good fortune apparently undeserved, in the first place it is clear that it is not possible to feel indignation at all good things; for no one will be indignant with a man who is just or courageous, or may acquire any virtue (for one does not feel pity in the

σίν), ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὅσων ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἄξιοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ φύσει ἔχοντες ἀγαθά, οἷον εὐγένειαν καὶ κάλλος καὶ
9 ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐγγύς τι φαίνεται τοῦ φύσει, ἀνάγκη τοῖς ταὐτὸ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθόν, ἐὰν νεωστὶ ἔχοντες τυγχάνωσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐπραγῶσι, μᾶλλον νεμεσᾶν· μᾶλλον γὰρ λυποῦσιν οἱ νεωστὶ πλουτοῦντες τῶν πάλαι καὶ διὰ γένος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ δυνάμενοι καὶ πολύφιλοι καὶ εὔτεκνοι καὶ ὁτιοῦν τῶν τοιούτων. κἂν διὰ ταῦτ' ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν γίγνηται αὐτοῖς, ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μᾶλλον λυποῦσιν οἱ νεόπλουτοι ἄρχοντες διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον
10 ἢ οἱ ἀρχαιόπλουτοι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν δοκοῦσι τὰ αὑτῶν ἔχειν οἱ δ' οὔ· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ οὕτω φαινόμενον ἔχειν ἀληθὲς δοκεῖ, ὥστε
11 οἱ ἕτεροι οὐ τὰ αὑτῶν ἔχειν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἄξιον, ἀλλά τις ἐστὶν ἀναλογία καὶ τὸ ἁρμόττον, οἷον ὅπλων κάλλος οὐ τῷ δικαίῳ ἁρμόττει ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνδρείῳ, καὶ γάμοι διαφέροντες οὐ τοῖς νεωστὶ πλουτοῦσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐγενέσιν,—ἐὰν οὖν ἀγαθὸς ὢν μὴ τοῦ ἁρμόττοντος τυγχάνῃ, νεμεσητόν. καὶ τὸν ἥττω τῷ κρείττονι ἀμφισβητεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

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[37] Because it is a man's own fault, and pity is felt only for what is undeserved.

case of the opposites of those qualities),[37] but men are indignant at wealth, power, and the like; in a word, at all the advantages that are deserved by good men and by those who possess the natural advantages, such as noble birth, beauty, and all such things. And since what is old seems closely to resemble what is natural, it follows that if two parties have the same good, men are more indignant with the one who has recently acquired it and owes his prosperity to it; for the newly rich cause more annoyance than those who have long possessed or inherited wealth. The same applies to offices of state, power, numerous friends, virtuous children, and any other advantages of the kind. And if these advantages bring them some other advantage, men are equally indignant; for in this case also the newly rich who attain to office owing to their wealth cause more annoyance than those who have long been wealthy; and similarly in all other cases of the same kind. The reason is that the latter seem to possess what belongs to them, the former not; for what all along shows itself in the same light is held to be truly so, so that the former seem to possess what is not theirs. And since not every kind of good is suitable to the first comer, but there is a certain proportion and appropriateness (as for instance beautiful weapons are not suitable to the just but to the courageous man, and distinguished marriages not to the newly rich but to the nobly born), so if a virtuous man does not obtain what is appropriate for him, we feel indignant. Similarly, if the inferior contends with the superior, especially among those engaged in the same pursuit, hence the saying of the poet,

Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο·
Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμέσασχ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ
μάχοιτο. |

1387 b εἰ δὲ μή, κἂν ὁπωσοῦν ὁ ἥττων τῷ κρείττονι, οἷον εἰ ὁ μουσικὸς τῷ δικαίῳ· βέλτιον γὰρ ἡ δικαιοσύνη τῆς μουσικῆς.

Οἷς μὲν οὖν νεμεσῶσι καὶ διὰ τί, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον·
12 ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. αὐτοὶ δὲ νεμεσητικοί εἰσιν, ἐὰν ἄξιοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῦτα κεκτημένοι· τὸ γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἠξιῶ-
13 σθαι τοὺς μὴ ὁμοίους οὐ δίκαιον. δεύτερον δ', ἂν ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι τυγχάνωσιν· κρίνουσί
14 τε γὰρ εὖ, καὶ τὰ ἄδικα μισοῦσιν. καὶ ἐὰν φιλότιμοι καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τινῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ ταῦτα φιλότιμοι ὦσιν ὧν ἕτεροι ἀνάξιοι ὄντες τυγχά-
15 νουσιν. καὶ ὅλως οἱ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὶ αὑτούς, ὧν ἑτέρους μὴ ἀξιοῦσι, νεμεσητικοὶ τούτοις καὶ τούτων. διὸ καὶ οἱ ἀνδραποδώδεις καὶ φαῦλοι καὶ ἀφιλότιμοι οὐ νεμεσητικοί· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὗ ἑαυτοὺς οἴονται
16 ἀξίους εἶναι. φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπὶ ποίοις ἀτυχοῦσι καὶ κακοπραγοῦσιν ἢ μὴ τυγχάνουσι χαίρειν ἢ ἀλύπως ἔχειν δεῖ· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰ ἀντικείμενά ἔστι δῆλα, ὥστ' ἐὰν τούς τε κριτὰς τοιούτους

[38] Hom. *Il.* 11.542. Only the first verse is given in the received text of Homer; the second is not found in any of the MSS. The reference is to Cebriones, a son of Priam slain by Patroclus.

He avoided battle with Ajax, son of Telamon,[38]
for Zeus was indignant with him, when he would fight
with a better man;

or, if the pursuit is not *the same, wherever the inferior* contends with the superior in anything whatever, as for instance the musician with the just man; for justice is better than music.

From *this it* is clear, then, with whom men are indignant and for what reasons; they are these or of such a kind. Men are prone to indignation first, if they happen to deserve or possess the greatest advantages, for it is not just that those who are not alike should be deemed worthy of the same advantages; secondly, if they happen to be virtuous and worthy,[39] for they both judge correctly and hate what is unjust. And those who are ambitious and long for certain things, especially if they are those which others, although unworthy, have obtained. And, in general, those who think themselves worthy of advantages of which they *consider others unworthy, are inclined to be indignant* with the latter and because of these advantages. This is why the servile and worthless and unambitious are not inclined to indignation; for there is nothing of which they think themselves worthy. It is evident from this what kind of men they are whose ill fortunes, calamities, and lack of success must make us rejoice or at least feel no pain; for the opposites are clear from what has been said. If then the speaker puts the judges into such a frame of mind and

[39] It has been suggested to insert μὴ before τυγχάνωσι: "if, although virtuous and worthy, they do not happen to possess such advantages."

παρασκευάσῃ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ἀξιοῦντας ἐλεεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐλεεῖσθαι, δείξῃ ἀναξίους μὲν ὄντας τυγχάνειν ἀξίους δὲ μὴ τυγχάνειν, ἀδύνατον ἐλεεῖν.

10. Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι φθονοῦσι καὶ τίσι καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, εἴπερ ἐστὶν ὁ φθόνος λύπη τις ἐπὶ εὐπραγίᾳ φαινομένῃ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγαθῶν περὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους, μὴ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνους· φθονήσουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἷς εἰσί τινες ὅμοιοι ἢ φαί-
2 νονται. ὁμοίους δὲ λέγω κατὰ γένος, κατὰ συγγένειαν, καθ' ἡλικίαν, καθ' ἕξιν, κατὰ δόξαν, κατὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. καὶ οἷς μικροῦ ἐλλείπει τὸ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρχειν. διὸ οἱ μεγάλα πράττοντες καὶ οἱ εὐτυχοῦντες φθονε-
3 ροί εἰσιν· πάντας γὰρ οἴονται τὰ αὐτῶν φέρειν. καὶ οἱ τιμώμενοι ἐπί τινι διαφερόντως, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἢ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι φθονερώτεροι τῶν ἀφιλοτίμων. καὶ οἱ δοξόσοφοι· φιλότιμοι γὰρ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. καὶ ὅλως οἱ φιλόδοξοι περί τι φθονεροὶ περὶ τοῦτο. καὶ οἱ μικρόψυχοι· πάντα γὰρ μεγάλα δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς εἶναι.

4 Ἐφ' οἷς δὲ φθονοῦσιν, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ εἴρηται· ἐφ'
1388 a ὅσοις γὰρ φιλοδοξοῦσι | καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται ἔργοις ἢ κτήμασι καὶ ὀρέγονται δόξης, καὶ ὅσα εὐτυχήματά ἐστι, σχεδὸν περὶ πάντα φθόνος ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα ὧν αὐτοὶ ἢ ὀρέγονται ἢ οἴονται δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, ἢ ὧν τῇ κτήσει μικρῷ ὑπερέχουσιν ἢ μικρῷ ἐλλείπουσιν.

proves that those who claim our pity (and the reasons why they do so) are unworthy to obtain it and deserve that it should be refused them, then pity will be impossible.

10. It is equally clear for what reason, and of whom, and in what frame of mind, men are envious, if envy is a kind of pain at the sight of good fortune in regard to the goods mentioned; in the case of those like themselves; and not for the sake of a man getting anything, but because of others possessing it. For those men will be envious who have, or seem to have, others "like" them. I mean like in birth, relationship, age, moral habit, reputation, and possessions. And those will be envious who possess all but one of these advantages;[40] that is why those who attempt great things and succeed are envious, because they think that every one is trying to deprive them of their own. And those who are honored for some special reason, especially for wisdom or happiness. And the ambitious are more envious than the unambitious. And those who are wise in their own conceit, for they are ambitious of a reputation for wisdom; and, in general, those who wish to be distinguished in anything are envious in regard to it. And the little-minded, because everything appears to them to be great.

The advantages which excite envy have already been stated. Nearly all the actions or possessions which make men desire glory or honor and long for fame, and the favors of fortune, create envy, especially when men long for them themselves, or think that they have a right to them, or the possession of which makes them slightly superior or slightly inferior.

[40] If some one else possesses the one thing that they think necessary to complete their happiness, they are envious of him because they consider it ought to be theirs.

5 Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ οἷς φθονοῦσιν· ἅμα γὰρ εἴρηται· τοῖς γὰρ ἐγγὺς καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ φθονοῦσιν. ὅθεν εἴρηται

τὸ συγγενὲς γὰρ καὶ φθονεῖν ἐπίσταται.

καὶ πρὸς οὓς φιλοτιμοῦνται· φιλοτιμοῦνται μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μυριοστὸν ἔτος ὄντας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐσομένους ἢ τεθνεῶτας οὐδείς, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐφ' Ἡρακλείαις στήλαις. οὐδ' ὧν πολὺ οἴονται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις λείπεσθαι, οὐδ' ὧν πολὺ ὑπερέχειν, ὡσαύτως καὶ πρὸς τούτους
6 καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ ἀντεραστὰς καὶ ὅλως τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐφιεμένους φιλοτιμοῦνται, ἀνάγκη μάλιστα τούτοις φθονεῖν· ὅθεν εἴρηται

καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ.

7 καὶ τοῖς ταχὺ οἱ ἢ μόλις τυχόντες ἢ μὴ τυχόντες φθο-
8 νοῦσιν. καὶ ὧν ἢ κεκτημένων ἢ κατορθούντων ὄνειδος αὐτοῖς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐγγὺς καὶ ὅμοιοι· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι παρ' αὐτοὺς οὐ τυγχάνουσι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὥστε
9 τοῦτο λυποῦν ποιεῖ τὸν φθόνον. καὶ τοῖς ἢ ἔχουσι ταῦτα ἢ κεκτημένοις ὅσα αὐτοῖς προσῆκεν ἢ κέκτηντο

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41 Attributed by a scholiast to Aeschylus, *TrGF* fr. 305.

42 Two rocks at the east end of the Straits of Gibraltar, supposed to be the western limit of the ancient world.

43 That is, no one will attempt to compete with them in their

And it is evident whom men envy, for it has just been stated by implication. They envy those who are near them in time, place, age, and reputation, whence it was said,

Kinship knows how to envy also;[41]

and those with whom they are in rivalry, who are those just spoken of: for no man tries to rival those who lived ten thousand years ago, or are about to be born, or are already dead; nor those who live near the Pillars of Heracles;[42] nor those who, in his own opinion or in that of others, are either far inferior or superior to him; and the people and things that one envies are on the same footing.[43] And since men strive for honor with those who are competitors, or rivals in love, in short with those who aim at the same things, they are bound to feel most envious of these: hence the saying,

Potter [being jealous] of potter.[44]

And those who have succeeded with difficulty or have failed envy those whose success has been rapid. And those whose possessions or successes are a reproach to themselves, and these too are those near or like them: for it is clear that it is their own fault that they do not obtain the same advantage, so that this pains and causes envy. And those who either have or have acquired what was naturally theirs or what they had once acquired; this is why an older

special branch of study. Roemer reads καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, translated by Jebb as if there were a full stop at ἐπιτρέχειν: "In like manner we vie with those engaged in such or such pursuits."

[44] 2.4.21.

10 ποτέ· διὸ πρεσβύτεροι νεωτέροις. καὶ οἱ πολλὰ δω-
11 πανήσαντες εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς ὀλίγα φθονοῦσιν. δῆλον δὲ
καὶ ἐφ' οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πῶς
ἔχοντες· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχοντες λυποῦνται, οὕτως ἔχον-
τες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἡσθήσονται. ὥστε ἂν αὐτοὶ μὲν
παρασκευασθῶσιν οὕτως ἔχειν, οἱ δ' ἐλεεῖσθαι ἢ τυγ-
χάνειν τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἀξιούμενοι ὦσιν οἷοι οἱ εἰρημέ-
νοι, δῆλον ὡς οὐ τεύξονται ἐλέου παρὰ τῶν κυρίων.

11. Πῶς δ' ἔχοντες ζηλοῦσι καὶ τὰ ποῖα καὶ ἐπὶ
τίσιν, ἐνθένδ' ἐστὶ δῆλον. εἰ γάρ ἐστι ζῆλος λύπη τις
ἐπὶ φαινομένῃ παρουσίᾳ ἀγαθῶν ἐντίμων καὶ ἐνδεχο-
μένων αὐτῷ λαβεῖν περὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τῇ φύσει, οὐχ
ὅτι ἄλλῳ ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐστίν· διὸ καὶ ἐπιει-
κές ἐστιν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν φαῦλον
καὶ φαύλων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν παρασκευάζει διὰ τὸν
ζῆλον τυγχάνειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ τὸν πλησίον μὴ
1388 b ἔχειν διὰ τὸν φθόνον· ἀνάγκη δὴ ζηλωτικοὺς | μὲν
εἶναι τοὺς ἀξιοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῶν ὧν μὴ ἔχουσιν·
2 οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀξιοῖ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀδύνατα. διὸ οἱ νέοι
καὶ οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τοιοῦτοι. καὶ οἷς ὑπάρχει τοιαῦτα
ἀγαθὰ ἃ τῶν ἐντίμων ἄξιά ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν· ἔστι γὰρ
ταῦτα πλοῦτος καὶ πολυφιλία καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ὅσα

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45 "The same state of mind that is absent in the painful feeling will be present in the joy excited by the opposite occasions," meaning that if one set of circumstances produces pain, the opposite will produce pleasure. Or omitting οὐκ before ἔχοντες, "For in the same frame of mind as they are pained (at another's

man is envious of a younger one. Those who have spent much envy those who have only spent little to obtain the same thing. And it is clear at what things and persons the envious rejoice, and in what frame of mind; for as when they do not possess certain things they are pained, so when they do possess them they will rejoice in the opposite circumstances.[45] So that if the judges are brought into that frame of mind, and those who claim their pity or any other boon are such as we have stated, it is plain that they will not obtain pity from those with whom the decision rests.

11. The frame of mind in which men feel emulation, what things and persons give rise to it, will be clear from the following considerations. Let us assume that emulation is a feeling of pain at the evident presence of highly valued goods, which are possible for us to obtain, in the possession of those who naturally resemble us—pain not due to the fact that another possesses them but to the fact that we ourselves do not. Emulation therefore is virtuous and characteristic of virtuous men, whereas envy is base and characteristic of base men; for the one, owing to emulation, fits himself to obtain such goods, while the object of the other, owing to envy, is to prevent his neighbor possessing them. Necessarily then, those are emulous who hold that they have a claim to goods that they do not possess;[46] for no one claims what seems impossible. Hence the young and high-minded are emulous. And so are those who possess such advantages as are worthy of honorable men, which include wealth, a number of friends, positions

good fortune) they will rejoice in the contrary state of things" (at another's bad fortune).

[46] Something like "although they are within their grasp" is needed to complete the sense.

τοιαῦτα· ὡς γὰρ προσῆκον αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι, ὅτι προσῆκε τοῖς ἀγαθῶς ἔχουσι, ζηλοῦσι τὰ τοιαῦτα
3 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ οὓς οἱ ἄλλοι ἀξιοῦσιν. καὶ ὧν πρόγονοι ἢ συγγενεῖς ἢ οἰκεῖοι ἢ τὸ ἔθνος ἢ ἡ πόλις ἔντιμοι, ζηλωτικοὶ περὶ ταῦτα· οἰκεῖα γὰρ οἴονται
4 αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ἄξιοι τούτων. εἰ δ' ἐστὶ ζηλωτὰ τὰ ἔντιμα ἀγαθά, ἀνάγκη τάς τε ἀρετὰς εἶναι τοιαύτας, καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠφέλιμα καὶ εὐεργετικά· τιμῶσι γὰρ τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθούς. καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις τοῖς πλησίον ἐστίν, οἷον πλοῦτος καὶ κάλλος μᾶλλον ὑγιείας.

5 Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ ζηλωτοὶ τίνες· οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι ζηλωτοί. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα τὰ εἰρημένα, οἷον ἀνδρεία σοφία ἀρχή· οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες πολλοὺς δύνανται εὖ ποιεῖν, στρατηγοί, ῥήτορες,
6 πάντες οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυνάμενοι. καὶ οἷς πολλοὶ ὅμοιοι βούλονται εἶναι, ἢ πολλοὶ γνώριμοι, ἢ φίλοι πολλοί, ἢ οὓς πολλοὶ θαυμάζουσιν, ἢ οὓς αὐτοὶ θαυμάζουσιν,
7 καὶ ὧν ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια λέγονται ἢ ὑπὸ ποιητῶν ἢ λογογράφων. καταφρονοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων· ἐναντίον γὰρ ζήλῳ καταφρόνησίς ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ζηλοῦν τῷ καταφρονεῖν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας ὥστε

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[47] Spending one's money benefits one's neighbor to a certain extent, and beauty is always pleasant to behold. One does not admire anyone because he is in good health so much as because he is handsome.

of office, and all similar things. For believing it their duty to be good, because such goods naturally belong to those who are good, they strive to preserve them. And those are emulous whom others think worthy of them. Honors obtained by ancestors, kinsfolk, intimates, nation, or city make men emulous in regard to such honors; for they think that these honors really belong to them and that they are worthy of them. And if highly valued goods are the object of emulation, it necessarily follows that the virtues must be such and all things that are useful and beneficial to the rest of mankind, for benefactors and virtuous men are honored; to these we may add all the goods which our neighbors can enjoy with us, such as wealth and beauty, rather than health.[47]

It is also evident who are the objects of emulation; for they are those who possess these or similar goods, such as have already been spoken of, for instance courage, wisdom, authority; for those in authority, such as generals, orators, and all who have similar powers, can do good to many. And those whom many desire to resemble, or to be their acquaintances or friends;[48] those whom many or ourselves admire; those who are praised or eulogized either by poets or by prose writers.[49] The opposite characters we despise; for contempt is the opposite of emulation, and the idea of emulation of the idea of contempt. And those who are in a condition which makes them emulate or be emu-

[48] "Who have many acquaintances or friends" (Jebb).

[49] λογογράφοι means either the oldest Greek historians (or rather "chroniclers") or the writers of speeches for use in the law courts, or of panegyrics.

ζηλῶσαί τινας ἢ ζηλοῦσθαι, καταφρονητικοὺς εἶναι τούτων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅσοι τὰ ἐναντία κακὰ ἔχουσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ζηλωτῶν. διὸ πολλάκις καταφρονοῦσι τῶν εὐτυχούντων, ὅταν ἄνευ τῶν ἐντίμων ἀγαθῶν ὑπάρχῃ αὐτοῖς ἡ τύχη. δι' ὧν μὲν οὖν τὰ πάθη ἐγγίγνεται καὶ διαλύεται, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πίστεις γίγνονται περὶ αὐτῶν, εἴρηται.

12. Τὰ δὲ ἤθη ποῖοί τινες κατὰ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς ἕξεις καὶ τὰς ἡλικίας καὶ τὰς τύχας, διέλθωμεν μετὰ
2 ταῦτα. λέγω δὲ πάθη μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν πρότερον, ἕξεις δὲ ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας· εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τούτων πρότερον, καὶ ποῖα προαιροῦνται ἕκαστοι, καὶ ποίων πρακτικοί. ἡλικίαι
1389 a δ' εἰσὶ νεότης καὶ ἀκμὴ καὶ | γῆρας. τύχην δὲ λέγω εὐγένειαν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τἀναντία τούτοις καὶ ὅλως εὐτυχίαν καὶ δυστυχίαν.

3 Οἱ μὲν οὖν νέοι τὰ ἤθη εἰσὶν ἐπιθυμητικοί, καὶ οἷοι ποιεῖν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν. καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμιῶν μάλιστα ἀκολουθητικοί εἰσι ταῖς περὶ τὰ
4 ἀφροδίσια, καὶ ἀκρατεῖς ταύτης. εὐμετάβολοι δὲ καὶ ἀψίκοροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχέως δὲ παύονται· ὀξεῖαι γὰρ αἱ βουλήσεις καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν καμνόντων δίψαι καὶ
5 πεῖναι. καὶ θυμικοὶ καὶ ὀξύθυμοι καὶ οἷοι ἀκολουθεῖν

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50 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις. According to Cope, an unnecessary parenthetical note ("and on such occasions Jebb refers both τούτων and τούτοις to persons: 'tend to show contempt to or about those

lated by others must be inclined to despise those persons[50] (and for that reason) who suffer from defects contrary to the good things that excite emulation. That is why we often despise those who are fortunate whenever their good fortune is not accompanied by highly valued goods. The means of producing and destroying the various emotions in men, from which the methods of persuasion that concern them are derived, have now been stated.

12. Let us now describe the nature of the characters of men according to their emotions, habits, ages, and fortunes. By the emotions I mean anger, desire, and the like, of which we have already spoken; by habits virtues and vices, of which also we have previously spoken, as well as the kind of things men individually and deliberately choose and practice. The ages are youth, the prime of life, and old age. By fortune I mean noble birth, wealth, power, and their contraries, and, in general, good or bad fortune.[51]

The young as regards character are ready to desire and to carry out what they desire. Of the bodily desires they chiefly obey those of sensual pleasure and these they are unable to control. Changeable in their desires and soon tiring of them, they desire with extreme ardor but soon cool off; for their will, like the hunger and thirst of the sick, is keen rather than strong. They are passionate, hot-tempered, and carried away by impulse, and unable to

who . . .'"). The "reason" in the translation above is that they suffer from the want of "the highly valued goods."

[51] The πίστις ἠθική is resumed from 2.1.8. As the πάθη and ἕξεις have been discussed already, only the ages and their character remain.

τῇ ὁρμῇ, καὶ ἥττους εἰσὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ φιλοτι-
μίαν οὐκ ἀνέχονται ὀλιγωρούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτοῦ-
6 σιν, ἂν οἴωνται ἀδικεῖσθαι. καὶ φιλότιμοι μέν εἰσι,
μᾶλλον δὲ φιλόνικοι· ὑπεροχῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ
νεότης, ἡ δὲ νίκη ὑπεροχή τις. καὶ ἄμφω ταῦτα μᾶλ-
λον ἢ φιλοχρήματοι· φιλοχρήματοι δὲ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸ
μήπω ἐνδείας πεπειρᾶσθαι, ὥσπερ τὸ Πιττακοῦ ἔχει
7 ἀπόφθεγμα εἰς Ἀμφιάραον. καὶ οὐ κακοήθεις ἀλλ'
εὐήθεις διὰ τὸ μήπω τεθεωρηκέναι πολλὰς πονηρίας.
8 καὶ εὔπιστοι διὰ τὸ μήπω πολλὰ ἐξηπατῆσθαι. καὶ
εὐέλπιδες· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ οἰνωμένοι, οὕτω διάθερμοί
εἰσιν οἱ νέοι ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μήπω
πολλὰ ἀποτετυχηκέναι. καὶ ζῶσι τὰ πλεῖστα ἐλπίδι·
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπὶς τοῦ μέλλοντός ἐστιν ἡ δὲ μνήμη τοῦ
παροιχομένου, τοῖς δὲ νέοις τὸ μὲν μέλλον πολὺ τὸ δὲ
παρεληλυθὸς βραχύ· τῇ γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μεμνῆ-
σθαι μὲν οὐδὲν οἷόν τε, ἐλπίζειν δὲ πάντα. καὶ εὐεξα-
πάτητοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· ἐλπίζουσι γὰρ ῥᾳδίως.
9 καὶ ἀνδρειότεροι· θυμώδεις γὰρ καὶ εὐέλπιδες, ὧν τὸ
μὲν μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ δὲ θαρρεῖν ποιεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ὀρ-
γιζόμενος οὐδεὶς φοβεῖται, τό τε ἐλπίζειν ἀγαθόν τι
10 θαρραλέον ἐστίν. καὶ αἰσχυντηλοί· οὐ γάρ πω καλὰ
ἕτερα ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ πεπαίδευνται ὑπὸ τοῦ
11 νόμου μόνον. καὶ μεγαλόψυχοι· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ

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52 One of the Seven Sages of Greece.

53 Or, "they do not look at things in a bad light, but in a good." that is, they are not always ready to suspect.

control their passion; for owing to their ambition they cannot endure to be slighted and become indignant when they think they are being wronged. They are ambitious of honor, but more so of victory; for youth desires superiority, and victory is a kind of superiority. And their desire for both of these is greater than their desire for money, to which they attach only the slightest value because they have never yet experienced want, as Pittacus[52] said in his pithy remark on Amphiaraus. They are not ill-natured but simple-natured,[53] because they have never yet witnessed much depravity; confiding, because they have as yet not been often deceived; full of hope, for they are naturally as hotblooded as those who are drunken with wine, and besides they have not yet experienced many failures. For the most part they live in hope, for hope is concerned with the future as memory is with the past. For the young the future is long, the past short; for in the morning of life it is not possible for them to remember anything, but they have everything to hope; which makes them easy to deceive, for they readily hope. And they are more courageous, for they are full of passion and hope, and the former of these prevents them fearing, while the latter inspires them with confidence, for no one fears when angry, and hope of some advantage inspires confidence. And they are bashful, for as yet they fail to conceive of other things that are noble, but have been educated solely by convention.[54] They are high-minded, for they have not yet been hum-

[54] Social convention is the only law that they know, and they are ashamed if they violate it, because as yet they have no idea of higher laws that may command them to do so.

βίου πω τεταπείνωνται, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄπειροί εἰσιν, καὶ τὸ ἀξιοῦν αὐτὸν μεγάλων μεγαλοψυχία· τοῦτο δ' εὐέλπιδος.

12 Καὶ μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται πράττειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν συμ-
φερόντων· τῷ γὰρ ἤθει ζῶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ λογισμῷ,
ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν λογισμὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ
13 τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ φιλόφιλοι καὶ φιλέταιροι μᾶλλον τῶν
1389 b ἄλλων ἡλικιῶν διὰ | τὸ χαίρειν τῷ συζῆν καὶ μήπω
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον κρίνειν μηδέν, ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς
14 φίλους. καὶ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ σφοδρότερον
ἁμαρτάνουσι παρὰ τὸ Χιλώνειον· πάντα γὰρ ἄγαν
πράττουσιν· φιλοῦσί τε γὰρ ἄγαν καὶ μισοῦσιν ἄγαν
καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὁμοίως. καὶ εἰδέναι πάντα οἴονται
καὶ διισχυρίζονται· τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιόν ἐστι καὶ τοῦ
15 πάντα ἄγαν. καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικοῦσιν εἰς ὕβριν
καὶ οὐ κακουργίαν. καὶ ἐλεητικοὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας χρη-
στοὺς καὶ βελτίους ὑπολαμβάνειν· τῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν
ἀκακίᾳ τοὺς πέλας μετροῦσιν, ὥστ' ἀνάξια πάσχειν
16 ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτούς. καὶ φιλογέλωτες, διὸ καὶ
εὐτράπελοι· ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις
ἐστίν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν νέων τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἦθος.

13. Οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ παρηκμακότες σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχουσιν ἤθη· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλὰ ἔτη βεβιωκέναι καὶ πλείω ἐξηπατῆσθαι

55 ἦθος in the broadest sense includes all that is habitual and characteristic; in a limited sense it denotes habitual temper or disposition.

bled by life nor have they experienced the force of necessity; further, there is high-mindedness in thinking oneself worthy of great things, a feeling which belongs to one who is full of hope.

In their actions they prefer the noble to the useful; their life is guided by their character[55] rather than by calculation, for the latter aims at the useful, virtue at the noble. At this age more than any other they are fond of their friends and companions, because they take pleasure in living in company and as yet judge nothing by expediency, not even their friends. All their errors are due to excess and vehemence and their neglect of the maxim of Chilon,[56] for they do everything to excess, love, hate, and everything else. And they think they know everything, and confidently affirm it, and this is the cause of their excess in everything. If they do wrong it is due to insolence not wickedness. And they are inclined to pity because they think all men are virtuous and better than themselves;[57] for they measure their neighbors by their own inoffensiveness, so that they think that they suffer undeservedly. And they are fond of laughter, and therefore witty; for wit is cultured insolence. Such then is the character of the young.

13. Older men and those who have passed their prime have in most cases characters opposite to those of the young. For owing to their having lived many years and

[56] One of the Seven Sages of Greece. The maxim was *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, *ne quid nimis* (never go to extremes).

[57] Or, "better than they really are."

καὶ ἡμαρτηκέναι, καὶ τὰ πλείω φαῦλα εἶναι τῶν πρα-
γμάτων, οὔτε διαβεβαιοῦνται οὐδέν, ἥττόν τε ἄγαν
2 ἅπαντα ἢ δεῖ. καὶ οἴονται, ἴσασι δ' οὐδέν. καὶ ἀμφισ-
βητοῦντες προστιθέασιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἴσως καὶ τάχα, καὶ
3 πάντα λέγουσιν οὕτω, παγίως δ' οὐδέν. καὶ κακοήθεις
εἰσίν· ἔστι γὰρ κακοήθεια τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὑπολαμ-
βάνειν πάντα. ἔτι δὲ καχύποπτοί εἰσι διὰ τὴν ἀπι-
4 στίαν. ἄπιστοι δὲ δι' ἐμπειρίαν. καὶ οὔτε φιλοῦσι
σφόδρα οὔτε μισοῦσι διὰ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν
Βίαντος ὑποθήκην καὶ φιλοῦσιν ὡς μισήσοντες καὶ
5 μισοῦσιν ὡς φιλήσοντες. καὶ μικρόψυχοι διὰ τὸ τετα-
πεινῶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βίου· οὐδενὸς γὰρ μεγάλου οὐδὲ
περιττοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.
6 καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι· ἓν γάρ τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ οὐσία,
ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἴσασιν ὡς χαλεπὸν τὸ
7 κτήσασθαι καὶ ῥᾴδιον τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν. καὶ δειλοὶ καὶ
πάντα προφοβητικοί· ἐναντίως γὰρ διάκεινται τοῖς
νέοις· κατεψυγμένοι γάρ εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ θερμοί. ὥστε
προωδοποίηκε τὸ γῆρας τῇ δειλίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ φόβος
8 κατάψυξίς τις ἐστίν. καὶ φιλόζωοι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ
τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀπόντος εἶναι τὴν ἐπι-
θυμίαν, καὶ οὗ δὲ ἐνδεεῖς, τούτου μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν.
9 καὶ φίλαυτοι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ· μικροψυχία γάρ τις καὶ
αὕτη. καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ζῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ
καλόν, μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, διὰ τὸ φίλαυτοι εἶναι· τὸ μὲν |
1390 a γὰρ συμφέρον αὐτῷ ἀγαθόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἁπλῶς.

aving been more often deceived by others or made more istakes themselves, and since most human things turn ut badly, they are positive about nothing, and in everyiing they show an excessive lack of energy. They always hink," but "know" nothing; and in their hesitation they lways add "perhaps," or "maybe"; all their statements are f this kind, never unqualified. They are malicious; for ialice consists in looking upon the worse side of everyiing. Further, they are always suspicious owing to misust, and mistrustful owing to experience. And neither ieir love nor their hatred is strong for the same reasons; ut, according to the precept of Bias,[58] they love as if they ould one day hate, and hate as if they would one day love. nd they are small-minded, because they have been humled by life; for they desire nothing great or uncommon, ut only the necessaries of life. They are not generous, for roperty is one of these necessaries, and at the same time, iey know from experience how hard it is to get and how asy to lose. And they are cowardly and inclined to anticiate evil, for their state of mind is the opposite of that of ie young; they are chilled, whereas the young are hot, so iat old age paves the way for cowardice, for fear is a kind f chill. And they are fond of life, especially in their last ays, because desire is directed toward what is absent and ien especially desire what they lack. And they are unduly elfish, for this also is smallness of mind. And they live not or the noble, but for the useful, more than they ought, ecause they are selfish; for the useful is a good for the ndividual, whereas the noble is good absolutely.

[58] One of the Seven Sages of Greece.

10 Καὶ ἀναίσχυντοι μᾶλλον ἢ αἰσχυντηλοί· διὰ γὰρ
τὸ μὴ φροντίζειν ὁμοίως τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέρον-
11 τος ὀλιγωροῦσι τοῦ δοκεῖν. καὶ δυσέλπιδες διὰ τὴν
ἐμπειρίαν· τὰ γὰρ πλείω τῶν γιγνομένων φαῦλά
12 ἐστιν· ἀποβαίνει γοῦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον· καὶ ἔτι
διὰ τὴν δειλίαν. καὶ ζῶσι τῇ μνήμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ
ἐλπίδι· τοῦ γὰρ βίου τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν ὀλίγον τὸ δὲ παρ-
εληλυθὸς πολύ, ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐλπὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἡ
δὲ μνήμη τῶν παροιχομένων. ὅπερ αἴτιον καὶ τῆς
ἀδολεσχίας αὐτοῖς· διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέ-
13 γοντες· ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ἥδονται. καὶ οἱ θυμοὶ
ὀξεῖς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς δέ εἰσιν, καὶ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αἱ μὲν
ἐκλελοίπασιν αἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς εἰσιν, ὥστε οὔτ' ἐπιθυ-
μητικοὶ οὔτε πρακτικοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. διὸ καὶ σωφρονικοὶ φαίνονται οἱ τη-
λικοῦτοι· αἵ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαι ἀνείκασι, καὶ δου-
14 λεύουσι τῷ κέρδει. καὶ μᾶλλον ζῶσι κατὰ λογισμὸν
ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς τοῦ συμφέρον-
τος τὸ δ' ἦθος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστιν. καὶ τἀδικήματα ἀδι-
15 κοῦσιν εἰς κακουργίαν, οὐκ εἰς ὕβριν. ἐλεητικοὶ δὲ καὶ
οἱ γέροντές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταὐτὸ τοῖς νέοις· οἱ μὲν
γὰρ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, οἱ δὲ δι' ἀσθένειαν· πάντα
γὰρ οἴονται ἐγγὺς εἶναι αὐτοῖς παθεῖν, τοῦτο δ' ἦν
ἐλεητικόν. ὅθεν ὀδυρτικοί εἰσι, καὶ οὐκ εὐτράπελοι
οὐδὲ φιλογέλοιοι· ἐναντίον γὰρ τὸ ὀδυρτικὸν τῷ φιλο-
16 γέλωτι. τῶν μὲν οὖν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὰ
ἤθη τοιαῦτα· ὥστ' ἐπεὶ ἀποδέχονται πάντες τοὺς τῷ

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And they are rather shameless than modest; for since they do not care for the noble so much as for the useful, they pay little attention to what people think. And they are little given to hope owing to their experience, for things that happen are mostly bad and at all events generally turn out for the worse, and also owing to their cowardice. They live in memory rather than in hope; for the life that remains to them is short, but what is past is long, and hope belongs to the future, memory to the past. This is the reason of their loquacity; for they are incessantly talking of the past, because they take pleasure in recollection. Their outbursts of anger are violent but feeble; of their desires some have ceased while others are weak, so that they neither feel them nor act in accordance with them, but only from motives of gain. Hence men of this age are regarded as self-controlled, for their desires have slackened and they are slaves to gain. In their manner of life there is more calculation than moral character, for calculation is concerned with what is useful, moral character with virtue. If they commit acts of injustice it is due to vice rather than to insolence. The old, like the young, are inclined to pity, but not for the same reason; the latter show pity from humanity, the former from weakness, because they think that they are on the point of suffering all kinds of misfortunes, and this is one of the reasons that incline men to pity. That is why the old are querulous, and neither witty nor fond of laughter; for a querulous disposition is the opposite of a love of laughter. Such are the characters of the young and older men. On this account, since all men are willing to listen to speeches that harmonize with their

σφετέρῳ ἤθει λεγομένους λόγους καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους, οὐκ ἄδηλον πῶς χρώμενοι τοῖς λόγοις τοιοῦτοι φανοῦνται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ λόγοι.

14. Οἱ δὲ ἀκμάζοντες φανερὸν ὅτι μεταξὺ τούτων τὸ ἦθος ἔσονται, ἑκατέρων ἀφαιροῦντες τὴν ὑπερβολήν, καὶ οὔτε σφόδρα θαρροῦντες (θρασύτης γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον) οὔτε λίαν φοβούμενοι, καλῶς δὲ πρὸς ἄμφω
2 ἔχοντες, οὔτε πᾶσι πιστεύοντες οὔτε πᾶσιν ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς κρίνοντες μᾶλλον. καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ζῶντες μόνον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον,
1390 b | ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄμφω. καὶ οὔτε πρὸς φειδὼ οὔτε πρὸς
3 ἀσωτίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἁρμόττον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς θυμὸν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν. καὶ σώφρονες μετὰ ἀνδρείας καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι μετὰ σωφροσύνης. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νέοις καὶ τοῖς γέρουσι διῄρηται ταῦτα· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν νέοι ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι σώφρονες καὶ δειλοί. ὡς δὲ καθόλου εἰπεῖν, ὅσα μὲν διῄρηται ἡ νεότης καὶ τὸ γῆρας τῶν ὠφελίμων, ταῦτα ἄμφω ἔχουσιν, ὅσα δ' ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἢ ἐλλείπουσι,
4 τούτων τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ ἁρμόττον. ἀκμάζει δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ περὶ τὰ ἑνὸς δεῖν πεντήκοντα. περὶ μὲν οὖν νεότητος καὶ γήρως καὶ ἀκμῆς, ποίων ἠθῶν ἕκαστόν ἐστιν, εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

15. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης γιγνομένων ἀγαθῶν, δι' ὅσα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἤθη ποιὰ ἄττα συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀν-
2 θρώποις, λέγωμεν ἐφεξῆς. εὐγενείας μὲν οὖν ἠθὸς

own character and to speakers who resemble them,[59] it is easy to see what language we must employ so that both ourselves and our speeches may appear to be of such and such a character.

14. It is evident that the character of those in the prime of life will be the mean between that of the other two, absent the excess in each case. At this age men are neither overconfident, which would show rashness, nor too fearful, but preserving a right attitude in regard to both, neither trusting nor distrusting all but judging rather in accordance with actual facts. Their rule of conduct is neither the noble nor the useful alone but both at once. They are neither parsimonious nor prodigal but preserve the due mean. It is the same in regard to passion and desire. Their self-control is combined with courage and their courage with self-control, whereas in the young and old these qualities are found separately; for the young are courageous but without self-control, the old are self-controlled but cowardly. Speaking generally, all the advantages that youth and old age possess separately, those in the prime of life possess combined; and all cases of excess or defect in the other two are replaced by due moderation and fitness. The body is most fully developed from thirty to thirty-five years of age, the mind at about forty-nine. Let this suffice for youth, old age, and the prime of life, and the characters that belong to each.

15. Let us next speak of the goods that are due to fortune, all those, at least, that produce certain characters in men. A characteristic of noble birth is that he who pos-

[59] Or, "speeches that resemble (or reflect) it," that is, their character.

ἐστι τὸ φιλοτιμότερον εἶναι τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτήν· ἅπαντες γάρ, ὅταν ὑπάρχῃ τι, πρὸς τοῦτο σωρεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἡ δ' εὐγένεια ἐντιμότης τις προγόνων ἐστίν. καὶ καταφρονητικὸν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐστὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν, διότι πόρρω ταὐτὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγγὺς
3 γιγνόμενα ἐντιμότερα καὶ εὐαλαζόνευτα. ἔστι δὲ εὐγενὲς μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀρετήν, γενναῖον δὲ κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς φύσεως· ὅπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς εὐγενέσιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ εὐτελεῖς· φορὰ γάρ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς γένεσιν ἀνδρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὰς χώρας γιγνομένοις, καὶ ἐνίοτε ἂν ᾖ ἀγαθὸν τὸ γένος, ἐγγίνονται διά τινος χρόνου ἄνδρες περιττοί, κἄπειτα πάλιν ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐξίσταται δὲ τὰ μὲν εὐφυᾶ γένη εἰς μανικώτερα ἤθη, οἷον οἱ ἀπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ προτέρου, τὰ δὲ στάσιμα εἰς ἀβελτερίαν καὶ νωθρότητα, οἷον οἱ ἀπὸ Κίμωνος καὶ Περικλέους καὶ Σωκράτους.

16. Τῷ δὲ πλούτῳ ἃ ἕπεται ἤθη, ἐπιπολῆς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἅπασιν· ὑβρισταὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι, πάσχοντές τι ὑπὸ τῆς κτήσεως τοῦ πλούτου· ὥσπερ περ γὰρ
1391 a ἔχοντες ἅπαντα | τἀγαθὰ οὕτω διάκειν ται· ὁ γὰρ πλοῦτος οἷον τιμή τις τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἄλλων, διὸ φαί-
2 νεται ὤνια ἅπαντα εἶναι αὐτοῦ. καὶ τρυφεροὶ καὶ σαλάκωνες, τρυφεροὶ μὲν διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν ἔνδειξιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, σαλάκωνες δὲ καὶ σόλοικοι διὰ τὸ πάντας εἰωθέναι διατρίβειν περὶ τὸ ἐρώμενον

sesses it is more ambitious; for all men, when they start with any good, are accustomed to heap it up, and noble birth is a heritage of honor from one's ancestors. Such men are prone to look down even upon those who are as important as their ancestors, because the same things[60] are more honorable and inspire greater vanity when remote than when they are recent. The idea of noble birth refers to excellence of family, that of noble character to not degenerating from the family type, a quality not as a rule found in those of noble birth, most of whom are good for nothing. For in the generations of men there is a kind of crop as in the fruits of the field; sometimes, if the stock is good, for a certain period men out of the ordinary are born in it, and then it deteriorates. Highly gifted families often degenerate into maniacs, as for example the descendants of Alcibiades and the elder Dionysius; those that are stable into fools and dullards, like the descendants of Cimon, Pericles, and Socrates.

16. The characters that accompany wealth are plain for all to see. The wealthy are insolent and arrogant, being mentally affected by the acquisition of wealth, for they seem to think that they possess all good things; for wealth is a kind of standard of value of everything else, so that everything seems purchasable by it. They are luxurious and swaggerers, luxurious because of their luxury and the display of their prosperity, swaggerers and ill-mannered because all men are accustomed to devote their attention to what they like and admire, and the rich suppose that

[60] That is, the advantages and distinctions the family possessed of old; such distinctions, when possessed by those of later date, are less well regarded.

καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ οἴεσθαι ζηλοῦν τοὺς ἄλλους ἃ καὶ αὐτοί. ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἰκότως τοῦτο πάσχουσιν· πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ δεόμενοι τῶν ἐχόντων. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Σιμωνίδου εἴρηται περὶ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πλουσίων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἱέρωνος ἐρομένην πότερον γενέσθαι κρεῖττον πλούσιον ἢ σοφόν· πλούσιον εἰπεῖν· τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ ταῖς
3 τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας. καὶ τὸ οἴεσθαι ἀξίους εἶναι ἄρχειν· ἔχειν γὰρ οἴονται ὧν ἕνεκεν ἄρχειν ἄξιον. καὶ ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, ἀνοήτου εὐδαίμονος
4 ἦθος πλούτου ἐστίν. διαφέρει δὲ τοῖς νεωστὶ κεκτημένοις καὶ τοῖς πάλαι τὰ ἤθη τῷ ἅπαντα μᾶλλον καὶ φαυλότερα τὰ κακὰ ἔχειν τοὺς νεοπλούτους· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσία πλούτου ἐστὶ τὸ νεόπλουτον εἶναι. καὶ ἀδικήματα ἀδικοῦσιν οὐ κακουργικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὑβριστικὰ τὰ δὲ ἀκρατευτικά, οἷον εἰς αἰκίαν καὶ μοιχείαν.

17. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ δυνάμεως σχεδὸν τὰ πλεῖστα φανερά ἐστιν ἤθη· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει ἡ
2 δύναμις τῷ πλούτῳ τὰ δὲ βελτίω· φιλοτιμότεροι γὰρ καὶ ἀνδρωδέστεροί εἰσι τὰ ἤθη οἱ δυνάμενοι τῶν πλουσίων διὰ τὸ ἐφίεσθαι ἔργων ὅσα ἐξουσία αὐτοῖς
3 πράττειν διὰ τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ σπουδαστικώτεροι διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶναι, ἀναγκαζόμενοι σκοπεῖν τὰ περὶ
4 τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ σεμνότεροι ἢ βαρύτεροι· ποιεῖ γὰρ ἐμφανεστέρους τὸ ἀξίωμα, διὸ μετριάζουσιν· ἔστι δὲ

what they themselves are emulous of is the object of all other men's emulation. At the same time this feeling is not unreasonable; for those who have need of the wealthy are numerous. Hence the answer of Simonides to the wife of Hiero concerning the wise and the rich, when she asked which was preferable, to be wise or to be rich. "Rich," he answered, "for we see the wise spending their time at the doors of the rich." And the rich think they are worthy to rule, because they believe they possess what makes them so.[61] In a word, the character of the rich man is that of a fool favored by fortune. At the same time there is a difference between the character of the newly rich and of those whose wealth is of long standing, because the former have the vices of wealth in a greater degree and more; for, so to speak, they have not been educated to the use of wealth. Their unjust acts are not due to malice but partly to insolence, partly to self-indulgence, which tends to make them commit assault and battery and adultery.

17. In regard to power, most of the characters to which it gives rise are clear; for power, compared with wealth, exhibits partly identical and partly superior characteristics. Thus the powerful are more ambitious and more manly in character than the rich, since they aim at the performance of deeds which their power gives them the opportunity of carrying out. And they are more energetic; for being obliged to look after their power, they are always on the watch.[62] And they are dignified rather than heavily pompous; for their rank renders them more conspicuous,

[61] That is, what makes power worth having.

[62] ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ, "because they are administrators" (Jebb).

ἡ σεμνότης μαλακὴ καὶ εὐσχήμων βαρύτης. κἂν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐ μικραδικηταί εἰσιν ἀλλὰ μεγαλάδικοι.

5 Ἡ δ' εὐτυχία κατὰ τὰ μόρια τῶν εἰρημένων ἔχει τὰ ἤθη· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτα συντείνουσιν αἱ μέγισται δοκοῦσαι εἶναι εὐτυχίαι, καὶ ἔτι εἰς εὐτεκνίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει ἡ εὐτυχία πλεο-
6 νεκτεῖν. ὑπερηφανώτεροι | μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλογιστότεροι
1391 b διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν εἰσίν, ἓν δ' ἀκολουθεῖ βέλτιστον ἦθος τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ, ὅτι φιλόθεοί εἰσι καὶ ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ θεῖόν πως, πιστεύοντες διὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τύχην ἠθῶν εἴρηται· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων φανερά ἐστιν, οἷον πένητος καὶ ἀπυχοῦς ἦθος καὶ ἀδυνάτου.

18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ τῶν πιθανῶν λόγων χρῆσις πρὸς κρίσιν ἐστί—περὶ ὧν γὰρ ἴσμεν καὶ κεκρίκαμεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖ λόγου—ἔστι δέ, ἄν τε πρὸς ἕνα τις τῷ λόγῳ

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63 The three divisions are noble birth, wealth, and power. The meaning is that the highest kinds of good fortune tend or converge to these, that is, to noble birth, wealth, and power. *κατὰ τὰ μόρια* might also mean "in part."

64 2.12–14; 2.15–17.

65 Having dealt with arguments involving character or emotion, Aristotle proceeds to the discussion of topics of enthymemes common to all three kinds of rhetoric: a natural transition. The difficulty in the Greek lies in the absence of a suitable apodosis to the long sentence beginning *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τῶν πιθανῶν*. Grammatically, it might be *ὥστε διωρισμένον ἂν εἴη*, but it by no

so that they avoid excess; and this dignity is a mild and decent pomposity. And their wrongdoings are never petty, but great.

Good fortune in its divisions[63] exhibits characters corresponding to those which have just been mentioned; for those that appear to be the most important kinds of good fortune tend in their direction; further, good fortune furnishes advantages over others in the blessing of children and bodily goods. Now, although men are more arrogant and thoughtless owing to good fortune, it is accompanied by a most precious quality. Fortunate men stand in a certain relation to the divinity and love the gods, having confidence in them owing to the benefits they have received from fortune. We have spoken[64] of the characters associated with different ages and fortunes; the opposite characters to those described, for instance, of the poor, of the unfortunate, and of the weak, are obvious from their opposites.

18.[65] Now the employment of persuasive speeches is directed toward a judgment; for when a thing is known and judged, there is no longer any need of argument. And there is judgment, whether a speaker addresses himself to

means follows that "since the employment of persuasive speeches is directed toward a judgment . . . *therefore* it has been determined how . . . we must make our speeches ethical." Spengel, regarding *ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . βουλεύονται* merely as an enlargement of 2.1-2, brackets the passage. Kassel puts the passage in double brackets, indicating a later addition by the author himself. Following Kassel's suggestion, I have put a full stop after *βουλεύονται* and separated the following by a paragraph, which would indeed fit well at the end of chapter 17.

χρώμενος προτρέπῃ ἢ ἀποτρέπῃ, οἷον οἱ νουθετοῦντες ποιοῦσιν ἢ πείθοντες (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧττον κριτὴς ὁ εἷς· ὃν γὰρ δεῖ πεῖσαι, οὗτός ἐστιν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν κριτής), ἐάν τε πρὸς ἀμφισβητοῦντα ἐάν τε πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν λέγῃ τις, ὁμοίως· τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τἀναντία, πρὸς ἃ ὥσπερ ἀμφισβητοῦντα τὸν λόγον ποιεῖται. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς· ὥσπερ γὰρ πρὸς κριτὴν τὸν θεωρὸν ὁ λόγος συνέστηκεν. ὅλως δὲ μόνος ἐστὶν ἁπλῶς κριτὴς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁ τὰ ζητούμενα κρίνων· τά τε γὰρ ἀμφισβητούμενα ζητεῖται πῶς ἔχει, καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλεύονται.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας ἠθῶν ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον. ὥστε διωρισμένον ἂν εἴη πῶς τε καὶ διὰ τίνων τοὺς λόγους ἠθικοὺς ποιητέον.

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ ἕκαστον μὲν γένος τῶν λόγων ἕτερον ἦν τὸ τέλος, περὶ ἁπάντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰλημμέναι δόξαι καὶ προτάσεις εἰσίν, ἐξ ὧν τὰς πίστεις φέρουσι καὶ συμβουλεύοντες καὶ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ἀμφισβητοῦντες, ἔτι δ' ἐξ ὧν ἠθικοὺς τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεται ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων διώρισται, λοιπὸν ἡμῖν διελθεῖν περὶ
3 τῶν κοινῶν· πᾶσι γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τὰ περὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀδυνάτου προσχρῆσθαι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἔσται τοὺς δὲ ὡς γέγονε πειρᾶσθαι δεικνύναι.

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66 Both forensic and deliberative.

67 Or, "for in both forensic and deliberative arguments the issue is the state of the case."

a single individual and makes use of his speech to exhort or dissuade, as those do who give advice or try to persuade, for this single individual is equally a judge, since speaking generally, he who has to be persuaded is a judge; if the speaker is arguing against an opponent or against some theory, it is just the same, for it is necessary to make use of speech to destroy the opposing arguments, against which he speaks as if they were the actual opponent; and similarly in epideictic speeches, for the speech is put together with reference to the spectator as if he were a judge. Generally speaking, however, only he who decides questions at issue in civil controversies[66] is a judge in the proper sense of the word, for in judicial cases the point at issue is the state of the case, in deliberative the subjects of deliberation.[67]

We have already spoken of the characters of forms of government in treating deliberative rhetoric,[68] so that it has been determined how and by what means we must make our speeches conform to those characters.

Now since each kind of rhetoric, as was stated,[69] has its own special end, and in regard to all of them we have gathered popular opinions and premises from which men derive their proofs in deliberative, epideictic, and judicial speeches,[70] and, further, we have determined[71] the special rules according to which it is possible to adapt our speeches to character, it only remains to discuss the topics common to the three kinds of rhetoric. For all orators are obliged, in their speeches, also to make use of the topic of the possible and impossible, and to attempt to show, some of them that a thing will happen, others that it has happened.

[68] 1.8. [69] 1.3.
[70] 1.4–8. [71] 1.9, 1.10–15.

4 ἔτι δὲ περὶ μεγέθους κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων· χρῶνται γὰρ πάντες τῷ μειοῦν καὶ αὔξειν καὶ συμβουλεύοντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες καὶ κατηγο-
1392 a 5 ροῦντες | ἢ ἀπολογούμενοι. τούτων δὲ διορισθέντων περί τε ἐνθυμημάτων κοινῇ πειραθῶμεν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι ἔχομεν, καὶ περὶ παραδειγμάτων, ὅπως τὰ λοιπὰ προσθέντες ἀποδῶμεν τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν κοινῶν τὸ μὲν αὔξειν οἰκειότατον τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ γεγονὸς τοῖς δικανικοῖς (περὶ τούτων γὰρ ἡ κρίσις), τὸ δὲ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐσόμενον τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς.

19. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀδυνάτου λέγωμεν. ἂν δὴ τοὐναντίον ᾖ δυνατὸν ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι δυνατόν· οἷον εἰ δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑγιασθῆναι, καὶ νοσῆσαι· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων, ᾗ ἐναντία. καὶ εἰ τὸ
2 ὅμοιον δυνατόν, καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον. καὶ εἰ τὸ χαλεπώτερον
3 δυνατόν, καὶ τὸ ῥᾷον. καὶ εἰ τὸ σπουδαῖον καὶ καλὸν
4 γενέσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ ὅλως δυνατὸν γενέσθαι· χαλε-
5 πώτερον γὰρ καλὴν οἰκίαν ἢ οἰκίαν εἶναι. καὶ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ δύναται γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ τέλος· οὐδὲν γὰρ γίγνεται οὐδ' ἄρχεται γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων, οἷον τὸ σύμμετρον τὴν διάμετρον εἶναι οὔτ' ἂν ἄρξαιτο γίγνεσθαι οὔτε γίγνεται. καὶ οὗ τὸ τέλος, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ
6 δυνατή· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γίγνεται. καὶ εἰ τὸ

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72 1.9.40. Amplication is to be understood of the exaggeration of both great and small things. It is most suited to epideictic ora-

Further, the topic of magnitude is common to all kinds of rhetoric, for all men employ extenuation or amplification whether deliberating, praising or blaming, accusing or defending. When these topics have been determined, we will attempt to say what we can in general about enthymemes and examples, in order that, when we have added what remains, we may carry out what we proposed at the outset. Now, of the commonplaces amplification is most appropriate to epideictic rhetoric, as has been stated;[72] the past to forensic, since things past are the subject of judgment; and the possible and future to deliberative.

19. Let us first speak of the possible and the impossible. If of two contrary things it is possible that one should exist or come into existence, then it would seem that the other is equally possible; for instance, if a man can be cured, he can also be ill; for the potentiality of contraries, *qua* contraries, is the same. Similarly, if of two like things the one is possible, so also is the other. And if the harder of two things is possible, so also is the easier. And if it is possible for something to be made excellent or beautiful, it is possible for it to be made in general; for it is harder for a beautiful house to be made than a mere house. Again, if the beginning is possible, so also is the end; for no impossible thing comes, or begins to come, into existence; for instance, that the diameter of a square should be commensurable with the side of a square is neither possible nor could be possible. And when the end is possible, so also is the beginning; for all things arise from a beginning.

tory, in which there is no doubt as to the facts; so that it is only necessary to accentuate their importance or nonimportance.

ὕστερον τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἢ τῇ γενέσει δυνατὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ πρότερον, οἷον εἰ ἄνδρα γενέσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ παῖδα· πρότερον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο γίγνεται· καὶ εἰ παῖδα,
7 καὶ ἄνδρα· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἐκείνη. καὶ ὧν ἔρως ἢ ἐπιθυμία φύσει ἐστίν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾷ οὐδ' ἐπι-
8 θυμεῖ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. καὶ ὧν ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσι καὶ τέ-
9 χναι, δυνατὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι. καὶ ὅσων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς γενέσεως ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν ἃ ἡμεῖς ἀναγκάσαιμεν ἂν ἢ πείσαιμεν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὧν κρείττους
10 ἢ κύριοι ἢ φίλοι. καὶ ὧν τὰ μέρη δυνατά, καὶ τὸ ὅλον. καὶ ὧν τὸ ὅλον δυνατόν, καὶ τὰ μέρη ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ· εἰ γὰρ πρόσχισμα καὶ κεφαλὶς καὶ χιτὼν δύναται γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποδήματα δυνατὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰ ὑποδήματα, καὶ πρόσχισμα καὶ κεφαλὶς καὶ χιτών.
11 καὶ εἰ τὸ γένος | ὅλον τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ
1392 b εἶδος, καὶ εἰ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ τὸ γένος, οἷον εἰ πλοῖον γενέσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ τριήρη, καὶ εἰ τριήρη, καὶ
12 πλοῖον. καὶ εἰ θάτερον τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα πεφυκότων, καὶ θάτερον, οἷον εἰ διπλάσιον, καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ εἰ
13 ἥμισυ, καὶ διπλάσιον. καὶ εἰ ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ παρασκευῆς δυνατὸν γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον διὰ τέχνης καὶ ἐπιμελείας δυνατόν· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀγάθωνι εἴρηται

καὶ μὴν τὰ μέν γε χρὴ τέχνῃ πράσσειν, τὰ δὲ
ἡμῖν ἀνάγκῃ καὶ τύχῃ προσγίγνεται.

14 καὶ εἰ τοῖς χείροσι καὶ ἥττοσι καὶ ἀφρονεστέροις δυ-

And if what is subsequent in being or generation can come into being, so then can what is antecedent; for instance, if a man can come into being, so can a child, for the child is antecedent; and similarly, if a child can come into being, so can a man, for the child is a beginning. And things that we love or desire naturally are possible; for as a rule no one loves the impossible or desires it. And those things that form the subject of sciences or arts can also exist and come into existence. And so with all those things whose productive principles reside in what we can control by force or persuasion, when they depend upon those whose superiors, masters, or friends we are. And if the parts are possible, so also is the whole; and if the whole is possible, so also are the parts, speaking generally; for instance, if the front, toe cap, and upper leather,[73] can be made, then shoes can be made, and if shoes, then the above parts. And if the whole genus is among things possible to be made, so is the species, and if the species, so the genus; for example, if a ship can be built, so can a trireme, if a trireme can, so can a ship. If of two naturally corresponding things one is possible, so also is the other; for instance, if the double is possible, so is the half, if the half, so the double. If a thing can be made without art or preparation, much the more can it be made with the help of art and carefulness. For this reason it was said by Agathon,[74]

> And moreover we have to do some things by art,
> while others fall to our lot by compulsion or chance.

And if a thing is possible for those who are inferior, or

[73] The meaning of the Greek words is quite uncertain.
[74] The late fifth-century tragic poet: *TrGF* fr. 8.

νατόν, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἰσο-
κράτης ἔφη δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ ὁ μὲν Εὔθυνος ἔμαθεν,
15 αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ δυνήσεται εὑρεῖν. περὶ δὲ ἀδυνάτου
δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὑπάρχει.

16 Εἰ δὲ γέγονεν ἢ μὴ γέγονεν, ἐκ τῶνδε σκεπτέον.
πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, εἰ τὸ ἧττον γίνεσθαι πεφυκὸς γέ-
17 γονεν, γεγονὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον. καὶ εἰ τὸ ὕστε-
ρον εἰωθὸς γίγνεσθαι γέγονεν, καὶ τὸ πρότερον γέγο-
18 νεν, οἷον εἰ ἐπιλέλησται, καὶ ἔμαθέ ποτε τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ
ἐδύνατο καὶ ἐβούλετο, πέπραχεν· πάντες γάρ, ὅταν
19 δυνάμενοι βουληθῶσι, πράττουσιν· ἐμποδὼν γὰρ οὐ-
δέν. ἔτι εἰ ἐβούλετο καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἔξω ἐκώλυεν, καὶ
εἰ ἐδύνατο καὶ ὠργίζετο, καὶ εἰ ἐδύνατο καὶ ἐπεθύμει·
ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, ὧν ὀρέγονται, ἂν δύνωνται, καὶ
ποιοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν φαῦλοι δι' ἀκρασίαν, οἱ δ' ἐπιεικεῖς
20 ὅτι τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. καὶ ἔμελλε γίγνεσθαι,
21 καὶ ποιεῖν· εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ποιῆσαι. καὶ
εἰ γέγονεν ὅσα πεφύκει πρὸ ἐκείνου ἢ ἕνεκα ἐκείνου,
οἷον εἰ ἤστραψε, καὶ ἐβρόντησεν, καὶ εἰ ἐπείρασε, καὶ
ἔπραξεν. καὶ εἰ ὅσα ὕστερον πεφύκει γίγνεσθαι ἢ οὗ
ἕνεκα γίγνεται γέγονεν, καὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ τούτου
ἕνεκα γέγονεν, οἷον εἰ ἐβρόντησε, καὶ ἤστραψεν, καὶ

weaker, or less intelligent, it will be still more so for those whose qualities are the opposite; as Isocrates said, it would be very strange if he were unable by himself to find out what Euthynus had learned [with the help of others]. As for the impossible, it is clear that there is a supply of arguments to be derived from the opposite of what has been said about the possible.

The question whether a thing has or has not happened must be considered from the following points of view. In the first place, if what is naturally less likely has happened, then what is more likely will most probably have happened. If what usually happens afterward has happened, then what precedes must also have happened; for instance, if a man has forgotten a thing, he must once have learned it. If a man was able and wished to do a thing, he has done it; for all men do a thing when they are able and resolve to do it, for nothing hinders them. Further, if a man wished to do it and there was no external obstacle; if he was able to do it and was in a state of anger; if he was able and desired to do it; for men as a rule, whenever they can, do those things that they long for, the vicious owing to want of self-control, the virtuous because they desire what is good. And if anything was on the point of being done, it most probably was done; for it is likely that one who was on the point of doing something has carried it out. And if all the natural antecedents or causes of a thing have happened; for instance, if it has lightened, it has also thundered; and if a man has already attempted a crime, he has also committed it. And if all the natural consequences or motives of actions have happened, then the antecedent or the cause has happened; for instance, if it has thundered, it has also lightened, and if a man has com-

22 εἰ ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐπείρασεν. ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὕτως ἔχοντα, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι φανερὸν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

23 Καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐσομένου | ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν δῆλον· τό τε
1393 a γὰρ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ βουλήσει ὂν ἔσται, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ λογισμῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ὄντα, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ ἐν ὁρμῇ τοῦ ποιεῖν ἢ μελλήσει, ἔσται· ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνεται μᾶλλον τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ τὰ
24 μὴ μέλλοντα. καὶ εἰ προγέγονεν ὅσα πρότερον πε-
25 φύκει γίγνεσθαι, οἷον εἰ συννεφεῖ, εἰκὸς ὕσαι. καὶ εἰ τὸ ἕνεκα τούτου γέγονεν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, οἷον εἰ θεμέλιος, καὶ οἰκία.

26 Περὶ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ μικρότητος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μείζονός τε καὶ ἐλάττονος καὶ ὅλως μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν ἐστὶ φανερόν· εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς περί τε μεγέθους ἀγαθῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μείζονος ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλάττονος. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν λόγων τὸ προκείμενον τέλος ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, οἷον τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, φανερὸν ὅτι δι' ἐκείνων ληπτέον τὰς
27 αὐξήσεις πᾶσιν. τὸ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τι ζητεῖν περὶ μεγέθους ἁπλῶς καὶ ὑπεροχῆς κενολογεῖν ἐστίν· κυριώτερα γάρ ἐστι πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τῶν καθόλου τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν πραγμάτων. περὶ μὲν οὖν δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀδυνάτου, καὶ πότερον γέγονεν ἢ οὐ γέγονεν καὶ

mitted a crime, he has also attempted it. Of all these things some are so related necessarily, others only as a general rule. To establish that a thing has not happened, it is evident that our argument must be derived from the opposite of what has been said.

In regard to the future, it is clear that one can argue in the same way; for if we are able and wish to do a thing, it will be done; and so too will those things that desire, anger, and reasoning urge us to do, if we have the power. For this reason also, if a man has an eager desire, or intention, of doing a thing, it will probably be done; since, as a rule, things that are about to happen are more likely to happen than those that are not. And if all the natural antecedents have happened; for instance, if the sky is cloudy, it will probably rain. And if one thing has been done with a view to another, it is probable that the latter will also be done; for instance, if a foundation has been laid, a house will probably be built.

What we have previously said clearly shows the nature of the greatness and smallness of things, of the greater and less, and of things great and small generally. For, when treating of deliberative rhetoric,[75] we spoke of greatness of goods, and of the greater and less generally. Therefore, since in each branch of rhetoric the end set before it is a good, such as the expedient, the noble, or the just, it is evident that all must take the materials of amplification from these. To make any further inquiry as to magnitude and superiority absolutely would be to waste words; for the particular has more authority than the general for practical purposes. Let this suffice for the possible and

[75] 1.7.

ἔσται ἢ οὐκ ἔσται, ἔτι δὲ περὶ μεγέθους καὶ μικρότητος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰρήσθω ταῦτα.

20. Λοιπὸν δὲ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πίστεων ἅπασιν εἰπεῖν, ἐπείπερ εἴρηται περὶ τῶν ἰδίων. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ κοιναὶ πίστεις δύο τῷ γένει, παράδειγμα καὶ ἐνθύμημα·
2 ἡ γὰρ γνώμη μέρος ἐνθυμήματος ἐστίν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ παραδείγματος λέγωμεν· ὅμοιον γὰρ ἐπαγωγῇ τὸ παράδειγμα, ἡ δ' ἐπαγωγὴ ἀρχή.

Παραδειγμάτων δ' εἴδη δύο· ἓν μὲν γάρ ἐστι παραδείγματος εἶδος τὸ λέγειν πράγματα προγεγενημένα, ἓν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. τούτου δ' ἓν μὲν παραβολὴ ἓν
3 δὲ λόγοι, οἷον οἱ Αἰσώπειοι καὶ Λιβυκοί. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν πράγματα λέγειν[5] τοιόνδε τι, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγοι ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐὰν Αἴγυπτον χειρώσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ Δαρεῖος οὐ πρότερον
1393 b διέβη πρὶν Αἴγυπτον | λαβεῖν, λαβὼν δὲ διέβη, καὶ πάλιν Ξέρξης οὐ πρότερον ἐπεχείρησε πρὶν ἔλαβεν, λαβὼν δὲ διέβη· ὥστε καὶ οὗτος ἐὰν λάβῃ, διαβήσε-
4 ται· διὸ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον. παραβολὴ δὲ τὰ Σωκρατικά, οἷον εἴ τις λέγοι ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κληρωτοὺς ἄρχειν· ὅμοιον γὰρ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τοὺς ἀθλητὰς κληροίη μὴ οἳ ἂν δύνωνται ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλ' οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν, ἢ τῶν

5 Spengel's alteration of the Paris MS (A^c) reading παραδείγματα λέγειν.

76 As a starting point and first principle of knowledge.

77 The Libyan fables were of African origin. They are men-

impossible; for the question whether a thing has happened, or will happen, or not; and for the greatness or smallness of things.

20. It remains to speak of the proofs common to all branches of Rhetoric, since the particular proofs have been discussed. These common proofs are of two kinds, example and enthymeme (for the maxim is part of an enthymeme). Let us then first speak of the example; for the example resembles induction, and induction is a beginning.[76]

There are two kinds of examples; namely, one which consists in relating things that have happened before, and another in inventing them oneself. The latter are subdivided into comparisons or fables, such as those of Aesop and the Libyan.[77] It would be an instance of the historical kind of example, if one were to say that it is necessary to make preparations against the Great King and not to allow him to subdue Egypt; for Darius did not cross over to Greece until he had obtained possession of Egypt; but as soon as he had done so, he did. Again, Xerxes did not attack us until he had obtained possession of that country, but when he had, he crossed over; consequently, if the present Great King shall do the same, he will cross over, so that it must not be allowed. Comparison is illustrated by the sayings of Socrates; for instance, if one were to say that magistrates should not be chosen by lot, for this would be the same as choosing as representative athletes not those competent to compete but those on whom the lot falls; or as choosing whomever of the sailors as the man

tioned by Quintilian (*Inst.* 5.11.20) and belonged to the class of animal fables.

πλωτήρων ὅν τινα δεῖ κυβερνᾶν κληρώσειεν, ὡς δέον τὸν λαχόντα ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον.

5 Λόγος δέ, οἷος ὁ Στησιχόρου περὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Αἰσώπου ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ. Στησίχορος μὲν γάρ, ἑλομένων στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φάλαριν καὶ μελλόντων φυλακὴν διδόναι τοῦ σώματος, τἆλλα διαλεχθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λόγον ὡς ἵππος κατεῖχε λειμῶνα μόνος, ἐλθόντος δ' ἐλάφου καὶ διαφθείροντος τὴν νομὴν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἔλαφον ἠρώτα τινὰ ἄνθρωπον εἰ δύναιτ' ἂν μετ' αὐτοῦ κολάσαι τὸν ἔλαφον, ὁ δ' ἔφησεν, ἐὰν λάβῃ χαλινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἀκόντια· συνομολογήσαντος δὲ καὶ ἀναβάντος, ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι αὐτὸς ἐδούλευσεν ἤδη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. "οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "ὁρᾶτε μὴ βουλόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους τιμωρήσασθαι ταὐτὸ πάθητε τῷ ἵππῳ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ χαλινὸν ἔχετε ἤδη, ἑλόμενοι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα· ἐὰν δὲ φυλακὴν δῶτε καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐάσητε, δουλεύ-
6 σετε ἤδη Φαλάριδι." Αἴσωπος δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ συνηγορῶν δημαγωγῷ κρινομένῳ περὶ θανάτου ἔφη ἀλώπεκα διαβαίνουσαν ποταμὸν ἀπωσθῆναι εἰς φάραγγα, οὐ δυναμένην δ' ἐκβῆναι πολὺν χρόνον κακοπαθεῖν, καὶ κυνοραϊστὰς πολλοὺς ἔχεσθαι αὐτῆς· ἐχῖνον δὲ πλανώμενον, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτήν, κατοικτείραντα ἐρωτᾶν εἰ ἀφέλοι αὐτῆς τοὺς κυνοραϊστάς· τὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐᾶν· ἐρο-

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78 The παραβολή as understood by Aristotle is a comparison and application of cases easily supposable and such as occur in

who should take the helm, as if it were right that the choice should be decided by lot, not by a man's knowledge.[78]

A fable, to give an example, is that of Stesichorus concerning Phalaris, or that of Aesop on behalf of the demagogue. For Stesichorus, when the people of Himera had chosen Phalaris dictator and were on the point of giving him a bodyguard, after many arguments related a fable to them: "A horse was in sole occupation of a meadow. When a stag came and did a lot of damage to the pasture, the horse, wanting to avenge himself on the stag, asked a man whether he could help him punish the stag. The man consented on condition that the horse submit to the bit and allow him to mount him javelins in hand. The horse agreed to the terms and the man mounted him, but instead of obtaining vengeance on the stag, the horse from that time became the man's slave. So then," he said, "be careful that in your desire to avenge yourselves on the enemy you won't be treated like the horse. You already have the bit, since you have chosen a dictator; if you give him a bodyguard and allow him to mount you, you will at once be the slaves of Phalaris." Aesop, when defending at Samos a demagogue who was being tried for his life, related the following anecdote. "A fox, while crossing a river, was driven into a ravine. Unable to get out, she was for a long time in great distress, and a number of dog fleas clung to her skin. A hedgehog, wandering about, saw her and, moved with compassion, asked her if he should remove the fleas. The fox refused and when the hedgehog asked

eal life, for the purpose of illustrating the point in question; the able, on the other hand, is pure fiction.

μένου δὲ διὰ τί, ὅτι οὗτοι μὲν φάναι ἤδη μου πλήρεις εἰσὶ καὶ ὀλίγον ἕλκουσιν αἷμα· ἐὰν δὲ τούτους ἀφέλῃ, ἕτεροι ἐλθόντες πεινῶντες ἐκπιοῦνταί μου τὸ λοιπὸν αἷμα. "ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑμᾶς," ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες Σάμιοι, οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάψει (πλούσιος γάρ ἐστιν)· ἐὰν δὲ
1394 a τοῦτον ἀποκτείνητε, | ἕτεροι ἥξουσι πένητες, οἳ ὑμῖν
7 ἀναλώσουσι τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτοντες." εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λόγοι δημηγορικοί, καὶ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο, ὅτι πράγματα μὲν εὑρεῖν ὅμοια γεγενημένα χαλεπόν, λόγους δὲ ῥᾷον· ποιῆσαι γὰρ δεῖ ὥσπερ καὶ παραβολάς, ἄν τις δύνηται τὸ ὅμοιον ὁρᾶν, ὅπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστιν ἐκ φιλο-
8 σοφίας. ῥᾴω μὲν οὖν πορίσασθαι τὰ διὰ τῶν λόγων, χρησιμώτερα δὲ πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι τὰ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὅμοια γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγονόσιν.

9 Δεῖ δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παραδείγμασι μὴ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐνθυμήματα ὡς ἀποδείξεσιν (ἡ γὰρ πίστις διὰ τούτων), ἔχοντα δὲ ὡς μαρτυρίοις, ἐπιλόγῳ χρώμενον τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν· προτιθέμενα μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ἐπαγωγῇ, τοῖς δὲ ῥητορικοῖς οὐκ οἰκεῖον ἐπαγωγὴ πλὴν ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἐπιλεγόμενα δὲ μαρτυρίοις, ὁ δὲ μάρτυς πανταχοῦ πιθανός. διὸ καὶ προτιθέντι μὲν ἀνάγκη πολλὰ λέγειν, ἐπιλέγοντι δὲ καὶ ἓν ἱκανόν· μάρτυς γὰρ πιστὸς καὶ εἷς ἀπόχρη. πόσα μὲν οὖν εἴδη

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79 "Literary knowledge" (Jebb); "literature" (Cope, who however in his annotated edition explains, "intellectual study and mental exercises in general").

the reason, she answered: 'They are already full of me and draw little blood; but if you take them away, others will come that are hungry and will drain what remains to me.' In the same fashion, Samians, you will suffer no more harm from this man, for he is wealthy; but if you put him to death, others will come who are poor, and they will steal and squander your public funds." Fables are suitable for public speaking, and they have the advantage that, while it is difficult to find similar situations that have really happened in the past, it is easier to invent fables; for they must be invented, like comparisons, if a man is capable of seizing the analogy; and this is easy if one studies philosophy.[79] Thus while the lessons conveyed by fables are easier to provide, those derived from facts are more useful for deliberative oratory, because as a rule the future resembles the past.

If we have no enthymemes, we must employ examples as demonstrative proofs, for conviction is produced by these; but if we have them, examples must be used as evidence and as a kind of epilogue to the enthymemes.[80] For if they stand first, they resemble induction, and induction is not suitable to rhetorical speeches except in very few cases; if they stand last they resemble evidence, and a witness is in every case likely to induce belief. For this reason too it is necessary to quote a number of examples if they are put first, but one alone is sufficient if they are put last; for even a single trustworthy witness is of use. We

[80] If we have no enthymemes, we must use examples instead of them; for they are useful for persuasion, although they do not really demonstrate anything. If we have enthymemes, we must use examples in corroboration of them (see 21.3 note).

παραδειγμάτων, καὶ πῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ πότε χρηστέον, εἴρηται.

21. Περὶ δὲ γνωμολογίας, ῥηθέντος τί ἐστι γνώμη, μάλιστ' ἂν γένοιτο φανερὸν περὶ ποίων τε καὶ πότε καὶ τίσιν ἁρμόττει χρῆσθαι τῷ γνωμολογεῖν ἐν τοῖς
2 λόγοις. ἔστι δὲ γνώμη ἀπόφανσις, οὐ μέντοι περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον, οἷον ποῖός τις Ἰφικράτης, ἀλλὰ καθόλου· καὶ οὐ περὶ πάντων καθόλου, οἷον ὅτι τὸ εὐθὺ τῷ καμπύλῳ ἐναντίον, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὅσων αἱ πράξεις εἰσί, καὶ αἱρετὰ ἢ φευκτά ἐστι πρὸς τὸ πράττειν. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ὁ περὶ τούτων συλλογισμός ἐστι σχεδόν, τά τε συμπεράσματα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀφαιρεθέντος τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ γνῶμαί εἰσι, οἷον

χρὴ δ' οὔ ποθ', ὅς τις ἀρτίφρων πέφυκ' ἀνήρ,
παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι σοφούς.

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν γνώμη· προστεθείσης δὲ τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ διὰ τί, ἐνθύμημά ἐστι τὸ ἅπαν, οἷον

χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης ἧς ἔχουσιν ἀργίας,
φθόνον παρ' ἀστῶν ἀλφάνουσι δυσμενῆ. |

1394 b καὶ τὸ

οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς τις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ.

καὶ τὸ

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81 Putting the comma after σχεδόν. 82 Eur. *Med.* 294–95.

have thus stated how many kinds of examples there are, and how and when they should be utilized.

21. As regards the use of maxims, it will most readily be evident on what subjects, and on what occasions, and by whom it is appropriate that maxims should be employed in speeches, after a maxim has been defined. Now a maxim is a statement, not however concerning particulars, as for instance what sort of a man Iphicrates was, but general; it does not even deal with all general things, as for instance that the straight is the opposite of the crooked, but with the objects of human actions, and with what should be chosen or avoided with reference to them. And as the enthymeme is, we may say,[81] the syllogism dealing with such things, maxims are the premises or conclusions of enthymemes without the syllogism. For example:

> No man who is sensible ought to have
> his children taught to be excessively clever,[82]

is a maxim; but when the why and the wherefore are added, the whole makes an enthymeme; for instance,

> for not to speak of the charge of idleness brought
> against them,[83]
> they earn jealous hostility from the citizens.[84]

Another example:

> There is no man who is happy in everything;[85]

or,

[83] "The idle habits which they contract" (Cope).
[84] Eur. *Med.* 296–97.
[85] The opening line of Eur. *Sthen.*, *TrGF* fr. 661.1.

οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν ὅς τις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος

γνώμη, πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐνθύμημα·

ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης.

3 εἰ δή ἐστι γνώμη τὸ εἰρημένον, ἀνάγκη τέτταρα εἴδη
4 εἶναι γνώμης· ἢ γὰρ μετ' ἐπιλόγου ἔσται ἢ ἄνευ ἐπι-
λόγου. ἀποδείξεως μὲν οὖν δεόμεναί εἰσιν ὅσαι παρά-
δοξόν τι λέγουσιν ἢ ἀμφισβητούμενον· ὅσαι δὲ μη-
5 δὲν παράδοξον, ἄνευ ἐπιλόγου. τούτων δ' ἀνάγκη τὰς
μὲν διὰ τὸ προεγνῶσθαι μηδὲν δεῖσθαι ἐπιλόγου, οἷον

ἀνδρὶ δ' ὑγιαίνειν ἄριστόν ἐστιν, ὥς γ' ἡμῖν
δοκεῖ·

φαίνεται γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτω· τὰς δ' ἅμα λεγομέ-
νας δήλας εἶναι ἐπιβλέψασιν, οἷον

οὐδεὶς ἐραστὴς ὅς τις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ.

6 τῶν δὲ μετ' ἐπιλόγου αἱ μὲν ἐνθυμήματος μέρος εἰσίν,
ὥσπερ

χρὴ δ' οὔ ποθ' ὅστις ἀρτίφρων,

αἱ δ' ἐνθυμηματικαὶ μέν, οὐκ ἐνθυμήματος δὲ μέρος·

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[86] Eur. *Hec.* 864.

[87] Eur. *Hec.* 858.

[88] Maxims with an epilogue are (1) imperfect enthymemes, or (2) enthymematic in character, but not in form; those without an

There is no man who is really free.[86]

The latter is a maxim, but taken with the next verse it is an enthymeme:

for he is the slave of either wealth or fortune.[87]

Now, if a maxim is what we have stated, it follows that maxims are of four kinds; for they are either accompanied by an epilogue or not.[88] Now all those need demonstrative proof that state anything contrary to general opinion or a disputed issue; but those need no epilogue that do not,[89] either because they are already known, as for instance,

Health is a most excellent thing for a man, at least in our opinion,[90]

for this is generally agreed; or because no sooner are they uttered than they are clear to those who consider them, for instance,

He is no lover who does not love always.[91]

As for the maxims that are accompanied by an epilogue, some form part of an enthymeme, as

No one who is sensible, etc.,[92]

while others are enthymematic but are not part of an en-

epilogue are (1) such as are well known, or (2) such as are clear as soon as they are uttered.

[89] Something added as a supplementary proof, the why and the wherefore; in 3.19 it is used for the peroration of a speech.

[90] Epicharmus, *PCG* 250.

[91] Eur. *Tro.* 1051.

[92] See §2.

αἴπερ καὶ μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δ' αὗται ἐν ὅσαις ἐμφαίνεται τοῦ λεγομένου τὸ αἴτιον, οἷον ἐν τῷ

ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλασσε θνητὸς ὤν·

τὸ μὲν γὰρ φάναι μὴ δεῖν ἀεὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ὀργὴν γνώμη, τὸ δὲ προσκείμενον "θνητὸν ὄντα" τὸ διὰ τί λεγει. ὅμοιον δὲ καὶ τὸ

θνατὰ χρὴ τὸν θνατόν, οὐκ ἀθάνατα τὸν θνατὸν φρονεῖν.

7 Φανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων πόσα τε εἴδη γνώμης, καὶ περὶ ποῖον ἕκαστον ἁρμόττει· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἢ παραδόξων μὴ ἄνευ ἐπιλόγου, ἀλλ' ἢ προθέντα τὸν ἐπίλογον γνώμῃ χρῆσθαι τῷ συμπεράσματι, οἷον εἴ τις εἴποι "ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε φθονεῖσθαι δεῖ οὔτ' ἀργὸν εἶναι, οὔ φημι χρῆναι παιδεύεσθαι," ἢ τοῦτο προειπόντα ἐπειπεῖν τὰ ἔμπροσθεν. περὶ δὲ τῶν μὴ παραδόξων ἀδήλων δέ, προστιθέντα τὸ διότι στρογγυλώτατα.
8 ἁρμόττει δ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ ἀπο-
1395 a φθέγματα καὶ τὰ αἰνιγματώδη, οἷον εἴ τις λέγει | ὅπερ Στησίχορος ἐν Λοκροῖς εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑβριστὰς
9 εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ οἱ τέττιγες χαμόθεν ᾄδωσιν. ἁρμόττει δὲ γνωμολογεῖν ἡλικίᾳ μὲν πρεσβυτέροις, περὶ δὲ

[93] They partake of the nature of, but not of the form of, enthymemes. [94] Author unknown (*TrGF* adesp. 79).

thymeme;[93] and these are most highly esteemed. Such are those maxims in which the reason of what is said is apparent: for instance,

Being a mortal, do not nourish immortal wrath;[94]

to say that one should not always nourish one's wrath is a maxim, but the addition "being a mortal" states the reason. It is the same with

A mortal should have mortal, not immortal
thoughts.[95]

It is evident, therefore, from what has been said, how many kinds of maxims there are and to what they are appropriately applied in each case. For in the case of disputed issues or what is contrary to the general opinion, the epilogue is necessary; but either the epilogue may be put first and the conclusion used as a maxim, as for example if one were to say, "As for me, since one ought to be neither the object of jealousy nor idle, I say that children ought not to be educated"; or put the maxim first and append the epilogue. In all cases where the statements made, although not paradoxical, are obscure, the reason should be added as concisely as possible. In such cases laconic apothegms and riddling sayings are suitable; as, for instance, to say what Stesichorus said to the Locrians, that they should not be insolent, lest their cicadas be forced to chirp from the ground.[96] The use of maxims is suitable for

[95] Epicharmus, *PCG* 251.

[96] Meaning that the land would be devastated and the trees cut down.

τούτων ὧν ἔμπειρός τις ἐστί, ὡς τὸ μὲν μὴ τηλικοῦτον ὄντα γνωμολογεῖν ἀπρεπὲς ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μυθολογεῖν, περὶ δ' ὧν ἄπειρος, ἠλίθιον καὶ ἀπαίδευτον. σημεῖον δ' ἱκανόν· οἱ γὰρ ἀγροῖκοι μάλιστα γνωμοτύποι εἰσὶ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀποφαίνονται.

10 Καθόλου δὲ μὴ ὄντος καθόλου εἰπεῖν μάλιστα ἁρμόττει ἐν σχετλιασμῷ καὶ δεινώσει, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἢ
11 ἀρχόμενον ἢ ἀποδείξαντα. χρῆσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ταῖς τεθρυλημέναις καὶ κοιναῖς γνώμαις, ἐὰν ὦσι χρήσιμοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι κοιναί, ὡς ὁμολογούντων ἁπάντων, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν δοκοῦσιν, οἷον παρακαλοῦντι ἐπὶ τὸ κινδυνεύειν μὴ θυσαμένους

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης,

καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἥττους ὄντας

ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος,

καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναιρεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰ τέκνα καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα

νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει.

12 Ἔτι ἔνιαι τῶν παροιμιῶν καὶ γνῶμαί εἰσιν, οἷον
13 παροιμία "Ἀττικὸς πάροικος." δεῖ δὲ τὰς γνώμας λέγειν καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα (λέγω δὲ δεδημοσι-

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97 *Hom. Il.* 12.243.
98 *Hom. Il.* 18.309.
99 1.15.14.

one who is advanced in years, and in regard to things in which one has experience; since the use of maxims before such an age is unseemly, as also is storytelling; and to speak about things of which one has no experience shows foolishness and lack of education. A sufficient proof of this is that rustics especially are fond of coining maxims and ready to make display of them.

To express in general terms what is not general is especially suitable in complaint or exaggeration, and then either at the beginning or after the demonstration. One should even make use of common and frequently quoted maxims, if they are useful; for because they are common, they seem to be true, since all as it were acknowledge them as such; for instance, one who is exhorting his soldiers to brave danger before having sacrificed may say,

> The best of omens is to defend one's country,[97]

and if they are numerically inferior,

> The chances of war are the same for both,[98]

and if advising them to destroy the children of the enemy even though they are innocent of wrong,

> Foolish is he who, having slain the father, allows the children to live.[99]

Further, some proverbs are also maxims; for example, "An Attic neighbor."[100] Maxims should also be used even when they contradict the most popular sayings, such as

[100] Cf. Thuc. 1.70, where the Corinthians complain of the lack of energy shown by the Spartans, as compared with their own restless and troublesome neighbors, the Athenians.

ειμένη οἷον τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὸ Μηδὲν ἄγαν), ὅταν ἢ τὸ ἦθος φαίνεσθαι μέλλῃ βέλτιον, ἢ παθητικῶς εἰρημένη ᾖ. ἔστι δὲ παθητικὴ μέν, οἷον εἴ τις ὀργιζόμενος φαίη ψεῦδος εἶναι ὡς δεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτόν· οὗτος γοῦν εἰ ἐγίγνωσκεν ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε στρατηγεῖν ἠξίωσεν. τὸ δὲ ἦθος βέλτιον, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ, ὥσπερ φασί, φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μι-
14 σεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντας. δεῖ δὲ τῇ λέξει τὴν προαίρεσιν συνδηλοῦν, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιλέγειν, οἷον ἢ οὕτως εἰπόντα, ὅτι "δεῖ φιλεῖν οὐχ ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀεὶ φιλήσοντα· ἐπιβούλου γὰρ θάτερον," ἢ ὧδε "οὐκ ἀρέσκει δέ μοι τὸ λεγόμενον· δεῖ γὰρ τόν γ' ἀληθινὸν φίλον ὡς φιλήσοντα ἀεὶ φιλεῖν." καὶ "οὐδὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν· δεῖ γὰρ τούς γε κακοὺς ἄγαν μισεῖν."

15 Ἔχουσι δ' εἰς | τοὺς λόγους βοήθειαν μεγάλην
1395 b μίαν μὲν δὴ διὰ τὴν φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν· χαίρουσι γάρ, ἐάν τις καθόλου λέγων ἐπιτύχῃ τῶν δοξῶν ἃς ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ μέρος ἔχουσιν. ὃ δὲ λέγω, δῆλον ἔσται ὧδε, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πῶς δεῖ αὐτὰς θηρεύειν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γνώμη, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀπόφανσις καθόλου ἐστίν, χαίρουσι δὲ καθόλου λεγομένου ὃ κατὰ μέρος προϋπολαμβάνοντες τυγχάνουσιν· οἷον εἴ τις γείτοσι τύχοι κεχρημένος ἢ τέκνοις φαύλοις, ἀποδέξαιτ' ἂν τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι

οὐδὲν γειτονίας χαλεπώτερον,

101 In reference to their own particular case.

"Know thyself" and "Nothing in excess," either when one's character is thereby likely to appear better, or if they are expressed in the language of passion. It would be an instance of the latter if a man in a rage were to say, "It is not true that a man should know himself; at any rate, such a man as this, if he had known himself, would never have claimed the chief command." And one's character would appear better if one were to say that it is not right, as men say, to love as if one were bound to hate, but rather to hate as if one were bound to love. The moral purpose also should be made clear by the language, or else one should add the reason; for example either by saying "that it is right to love, not as men say, but as if one were going to love for ever, for the other kind of love would imply treachery"; or thus, "The maxim does not please me, for the true friend should love as if he were going to love forever. Nor do I approve the maxim 'Nothing in excess,' for one cannot hate the wicked excessively."

Further, maxims are of great assistance to speakers, first, because of the crudeness of the audience, who are pleased if an orator, speaking generally, hits upon the opinions which they specially hold.[101] What I mean will be clear from the following, and also how one should hunt for maxims. The maxim, as we have said, is a statement of the general; accordingly, the listeners are pleased to hear stated in general terms the opinion which they have already specially formed. For instance, a man who happened to have bad neighbors or children would welcome anyone's statement that

nothing is more troublesome than neighbors

ἢ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἠλιθιώτερον τεκνοποιίας. ὥστε δεῖ στοχά-
ζεσθαι πῶς τυγχάνουσι ποῖα προϋπολαμβάνοντες,
16 εἶθ' οὕτω περὶ τούτων καθόλου λέγειν. ταύτην τε δὴ
ἔχει μίαν χρῆσιν τὸ γνωμολογεῖν, καὶ ἑτέραν κρείττω·
ἠθικοὺς γὰρ ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους. ἦθος δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ
λόγοι, ἐν ὅσοις δήλη ἡ προαίρεσις. αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι πᾶ-
σαι τοῦτο ποιοῦσι διὰ τὸ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν τὴν
γνώμην λέγοντα καθόλου περὶ τῶν προαιρετῶν, ὥστ'
ἂν χρησταὶ ὦσιν αἱ γνῶμαι, καὶ χρηστοήθη φαίνε-
σθαι ποιοῦσι τὸν λέγοντα. περὶ μὲν οὖν γνώμης, καὶ
τί ἐστι καὶ πόσα εἴδη αὐτῆς καὶ πῶς χρηστέον αὐτῇ
καὶ τίνα ὠφέλειαν ἔχει, εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

22. Περὶ δ' ἐνθυμημάτων καθόλου τε εἴπωμεν, τίνα
τρόπον δεῖ ζητεῖν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς τόπους· ἄλλο
2 γὰρ εἶδος ἑκατέρου τούτων ἐστίν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐν-
θύμημα συλλογισμός τίς ἐστιν, εἴρηται πρότερον,
καὶ πῶς συλλογισμός, καὶ τί διαφέρει τῶν διαλεκτι-
3 κῶν· οὔτε γὰρ πόρρωθεν οὔτε πάντα δεῖ λαμβάνοντας
συνάγειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσαφὲς διὰ τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δὲ
ἀδολεσχία διὰ τὸ φανερὰ λέγειν. τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιον
καὶ τοῦ πιθανωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους τῶν πε-
παιδευμένων ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὥσπερ φασὶν οἱ ποιηταὶ
τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους παρ' ὄχλῳ μουσικωτέρως λέγειν· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ καθόλου λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν

[102] The conclusion must not be reached by means of a long series of arguments, as it were strung together in a chain: cf. 1.2.12, where the hearers are spoken of as unable to take in at

or more stupid than to beget children. Thus the speaker should attempt to guess how his listeners formed their preconceived opinions and what they are, and then express himself in general terms in regard to them. This is one of the advantages of the use of maxims, but another is greater, for it makes speeches ethical. Speeches have this character, in which the moral purpose is clear. And this is the effect of all maxims, because he who employs them in a general manner declares his moral preferences; if then the maxims are good, they show the speaker also to be a man of good character. Let this suffice for what we had to say concerning maxims, their nature, how many kinds of them there are, the way they should be used, and what their advantages are.

22. Let us now speak of enthymemes in general and the manner of looking for them, and next of their topics; for each of these is different in kind. We have already said that the enthymeme is a kind of syllogism, what makes it so, and in what it differs from the dialectic syllogisms; for the conclusion must neither be drawn from too far back[102] nor should it include all the steps of the argument. In the first case its length causes obscurity, in the second, it is simply a waste of words, because it states much that is obvious. It is this that makes the ignorant more persuasive than the educated in the presence of crowds; as the poets say, "the ignorant are more skilled at speaking before a mob."[103] For the educated use commonplaces and generalities, whereas the ignorant speak of what they know and of what

a glance a long series of arguments or "to follow a long chain of reasoning" (οὐδὲ λογίζεσθαι πόρρωθεν).

[103] Eur. *Hipp.* 989.

ἴσασι, καὶ τὰ ἐγγύς. ὥστ' οὐκ ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν δοκούν-
των ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὡρισμένων λεκτέον, οἷον ἢ τοῖς κρί-
1396 a νουσιν ἢ οὓς ἀποδέχονται. | καὶ τοῦτο δ', ὅτι οὕτω
φαίνεται, δῆλον εἶναι ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις. καὶ
μὴ μόνον συνάγειν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ
τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ.

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δεῖ λαβεῖν ὅτι περὶ οὗ δεῖ λέγειν
καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι εἴτε πολιτικῷ συλλογισμῷ εἴθ'
ὁποιῳοῦν, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰ τούτῳ ἔχειν ὑπάρχοντα,
ἢ πάντα ἢ ἔνια· μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχων ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔχοις
5 συνάγειν. λέγω δ' οἷον πῶς ἂν δυναίμεθα συμβου-
λεύειν Ἀθηναίοις εἰ πολεμητέον ἢ μὴ πολεμητέον, μὴ
ἔχοντες τίς ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν, πότερον ναυτικὴ ἢ πε-
ζικὴ ἢ ἄμφω, καὶ αὕτη πόση, καὶ πρόσοδοι τίνες ἢ
φίλοι καὶ ἐχθροί, ἔτι δὲ τίνας πολέμους πεπολεμήκασι
6 καὶ πῶς, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα; ἢ ἐπαινεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι-
μεν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι
μάχην ἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλειδῶν πραχθέντα ἢ ἄλλο τι
τῶν τοιούτων; ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἢ δοκούντων
7 ὑπάρχειν καλῶν ἐπαινοῦσι πάντες. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
ψέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων, σκοποῦντες τί ὑπάρχει τοι-
οῦτον αὐτοῖς ἢ δοκεῖ ὑπάρχειν, οἷον ὅτι τοὺς Ἕλλη-
νας κατεδουλώσαντο, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον
συμμαχεσαμένους καὶ ἀριστεύσαντας ἠνδραποδί-
σαντο Αἰγινήτας καὶ Ποτιδαιάτας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοι-
αῦτα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἁμάρτημα ὑπάρχει
αὐτοῖς. ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀπο-

more nearly concerns the audience. Thus one must not argue from all possible opinions but only from definite and admitted ones, for instance either by the judges themselves or by those of whose judgment they approve. Further, it should be clear that this is the opinion of all or most of the audience; and again, conclusions should not be drawn from necessary premises alone but also from those that are only true as a rule.

First of all then, it must be understood that in regard to the subject of our speech or reasoning, whether it be political or any other kind, it is necessary to be also acquainted with the elements of the question, either entirely or in part; for if you know none of these things, you will have nothing from which to draw a conclusion. I should like to know, for instance, how we are to give advice to the Athenians about making war or not, if we do not know in what their strength consists, whether it is naval, military, or both, how great it is, their sources of revenue, their friends and enemies, and further, what wars they have already waged, with what success, and all similar knowledge? Again, how could we praise them, if we did not know of the naval engagement at Salamis or the battle of Marathon, or what they did for the Children of Heracles, and other similar subjects? For men always base their praise on what really are or are thought to be glorious deeds. Similarly, they base their censure on actions that are contrary to these, examining whether the censured have really, or seem to have, committed them; for example, that the Athenians subjugated the Greeks and reduced to slavery the Aeginetans and Potidaeans who had fought with distinction on their side against the barbarians, and all such acts, and whatever other similar offenses

λογούμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σκοπούμενοι κατηγο-
8 ροῦσι καὶ ἀπολογοῦνται. οὐδὲν δὲ διαφέρει περὶ Ἀθη-
ναίων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ἀνθρώπου ἢ θεοῦ ταὐτὸ
τοῦτο δρᾶν· καὶ γὰρ συμβουλεύοντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ
ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ ψέγοντα καὶ κατηγοροῦντα καὶ ἀπο-
λογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ δοκοῦντα
ὑπάρχειν ληπτέον, ἵν' ἐκ τούτων λέγωμεν ἐπαινοῦντες
ἢ ψέγοντες εἴ τι καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρὸν ὑπάρχει, κατηγο-
ροῦντες δ' ἢ ἀπολογούμενοι εἴ τι δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον,
συμβουλεύοντες δ' εἴ τι συμφέρον ἢ βλαβερόν.
9 ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ πράγματος ὁτουοῦν, οἷον
περὶ δικαιοσύνης, εἰ ἀγαθὸν ἢ μὴ ἀγαθόν, ἐκ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ.
10 Ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάντες οὕτω φαίνονται ἀποδεικνύν-
1396 b τες, ἐάν τε ἀκριβέστερον ἐάν | τε μαλακώτερον συλ-
λογίζωνται (οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἁπάντων λαμβάνουσιν ἀλλ' ἐκ
τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου
δῆλον ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἄλλως δεικνύναι), φανερὸν ὅτι
ἀναγκαῖον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς, πρῶτον περὶ ἕκα-
στον ἔχειν ἐξειλεγμένα περὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ τῶν
11 ἐπικαιροτάτων, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξ ὑπογυίου γιγνομένων
ζητεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀποβλέποντα μὴ εἰς ἀόρι-
στα ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, καὶ
περιγράφοντας ὅτι πλεῖστα καὶ ἐγγύτατα τοῦ πρά-
γματος· ὅσῳ μὲν γὰρ ἂν πλείω ἔχηται τῶν ὑπαρχόν-

may have been committed by them. Similarly in accusation and defense, speakers argue from an examination of the circumstances of the case. In doing this it makes no difference whether it is a question of Athenians or Lacedaemonians, of a man or a god. For when advising Achilles, praising or censuring, accusing or defending him, we must grasp all that really belongs or appears to belong to him, in order that we may praise or censure in accordance with this, if there is anything noble or disgraceful; defend or accuse, if there is anything just or unjust; advise, if there is anything expedient or harmful. And similarly in regard to any subject whatever. For instance in regard to justice, whether it is good or not, we must consider the question in the light of what is inherent in justice or the good.

Therefore, since it is evident that all men follow this procedure in demonstration, whether they reason strictly or loosely—since they do not derive their arguments from everything indiscriminately but from what is inherent in each particular subject, and reason makes it clear that it is impossible to prove anything in any other way[104]—it is evidently necessary, as has been stated in the *Topics*,[105] to have first on each subject a selection of premises about possibilities and what is most suitable. As for those to be used in sudden emergencies, the same method of inquiry must be adopted; we must look not at what is indefinite but at what is inherent in the subject treated in the speech, marking off as many facts as possible, particularly those intimately connected with the subject; for the more facts

[104] Or, "by means of the *speech* it is impossible to prove anything otherwise" (Cope). [105] 1.14. *πρῶτον*: that is, "the speaker's chief care should be. . . ."

των, τοσούτῳ ῥᾷον δεικνύναι. ὅσῳ δ' ἐγγύτερον, τοσ-
12 ούτῳ οἰκειότερα καὶ ἧττον κοινά. λέγω δὲ κοινὰ μὲν
τὸ ἐπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι τῶν
ἡμιθέων καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐστρατεύσατο· ταῦτα
γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει πολλοῖς, ὥστ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
ὁ τοιοῦτος Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαινεῖ ἢ Διομήδην. ἴδια δὲ ἃ
μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ συμβέβηκεν ἢ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, οἷον τὸ ἀπο-
κτεῖναι τὸν Ἕκτορα τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Τρώων καὶ τὸν
Κύκνον, ὃς ἐκώλυσεν ἅπαντας ἀποβαίνειν ἄτρωτος
ὤν, καὶ ὅτι νεώτατος καὶ οὐκ ἔνορκος ὢν ἐστράτευσεν,
καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

13 Εἷς μὲν οὖν τρόπος τῆς ἐκλογῆς καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος
ὁ τοπικός, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων λέγωμεν
(στοιχεῖον δὲ λέγω καὶ τόπον ἐνθυμήματος τὸ αὐτό).
πρῶτον δ' εἴπωμεν περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν πρῶτον.
14 ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων εἴδη δύο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δει-
κτικά ἐστιν ὅτι ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, τὰ δ' ἐλεγκτικά· καὶ
διαφέρει ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἔλεγχος καὶ συλ-
15 λογισμός. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν δεικτικὸν ἐνθύμημα τὸ ἐξ
ὁμολογουμένων συνάγειν, τὸ δὲ ἐλεγκτικὸν τὸ τὰ ἀνο-
16 μολογούμενα συνάγειν. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ
ἑκάστων τῶν εἰδῶν τῶν χρησίμων καὶ ἀναγκαίων
ἔχονται οἱ τόποι· ἐξειλεγμέναι γὰρ αἱ προτάσεις περὶ
ἕκαστόν εἰσιν, ὥστ' ἐξ ὧν δεῖ φέρειν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα

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106 The more suitable they will be and the less they will resemble ordinary, trivial generalities.

one has, the easier it is to demonstrate, and the more closely connected they are with the subject, the more suitable are they and less common.[106] By common I mean, for instance, praising Achilles because he is a man, or one of the demigods, or because he went on the expedition against Troy; for this is applicable to many others as well, so that such praise is no more suited to Achilles than to Diomedes. By particular I mean what belongs to Achilles but to no one else; for instance, to have slain Hector, the bravest of the Trojans, and Cycnus, who being invulnerable prevented all the Greeks from disembarking; to have gone to the war when very young and without having taken the oath; and all such facts.

One method of selection then, and this the first, is the topical. Let us now speak of the elements of enthymemes (by element and topic of enthymeme I mean the same thing). But let us first make some necessary remarks. There are two kinds of enthymemes, the one demonstrative, which proves that a thing is or is not, and the other refutative, the two differing like refutation and syllogism in dialectic. The demonstrative enthymeme draws conclusions from admitted premises, the refutative draws conclusions disputed by the adversary.[107] We know nearly all the general heads of each of the special topics that are useful or necessary; for the propositions relating to each have been selected, so that we have in like manner already established all the topics from which enthymemes may be

[107] The demonstrative enthymeme draws its conclusion from facts admitted by the opponent; the refutative draws its conclusion from the same, but the conclusion is one which is disputed by the opponent.

τόπων περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ ἢ καλοῦ ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἢ δικαίου ἢ ἀδίκου, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ παθημάτων καὶ ἕξεων ὡσαύτως εἰλημμένοι ἡμῖν ὑπάρχουσι πρότερον οἱ τόποι. | ἔτι δ' ἄλλον τρόπον καθόλου περὶ ἁπάντων λάβωμεν, καὶ λέγωμεν παρασημαινόμενοι τοὺς ἐλεγκτικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀποδεικτικοὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν φαινομένων ἐνθυμημάτων, οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ἐνθυμημάτων, ἐπείπερ οὐδὲ συλλογισμῶν. δηλωθέντων δὲ τούτων, περὶ τῶν λύσεων καὶ ἐνστάσεων διορίσωμεν, πόθεν δεῖ πρὸς τὰ ἐνθυμήματα φέρειν.

1397 a17

23. Ἔστι δ' εἷς μὲν τόπος τῶν δεικτικῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων· δεῖ γὰρ σκοπεῖν εἰ τῷ ἐναντίῳ τὸ ἐναντίον ὑπάρχει, ἀναιροῦντα μὲν εἰ μὴ ὑπάρχει, κατασκευάζοντα δὲ εἰ ὑπάρχει, οἷον ὅτι τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀγαθόν· τὸ γὰρ ἀκολασταίνειν βλαβερόν. ἢ ὡς ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνιακῷ·

εἰ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος αἴτιος τῶν παρόντων κακῶν,
μετὰ τῆς εἰρήνης δεῖ ἐπανορθώσασθαι.

εἴπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς κακῶς δεδρακόσιν
ἀκουσίως δίκαιον εἰς ὀργὴν πεσεῖν,
οὐδ' ἂν ἀναγκασθείς τις εὖ δράσῃ τινά,
προσῆκόν ἐστι τῷδ' ὀφείλεσθαι χάριν.

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108 Or, "noting in addition" (Victorius); or, "pointing out, side by side" (Jebb).

derived on the subject of good or bad, fair or foul, just or unjust, characters, emotions, and habits. Let us now attempt to find topics about enthymemes in general in another way, noting in passing[108] those that are refutative and those that are demonstrative, and those of apparent enthymemes, which are not really enthymemes since they are not syllogisms. After this has been clarified, we will settle the question of solutions and objections and whence they must be derived to refute enthymemes.

23. One topic of demonstrative enthymemes is derived from opposites; for it is necessary to consider whether one opposite is predicable of the other as a means of destroying an argument, if it is not, as a means of constructing one, if it is;[109] for instance, self-control is good, for lack of self-control is harmful; or as in the *Messeniacus*,[110]

> If the war is responsible for the present evils,
> one must repair them with the aid of peace.

And,

> For if it is unfair to be angry with those
> who have done wrong unintentionally,
> it is not fitting to feel beholden
> to one who is forced to do us good.[111]

Or,

[109] Assuming that self-control is good, then if the opposite of good (that is, bad) can be predicated of lack of self-control, this proves the truth of the first proposition; otherwise it may be refuted.

[110] Cf. 1.13.2 note.

[111] *TrGF* adesp. 80.

ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἐν βροτοῖς ψευδηγορεῖν
πιθανά, νομίζειν χρή σε καὶ τοὐναντίον,
ἄπιστ' ἀληθῆ πολλὰ συμβαίνειν βροτοῖς.

2 Ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων πτώσεων· ὁμοίως γὰρ δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ἢ μὴ ὑπάρχειν, οἷον ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον οὐ πᾶν ἀγαθόν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸ δικαίως· νῦν δ' οὐχ αἱρετὸν τὸ δικαίως ἀποθανεῖν.

3 Ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα· εἰ γὰρ θατέρῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ καλῶς ἢ δικαίως ποιῆσαι, θατέρῳ τὸ πεπονθέναι, καὶ εἰ κελεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πεποιηκέναι, οἷον ὡς ὁ τελώνης Διομέδων περὶ τῶν τελῶν "εἰ γὰρ μηδ' ὑμῖν αἰσχρὸν τὸ πωλεῖν, οὐδ' ἡμῖν τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι." καὶ εἰ τῷ πεπονθότι τὸ καλῶς ἢ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι, καὶ εἰ τῷ ποιήσαντι, καὶ τῷ πεπονθότι. ἔστι δ' ἐν τούτῳ παραλογίσασθαι· εἰ γὰρ δικαίως ἔπαθέν τι, δικαίως πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ. διὸ δεῖ
1397 b σκοπεῖν χωρὶς εἰ ἄξιος ὁ παθὼν | παθεῖν καὶ ὁ ποιήσας ποιῆσαι, εἶτα χρῆσθαι ὁποτέρως ἁρμόττει· ἐνίοτε γὰρ διαφωνεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδὲν κωλύει, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ Θεοδέκτου

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112 Eur. *Thyestes*, *TrGF* fr. 396.

113 The argument is that if there was no disgrace in selling the right of farming the taxes, there could be none in purchasing this right.

114 A follower of Plato and Isocrates, a great friend of Aristotle, and the author of fifty tragedies as well as an "Art" of Rhetoric. Alcmaeon murdered his mother, Eriphyle. His wife,

If men are in the habit of gaining credit for false statements, you must also admit the contrary, that men often disbelieve what is true.[112]

Another topic is derived from similar inflections, for in like manner the derivatives must either be predicable of the subject or not; for instance that the just is not entirely good, for in that case good would be predicable of anything that happens justly; but to be justly put to death is not desirable.

Another topic is derived from relative terms. For if to have done rightly or justly may be predicated of one, then to have suffered similarly may be predicated of the other; there is the same relation between having ordered and having carried out, as Diomedon the tax gatherer said about the taxes, "If selling is not disgraceful for you, neither is buying disgraceful for us."[113] And if rightly or justly can be predicated of the sufferer, it can equally be predicated of the one who inflicts suffering; if of the latter, then also of the former. However, in this there is room for a fallacy. For if a man has suffered justly he has suffered justly, but perhaps not at your hands. And so one must consider separately whether the sufferer deserves to suffer, and whether he who inflicts suffering is the right person to do so, and then make use of the argument either way; for sometimes there is a difference in such a case, and nothing prevents [its being argued], as in the *Alcmaeon* of Theodectes:[114]

Alphesiboea, said to him, "Was not your mother hated?" To which he replied, "Yes, but there is a distinction; they said she deserved to die, but not at my hands."

μητέρα δὲ τὴν σὴν οὔ τις ἐστύγει βροτῶν;

φησὶ δ' ἀποκρινόμενος "ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα χρὴ σκοπεῖν." ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλφεσιβοίας πῶς, ὑπολαβὼν φησι

τὴν μὲν θανεῖν ἔκριναν, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ κτανεῖν.

καὶ οἷον ἡ περὶ Δημοσθένους δίκη καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων Νικάνορα· ἐπεὶ γὰρ δικαίως ἐκρίθησαν ἀποκτεῖναι, δικαίως ἔδοξεν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ περὶ τοῦ Θήβησιν ἀποθανόντος, περὶ οὗ ἐκέλευσε κρῖναι εἰ δίκαιος ἦν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἄδικον ὂν τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν δικαίως ἀποθανόντα.

4 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, οἷον "εἰ μηδ' οἱ θεοὶ πάντα ἴσασι, σχολῇ οἵ γε ἄνθρωποι·" τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, εἰ ᾧ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑπάρχοι μὴ ὑπάρχει, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδ' ᾧ ἧττον. τὸ δ' ὅτι τοὺς πλησίον τύπτει ὅς γε καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ἐκ τοῦ, εἰ τὸ ἧττον ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει, καθ' ὁπότερον ἂν δέῃ δεῖξαι, εἴθ' ὅτι
5 ὑπάρχει εἴθ' ὅτι οὔ. ἔτι εἰ μήτε μᾶλλον μήτε ἧττον ὅθεν εἴρηται

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115 Nothing is known of this trial.

116 The argument is that since men beat their fathers less commonly than they do their neighbors, if they beat their fathers they will also beat their neighbors. (The Paris MS in a longer form of the argument has an explanatory addition to this effect, inserting after *ὑπάρχει* the words *τοὺς γὰρ πατέρας ἧττον τύπτουσιν ἢ τοὺς πλησίον.*)

And did none of mortals loathe your mother?

Alcmaeon replied: "We must make a division before we examine the matter." And when Alphesiboea asked "How?" he rejoined,

Their decision was that she should die, but that it was not for me to kill her.

Another example may be found in the trial of Demosthenes and those who killed Nicanor.[115] For since it was decided that they had justly killed him, it was thought that he had been justly put to death. Again, in the case of the man who was murdered at Thebes, when the defendants demanded that the judges should decide whether the murdered man deserved to die, since a man who deserved it could be put to death without injustice.

Another topic is derived from the more and less. For instance, if not even the gods know everything, hardly can humans; for this amounts to saying that if a predicate, which is more probably affirmable of one thing, does not belong to it, clearly it does not belong to another of which it is less probably affirmable. And to say that a man who beats his father also beats his neighbors, is an instance of the rule that, if the less exists, the more also exists.[116] Either of these arguments may be used, according as it is necessary to prove either that a predicate is affirmable or that it is not. Further, if there is no question of greater or less; whence it was said,

καὶ σὸς μὲν οἰκτρὸς παῖδας ἀπολέσας πατήρ·
Οἰνεὺς δ' ἄρ' οὐχὶ κλεινὸν ἀπολέσας γόνον;

καὶ ὅτι, εἰ μηδὲ Θησεὺς ἠδίκησεν, οὐδ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ εἰ μηδ' οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι, οὐδ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ εἰ Πάτροκλον Ἕκτωρ, καὶ Ἀχιλλέα Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ εἰ μηδ' οἱ ἄλλοι τεχνῖται φαῦλοι, οὐδ' οἱ φιλόσοφοι. καὶ εἰ μηδ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ φαῦλοι, ὅτι ἡττῶνται πολλάκις, οὐδ' οἱ σοφισταί. καὶ ὅτι "εἰ δεῖ τὸν ἰδιώτην τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων."

6 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ τὸν χρόνον σκοπεῖν, οἷον ὡς Ἰφικράτης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἁρμόδιον, ὅτι "εἰ πρὶν ποιῆσαι ἠξίουν τῆς εἰκόνος τυχεῖν ἐὰν ποιήσω, ἔδοτε ἄν· ποιήσαντι δ' ἆρ' οὐ δώσετε; μὴ τοίνυν μέλλοντες μὲν ὑπισχνεῖσθε, παθόντες δ' ἀφαιρεῖσθε." καὶ πάλιν πρὸς
1398 a τὸ Θηβαίους διεῖναι Φίλιππον | εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὅτι "εἰ πρὶν βοηθῆσαι εἰς Φωκεῖς ἠξίου, ὑπέσχοντο ἄν· ἄτοπον οὖν εἰ διότι προεῖτο καὶ ἐπίστευσε μὴ διήσουσιν."

7 Ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καθ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν

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117 *TrGF* adesp. 81. 118 In carrying off Helen.

119 Var. *θανατοῦνται*, "are put to death."

120 Lys. 20 fr. 49; the speech, called "On the Statue" (*περὶ τῆς εἰκόνος*), is considered spurious. It was proposed to put up a statue to the famous Athenian general Iphicrates in honor of his defeat of the Spartans (392 BC). This was later opposed by Harmodius, probably a descendant of the tyrannicide.

Your father deserves to be pitied for having lost his children;
is Oeneus not then equally to be pitied for having lost an illustrious offspring?[117]

Other instances are: if Theseus did no wrong,[118] neither did Paris; if the sons of Tyndareus did no wrong, neither did Paris; and if Hector did no wrong in slaying Patroclus, neither did Paris in slaying Achilles; if no other professional men are contemptible, then neither are philosophers; if generals are not despised because they are frequently defeated,[119] neither are the sophists; or, if a private citizen is duty bound to take care of your reputation, it is your duty to take care of that of Greece.

Another topic is derived from the consideration of time. Thus Iphicrates, in his speech against Harmodius, says: "If before accomplishing anything I had demanded the statue from you in the event of my success, you would have granted it; will you then refuse it, now that I have succeeded? Do not therefore make a promise when you expect something, and break it when you have received it."[120] Again, to persuade the Thebans to allow Philip to pass through their territory into Attica, they were told that "if he had made this request before helping them against the Phocians, they would have promised; it would be absurd, therefore, if they refused to let him through now, because he had thrown away his opportunity and had trusted them."

Another topic consists in turning against the opponent

εἰπόντα· διαφέρει δὲ ὁ τρόπος, οἷον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρῳ ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Ἰφικράτης πρὸς Ἀριστοφῶντα, ἐπερόμενος εἰ προδοίη ἂν τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ χρήμασιν· οὐ φάσκοντος δὲ "εἶτα" εἶπεν "σὺ μὲν ὢν Ἀριστοφῶν οὐκ ἂν προδοίης, ἐγὼ δ' ὢν Ἰφικράτης;" δεῖ δ' ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἂν δοκοῦντα ἀδικῆσαι ἐκεῖνον· εἰ δὲ μή, γελοῖον ἂν φανείη, εἰ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην κατηγοροῦντα τοῦτό τις εἴπειεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν τοῦ κατηγόρου· ὅλως γὰρ βούλεται ὁ κατηγορῶν βελτίων εἶναι τοῦ φεύγοντος· τοῦτ' οὖν ἐξελέγχειν ἀεί. καθόλου δ' ἄτοπός ἐστιν, ὅταν τις ἐπιτιμᾷ ἄλλοις ἃ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ ἢ ποιήσειεν ἄν, ἢ προτρέπῃ ποιεῖν ἃ αὐτὸς μὴ ποιεῖ μηδὲ ποιήσειεν ἄν.

8 Ἄλλος ἐξ ὁρισμοῦ, οἷον ὅτι τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ θεὸς ἢ θεοῦ ἔργον· καίτοι ὅστις οἴεται θεοῦ ἔργον εἶναι, τοῦτον ἀνάγκη οἴεσθαι καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι. καὶ ὡς Ἰφικράτης, ὅτι γενναιότατος ὁ βέλ-

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121 Or, "the ways of doing this are various" (Jebb).

122 The illustration is lost or perhaps purposely omitted as well known. *Teucer* was a tragedy of Sophocles.

123 It would be absurd to use such an argument against the accusation of a "just man" like Aristides, and to pretend that he is more likely to have committed the crime. It must be used only when the opponent's character is suspect and lends itself to such a retort.

124 The reference is obviously to Socrates, who claimed that a *daimonion* (a certain divine principle that acted as his internal monitor) checked his action in many cases. When accused of not believing in the gods, he was able to prove, by his definition of

what has been said against ourselves; and this is an excellent method.[121] For instance, in the *Teucer*[122] . . . and Iphicrates employed it against Aristophon, when he asked him whether he would have betrayed the fleet for a bribe; when Aristophon said no, "Then," retorted Iphicrates, "if you, Aristophon, would not have betrayed it, would I, Iphicrates, have done so?" But the opponent must be a man who seems the more likely to have committed a crime; otherwise, it would appear ridiculous, if anyone were to make use of such an argument in reference to such an opponent, for instance, as Aristides;[123] it should only be used to discredit the accuser. For in general the accuser aspires to be better than the defendant; accordingly, it must always be shown that this is not the case. And generally, it is ridiculous for a man to reproach others for what he does or would do himself, or to encourage others to do what he does not or would not do himself.

Another topic is derived from definition. For instance, that the *daimonion*[124] is nothing other than a god or the work of a god; but he who thinks it to be the work of a god necessarily thinks that gods exist. When Iphicrates desired to prove that the best man is the noblest, he declared that

the *daimonion*, that he was no atheist. Similarly, Iphicrates, by his definition of γενναῖος and συγγενής could refute the allegation that he was ignoble and show that his deeds were more akin to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton than to those of his opponents. Paris could say that he was not intemperate because he was satisfied with Helen alone. Last, Socrates refused an invitation to visit Archelaus, king of Macedonia, because he would be unable to return the benefits received, which would imply his being put to shame, and make the invitation a kind of insult.

τιστος· καὶ γὰρ Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι οὐδὲν πρότερον ὑπῆρχε γενναῖον πρὶν γενναῖόν τι πράξαι, καὶ ὅτι συγγενέστερος αὐτός· "τὰ γοῦν ἔργα συγγενέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐμὰ τοῖς Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἢ τὰ σά." καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν τοὺς μὴ κοσμίους οὐχ ἑνὸς σώματος ἀγαπᾶν ἀπόλαυσιν. καὶ δι' ὃ Σωκράτης οὐκ ἔφη βαδίζειν ὡς Ἀρχέλαον· ὕβριν γὰρ ἔφη εἶναι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀμύνασθαι ὁμοίως εὖ παθόντα, ὥσπερ καὶ κακῶς. πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ὁρισάμενοι καὶ λαβόντες τὸ τί ἐστι, συλλογίζονται περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν.

9 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ ποσαχῶς, οἷον ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς περὶ τοῦ ὀρθῶς.

10 Ἄλλος ἐκ διαιρέσεως, οἷον εἰ πάντες τριῶν ἕνεκεν ἀδικοῦσιν· ἢ τοῦδε γὰρ ἕνεκα ἢ τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδε· καὶ διὰ μὲν τὰ δύο ἀδύνατον, διὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον οὐδ' αὐτοί φασιν.

11 Ἄλλος ἐξ ἐπαγωγῆς, οἷον ἐκ τῆς Πεπαρηθίας, ὅτι περὶ τῶν τέκνων αἱ γυναῖκες πανταχοῦ διορίζουσι
1398 b τἀληθές· | τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Μαντίᾳ τῷ ῥήτορι ἀμφισβητοῦντι πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἡ μήτηρ ἀπέφηνεν, τοῦτο δὲ Θήβησιν Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Στίλβωνος ἀμφισβητούντων ἡ Δωδωνὶς ἀπέδειξεν Ἰσμηνίου τὸν υἱόν,

125 Of Polycrates.

126 "Just as it is to requite them with evil" (Jebb).

127 Supplying [λελέκται] περὶ τοῦ ὀρθῶς [χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς]. Others render: "in reference to the use of the word ὀρθῶς" (but ὀρθῶς does not occur in the passage in the *Topics*, I.15). A suggested reading is περὶ τούτου ὀρθῶς εἴρηται.

there was nothing noble attaching to Harmodius and Aristogiton before they did something noble; and, "I myself am more akin to them than you; at any rate, my deeds are more akin to theirs than yours." And as it is said in the *Alexander*[125] that it would be generally admitted that men of disorderly passions are not satisfied with the enjoyment of one woman's person alone. Also, the reason why Socrates refused to visit Archelaus, declaring that it was disgraceful not to be in a position to return a favor as well as an injury.[126] In all these cases, it is by definition and the knowledge of what the thing is in itself that conclusions are drawn on the subject in question.

Another topic is derived from the different significations of a word, as explained in the *Topics*, where the correct use of these terms has been discussed.[127]

Another, from division. For example, "There are always three motives for wrongdoing; two are excluded from consideration as impossible; as for the third, not even the accusers assert it."

Another, from induction. For instance, from the case of the woman of Peparethus, it is argued that in matters of parentage women always discern the truth; similarly at Athens, when Mantias the orator was litigating with his son, the mother declared the truth;[128] and again at Thebes, when Ismenias and Stilbon were disputing about a child, Dodonis[129] declared that Ismenias was its father, Thet-

[128] Mantias had one legitimate son, Mantitheus, and two illegitimate by a certain Plangon. Mantias at first refused to acknowledge the latter as his sons, until the mother declared they were.

[129] The name of the mother; or simply, "the woman of Dodona," like "the woman of Peparethus."

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Θετταλίσκον Ἰσμηνίου ἐνόμιζον. καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Θεοδέκτου, εἰ τοῖς κακῶς ἐπιμεληθεῖσι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἵππων οὐ παραδιδόασι τοὺς οἰκείους, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀνατρέψασι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ναῦς· οὐκοῦν εἰ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἁπάντων, καὶ τοῖς κακῶς φυλάξασι τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οὐ χρηστέον ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν σωτηρίαν. καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι πάντες τοὺς σοφοὺς τιμῶσιν· Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασι, καὶ Χῖοι Ὅμηρον οὐκ ὄντα πολιτικόν, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφὼ καίπερ γυναῖκα οὖσαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα τῶν γερόντων ἐποίησαν ἥκιστα φιλολόγοι ὄντες, καὶ Ἰταλιῶται Πυθαγόραν, καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ξένον ὄντα ἔθαψαν καὶ τιμῶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν . . . ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις χρησάμενοι εὐδαιμόνησαν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου, καὶ Θήβησιν ἅμα οἱ προστάται φιλόσοφοι ἐγένοντο καὶ εὐδαιμόνησεν ἡ πόλις.

12 Ἄλλος ἐκ κρίσεως περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἢ ὁμοίου ἢ ἐναντίου, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ πάντες καὶ ἀεί, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' οἵ γε πλεῖστοι, ἢ σοφοί, ἢ πάντες ἢ οἱ πλεῖστοι, ἢ ἀγαθοί. ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ οἱ κρίνοντες, ἢ οὓς ἀποδέχονται οἱ κρίνοντες, ἢ οἷς μὴ οἷόν τε ἐναντίον κρίνειν, οἷον τοῖς

130 A follower of Plato and (with Alexander the Great) Aristotle, a successful tragic poet and orator, and a writer on rhetoric.

131 Others read πολίτην, "although he was not their fellow citizen" (but Chios was one of the claimants to his birthplace).

132 Something has fallen out, what follows being intended to prove that the best rulers for a state are the philosophers.

taliscus being accordingly recognized as the son of Ismenias. There is another instance in the "law" of Theodectes:[130] "If we do not entrust our own horses to those who have neglected the horses of others, or our ships to those who have upset the ships of others; then, if this is so in all cases, we must not entrust our own safety to those who have failed to preserve the safety of others." Similarly, in order to prove that men of talent are everywhere honored, Alcidamas said: "The Parians honored Archilochus, in spite of his evil-speaking; the Chians Homer, although he had rendered no public services;[131] the Mytilenaeans Sappho, although she was a woman; the Spartans, by no means a people fond of learning, elected Chilon one of their senators; the Italiotes honored Pythagoras, and the Lampsacenes buried Anaxagoras, although he was a foreigner, and still hold him in honor. . . .[132] The Athenians were happy as long as they lived under the laws of Solon, and the Lacedaemonians under those of Lycurgus; and at Thebes, as soon as those who had the conduct of affairs became philosophers,[133] the city flourished."

Another topic comes from a previous judgment in regard to the same or a similar or contrary matter, if possible when the judgment was unanimous or the same at all times; if not, when it was at least that of the majority, or of the wise, either all or most, or of the good; or of the judges themselves or those whose judgment they accept, or of those whose judgment it is not possible to contradict, for instance those in authority, or of those whose judgment

[133] Epaminondas and Pelopidas. One would rather expect, "as soon as philosophers had the conduct of affairs."

κυρίοις, ἢ οἷς μὴ καλὸν τὰ ἐναντία κρίνειν, οἷον θεοῖς ἢ πατρὶ ἢ διδασκάλοις, ὥσπερ τὸ εἰς Μειξιδημίδην εἶπεν Αὐτοκλῆς, εἰ ταῖς μὲν σεμναῖς θεαῖς ἱκανῶς εἶχεν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ δοῦναι δίκην, Μειξιδημίδῃ δ' οὔ, ἢ ὥσπερ Σαπφώ, ὅτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν· οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω κεκρίκασιν· ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν. ἢ ὡς Ἀρίστιππος πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἐπαγγελτικώτερόν τι εἰπόντα, ὡς ᾤετο· "ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅ γ' ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν," ἔφη, "οὐθὲν τοιοῦτον," λέγων τὸν Σωκράτην. καὶ Ἡγήσιππος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν, πρότερον κεχρημένος Ὀλυμ-
1399 a πίασιν, εἰ αὐτῷ ταὐτὰ δοκεῖ ἅπερ τῷ | πατρί, ὡς αἰσχρὸν ὂν τἀναντία εἰπεῖν. καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης ὡς Ἰσοκράτης ἔγραψεν ὅτι σπουδαία, εἴπερ Θησεὺς ἔκρινεν· καὶ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃν αἱ θεαὶ προέκριναν, καὶ περὶ Εὐαγόρου, ὅτι σπουδαῖος, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτης φησίν· Κόνων γοῦν δυστυχήσας, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παραλιπών, ὡς Εὐαγόραν ἦλθεν.

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134 One of the Athenian ambassadors to Sparta (371 BC), whose aggressive policy he attacked. His argument is that, if the Furies could agree without any loss of dignity to stand trial before the Areopagus, as dramatized in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, surely Meixidemides could do the same. Nothing is known of Meixidemides, but it is clear that he refused to submit his case to it when charged with some offense.

135 *PLF* fr. 201.

136 Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.2. The Argives, when a Lacedaemonian army threatened to invade their territory, were in the habit of alleging that it was festival time, when there should be a sacred

it is unseemly to contradict, for instance the gods, a father, or instructors; as Autocles[134] said in his attack on Meixidemides, "If the awful goddesses were content to stand their trial before the Areopagus, should not Meixidemides?" Or Sappho, "Death is an evil; the gods have so decided, for otherwise they would die."[135] Or as Aristippus said, when in his opinion Plato had expressed himself too presumptuously, "Our friend at any rate never spoke like that," referring to Socrates. Agesipolis,[136] having first consulted the oracle at Olympia, asked the god at Delphi whether his opinion was the same as his father's, meaning that it would be disgraceful to contradict him. Helen was a virtuous woman, wrote Isocrates, because Theseus so judged; the same applies to Paris, whom the goddesses chose before others. Evagoras was virtuous, as Isocrates says, for at any rate Conon[137] in his misfortune, passing over everyone else, sought his assistance.

truce. This obviously left the door open to fraud, so Agesipolis (one of the Spartan kings) consulted the oracle of Zeus at Olympia to ask whether he was to respect such a truce. The reply of the oracle was that he might decline a truce fraudulently demanded. To confirm this, Agesipolis put the same question to Apollo: "Is your opinion as to the truce the same as that of your father (Zeus)?" "Certainly," answered Apollo. Agesipolis thereupon invaded Argos. The point is that really Apollo had little choice, since it would have been disgraceful for the son to contradict the father.

[137] After his defeat at Aegospotami in 405 BC, the Athenian general Conon, fearing for his life, took refuge with Evagoras, king of Cyprus—a proof, according to Aristotle, of the goodness of the latter.

13 Ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν μερῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς, ποία κίνησις ἡ ψυχή· ἥδε γὰρ ἢ ἥδε. παράδειγμα ἐκ τοῦ Σωκράτους τοῦ Θεοδέκτου· "εἰς ποῖον ἱερὸν ἠσέβηκεν, τίνας θεῶν οὐ τετίμηκεν ὧν ἡ πόλις νομίζει;"

14 Ἄλλος, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων συμβαίνει ὥστε ἕπεσθαί τι τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, ἐκ τοῦ ἀκολουθοῦντος προτρέπειν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἢ ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν. οἷον τῇ παιδεύσει τὸ φθονεῖσθαι ἀκολουθεῖ κακόν, τὸ δὲ σοφὸν εἶναι ἀγαθόν· οὐ τοίνυν δεῖ παιδεύεσθαι, φθονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ δεῖ· δεῖ μὲν οὖν παιδεύεσθαι, σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ. ὁ τόπος οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ Καλλίππου τέχνη προσλαβοῦσα καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τἆλλα, ὡς εἴρηται.

15 Ἄλλος, ὅταν περὶ δυοῖν καὶ ἀντικειμένοιν ἢ προτρέπειν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν δέῃ, τῷ πρότερον εἰρημένῳ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ ἀμφοῖν χρῆσθαι. διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν τὰ τυχόντα ἀντιτίθεται, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τἀναντία. οἷον ἱέρεια οὐκ εἴα τὸν υἱὸν δημηγορεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, τὰ δίκαια λέγῃς, οἱ ἄνθρωποί σε μισήσουσιν, ἐὰν δὲ τὰ ἄδικα, οἱ θεοί. δεῖ μὲν οὖν δημηγορεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ τὰ δίκαια λέγῃς, οἱ θεοί σε φιλήσουσιν, ἐὰν δὲ τὰ ἄδικα, οἱ ἄνθρωποι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ταὐτὸ τῷ λεγο-

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138 If the genus can be affirmed of any subject, then one or other of the species, which make up the genus, must also be predicable of it. If the proposition to be maintained is: the soul is moved, it is necessary to examine whether any of the different kinds of motion (increase, decrease, decay, change of place, gen-

Another topic is that from enumerating the parts, as in the *Topics*: What kind of movement is the soul? for it must be this or that.[138] There is an instance of this in the *Socrates* of Theodectes: "What holy place has he profaned? Which of the gods recognized by the city has he neglected to honor?"

Again, since in most human affairs the same thing is accompanied by some bad or good result, another topic consists in employing the consequence to exhort or dissuade, accuse or defend, praise or blame. For instance, education is attended by the evil of being envied, and by the good of being wise; therefore we should not be educated, for we should avoid being envied; or rather, we *should* be educated, for we should be wise. This topic is identical with the "Art" of Callippus,[139] when you have also included the topic of the possible and the others that have been mentioned.

Another topic may be employed when it is necessary to exhort or dissuade in regard to two opposites, and one can employ the method previously stated in the case of both. But there is this difference, that in the former case things of any kind whatever are opposed, in the latter opposites. For instance, a priestess refused to allow her son to speak in public; "For if," she said, "you say what is just, men will hate you; if you say what is unjust, the gods will." On the other hand, "you *should* speak in public; for if you say what is just, the gods will love you, if you say what is unjust, men will." This is the same as the proverb, "To buy

eration, alteration) can be predicated of the soul. If not, the generic predicate is not applicable, and the proposition is refuted.

[139] An Athenian and follower of Isocrates (*Antid.* 93).

μένῳ τὸ ἕλος πρίασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἅλας· καὶ ἡ βλαίσωσις τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὅταν δυοῖν ἐναντίοιν ἑκατέρῳ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ἕπηται, ἐναντία ἑκάτερα ἑκατέροις.

16 Ἄλλος, ἐπειδὴ οὐ ταὐτὰ φανερῶς ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἀφανῶς, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς μὲν τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐπαινοῦσι μάλιστα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα μᾶλλον βούλονται, ἐκ τούτων πειρᾶσθαι συνάγειν θάτερον· τῶν γὰρ παραδόξων οὗτος ὁ τόπος κυριώτατός ἐστιν.

17 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον ταῦτα συμβαίνειν· οἷον ὁ Ἰφικράτης τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ νεώτερον ὄντα τῆς ἡλικίας, ὅτι μέγας ἦν, λειτουργεῖν ἀναγκαζόντων, εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ τοὺς μεγάλους τῶν παίδων ἄνδρας νομίζουσι, τοὺς
1399 b μικροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν παῖδας εἶναι ψηφιοῦνται. | καὶ Θεοδέκτης ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὅτι πολίτας μὲν ποιεῖσθε τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οἷον Στράβακα καὶ Χαρίδημον διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν· φυγάδας δ' οὐ ποιήσετε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἀνήκεστα διαπεπραγμένους;

18 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐὰν ᾖ ταὐτόν, ὅτι καὶ ἐξ ὧν συμβαίνει ταὐτά· οἷον Ξενοφάνης ἔλεγεν ὅτι

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140 The bad with the good. The root meaning of βλαίσωσις is crooked, twisted, or bent, but its precise meaning as a term has not been satisfactorily explained. In the definition given of the retortion of a dilemma, the two opposite things would be speaking truth or untruth; the two opposite consequences, pleasing men and pleasing gods.

141 For example, a man may *say* that an honorable death should be preferred to a pleasant life, and honest poverty to ill-

the swamp with the salt";[140] and retorting a dilemma on its proposer takes place when, two things being opposite, good and evil follow on each, the good and evil being opposite like the things themselves.

Again, since men do not praise the same things in public and in secret, but in public chiefly praise what is just and beautiful, and in secret rather wish for what is expedient, another topic consists in endeavoring to infer its opposite from one or other of these statements.[141] This topic is the weightiest of those that deal with paradox.

Another topic is derived from analogy in things. For instance, Iphicrates, when they tried to force his son to perform public services because he was tall though under the legal age, said: "If you consider tall boys men, you must vote that short men are boys." Similarly Theodectes in his "law"[142] says: "Since you bestow the rights of citizenship upon mercenaries such as Strabax and Charidemus on account of their merits, will you not banish those of them who have wrought such irreparable misfortunes?"

Another topic consists in concluding the identity of antecedents from the identity of results.[143] Thus Xenoph-

acquired wealth, whereas really he *wishes* the opposite. "If then his words are in accordance with his real wishes, he must be confronted with his public statements; if they are in accordance with the latter, he must be confronted with his secret wishes. In either case he must fall into paradox, and contradict either his publicly expressed or secret opinions" (*Sophistici elenchi*, 2.12, Poste's translation).

[142] This "law" (already mentioned in 11) is said to have been an oration on the legal position of mercenaries.

[143] Cause and effect.

ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦσιν οἱ γενέσθαι φάσκοντες τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν· ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ συμβαίνει μὴ εἶναι τοὺς θεούς ποτε. καὶ ὅλως δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐξ ἑκατέρου λαμβάνειν ὡς ταὐτὸ ἀεί· "μέλλετε δὲ κρίνειν οὐ περὶ Ἰσοκράτους ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπιτηδεύματος, εἰ χρὴ φιλοσοφεῖν." καὶ ὅτι τὸ διδόναι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ δουλεύειν ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον. ληπτέον δ' ὁπότερον ἂν ᾖ χρήσιμον.

19 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταὐτὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ αἱρεῖσθαι ὕστερον ἢ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἀνάπαλιν, οἷον τόδε τὸ ἐνθύμημα, "εἰ φεύγοντες μὲν ἐμαχόμεθα ὅπως κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα ὅπως μὴ μαχώμεθα·" ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μένειν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ᾑροῦντο, ὁτὲ δὲ τὸ μὴ μάχεσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ μένειν.

20 Ἄλλος τὸ οὗ ἕνεκ' ἂν εἴη ἢ γένοιτο, τούτου ἕνεκα φάναι εἶναι ἢ γεγενῆσθαι, οἷον εἰ δοίη ἄν τις τινὶ ἵν' ἀφελόμενος λυπήσῃ. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

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144 Isoc. *Antid.* 173.

145 Probably the "general peace" concluded between the Greeks and Alexander the Great after the death of Philip of Macedon in 336 BC, who had created a league of Greek states (Sparta did not participate) after Chaeroneia in 338.

146 Lys. 34.11.

147 That is, after their return they preferred to leave the city rather than fight. This is Cope's explanation, but the meaning of the clause ὁτὲ μὲν . . . ᾑροῦντο is then somewhat obscure. A more

anes said: "There is as much impiety in asserting that the gods are born as in saying that they die; for either way the result is that at some time or other they did not exist." And generally speaking, one may always regard as identical the results produced by one or other of any two things: "You are about to decide not about Isocrates alone but about education generally, whether it is right to study philosophy."[144] And, "to give earth and water is slavery," and "to be included in the common peace[145] implies obeying orders." Of two alternatives, you should choose what is useful.

Another topic is derived from the fact that the same men do not always choose the same thing before and after, but the contrary. The following enthymeme is an example: "If, when in exile, we fought to return to our country [it would be monstrous] if, now that we have returned, we were to return to exile to avoid fighting"![146] This amounts to saying that at one time they preferred to hold their ground at the price of fighting; at another, not to fight at the price of not remaining.[147]

Another topic consists in maintaining that the cause of something that is or has been is something that would generally, or possibly might, be the cause of it; for example, if one were to make a present of something to another in order to cause him pain by depriving him of it. And so it has been said,

suitable interpretation would be: "At one time they preferred to return from exile at the price of fighting; at another, not to fight, at the price of being exiled a second time" (St. Hilaire), but this is hard to get from the Greek.

πολλοῖς ὁ δαίμων οὐ κατ' εὔνοιαν φέρων
μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχήματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα
τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐπιφανεστέρας.

καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος,

οὐχ ἵνα κτάνωσι θῆρ', ὅπως δὲ μάρτυρες
ἀρετῆς γένωνται Μελεάγρῳ πρὸς Ἑλλάδα.

καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Αἴαντος τοῦ Θεοδέκτου, ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης προείλετο Ὀδυσσέα οὐ τιμῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἥττων ᾖ ὁ ἀκολουθῶν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τούτου ἕνεκα ποιῆσαι.

21 Ἄλλος κοινὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι καὶ τοῖς συμβουλεύουσι, σκοπεῖν τὰ προτρέποντα καὶ ἀποτρέποντα, καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ πράττουσι καὶ φεύγουσιν· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἃ ἐὰν μὲν ὑπάρχῃ δεῖ πράττειν ‹ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπάρχῃ, μὴ πράττειν›, οἷον εἰ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥᾴδιον καὶ ὠφέλιμον ἢ αὐτῷ ἢ φίλοις, ἢ βλαβερὸν ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἐπιζήμιον, ἢ ἐλάττων ἡ ζημία τοῦ πρά-
1400 a γματος. καὶ προτρέπονται δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ | ἀποτρέπονται ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ κατηγοροῦσι καὶ ἀπολογοῦνται· ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀποτρεπόντων ἀπολογοῦνται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν προτρεπόντων κατηγοροῦσιν. ἔστι δ' ὁ τόπος οὗτος ὅλη τέχνη ἥ τε Παμφίλου καὶ ἡ Καλλίππου.

22 Ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν δοκούντων μὲν γίγνεσθαι ἀπίστων δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔδοξαν, εἰ μὴ ἦν ἢ ἐγγὺς ἦν. καὶ ὅτι μᾶλλον· ἢ γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἢ τὰ εἰκότα ὑπολαμβάνουσιν·

It is not from benevolence that the deity bestows
great blessings upon many, but in order that
they may suffer more striking calamities.[148]

And these verses from the *Meleager* of Antiphon:

Not in order to slay the monster, but that they may
be witnesses to Greece of the valor of Meleager.[149]

And the following remark from the *Ajax* of Theodectes, that Diomedes chose Odysseus before all others[150] not to do him honor but that his companion might be his inferior; for this may have been the reason.

Another topic common to forensic and deliberative rhetoric consists in examining what is hortatory and dissuasive, and the reasons that make men act or not. Now, these are the reasons which, if they exist, determine us to act, if not, not; for instance, if a thing is possible, easy, or useful to ourselves or our friends, or injurious and prejudicial to our enemies, or if the penalty is less than the profit. From these grounds we exhort, and dissuade from their contraries. It is on the same grounds that we accuse and defend; for what dissuades serves for defense,[151] what persuades, for accusation. This topic comprises the whole "Art" of Pamphilus[152] and Callippus.

Another topic is derived from things thought to happen but incredible, because it would never have been thought so if they had not happened or almost happened. And further, these things are even more likely to be true; for

[148] *TrGF* adesp. 82. [149] *TrGF* fr. 2.

[150] No fragments remain; cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.218.

[151] By pointing out what is likely to deter a man from committing a crime, and vice versa. [152] Identity uncertain.

εἰ οὖν ἄπιστον καὶ μὴ εἰκός, ἀληθὲς ἂν εἴη· οὐ γὰρ διά γε τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ πιθανὸν δοκεῖ οὕτως. οἷον Ἀνδροκλῆς ἔλεγεν ὁ Πιτθεὺς κατηγορῶν τοῦ νόμου, ἐπεὶ ἐθορύβησαν αὐτῷ εἰπόντι "δέονται οἱ νόμοι νόμου τοῦ διορθώσοντος· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἰχθύες ἁλός, καίτοι οὐκ εἰκὸς οὐδὲ πιθανὸν ἐν ἅλμῃ τρεφομένους δεῖσθαι ἁλός, καὶ τὰ στέμφυλα ἐλαίου· καίτοι ἄπιστον, ἐξ ὧν ἔλαιον γίγνεται, ταῦτα δεῖσθαι ἐλαίου."

23 Ἄλλος ἐλεγκτικός, τὸ τὰ ἀνομολογούμενα σκοπεῖν, εἴ τι ἀνομολογούμενον ἐκ πάντων καὶ χρόνων καὶ πράξεων καὶ λόγων, χωρὶς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος, οἷον "καὶ φησὶ μὲν φιλεῖν ὑμᾶς, συνώμοσε δὲ τοῖς τριάκοντα," χωρὶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, "καὶ φησὶ μὲν εἶναί με φιλόδικον, οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ἀποδεῖξαι δεδικασμένον οὐδεμίαν δίκην," χωρὶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος, "καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὐ δεδάνεικε πώποτ' οὐδέν, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς λέλυμαι ὑμῶν."

24 Ἄλλος τοῖς προδιαβεβλημένοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν, ἢ δοκοῦσι, τὸ λέγειν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παραδόξου· ἔστι γάρ τι δι' ὃ φαίνεται. οἷον ὑποβεβλημένης τινὸς τὸν αὑτῆς υἱὸν διὰ τὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι ἐδόκει συνεῖναι τῷ μειρακίῳ, λεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ αἰτίου ἐλύθη ἡ διαβολή· καὶ οἷον ἐν τῷ Αἴαντι τῷ Θεοδέκτου

153 The argument is: we accept either what really is or what is probable; if then a statement is made that is incredible and improbable, we assume that it would not have been made unless it was true.

we only believe in what is, or what is probable: if then a thing is incredible and not probable, it will be true; for it is not because it is probable and credible that we think it true.[153] Thus, Androcles[154] of Pitthus, speaking against the law, being shouted at when he said "the laws need a law to correct them," went on, "and fishes need salt, although it is neither probable nor credible that they should, being brought up in brine; similarly, pressed olives need oil, although it is incredible that what produces oil should itself need oil."

Another topic, appropriate to refutation, consists in examining contradictions, whether in dates, actions, or words, first separately in the case of the adversary, for instance, "he says that he loves you, and yet he conspired with the Thirty;" then separately in your own case, "he says that I am litigious, but he cannot prove that I have ever brought an action against anyone"; lastly, separately in the case of your adversary and yourself together: "he has never yet lent anything, but I have ransomed many of you."

Another topic, when men or things have been attacked by slander, in reality or in appearance,[155] consists in stating the reason for the false opinion; for there must be a reason for the supposition of guilt. For example, a woman embraced her son in a manner that suggested she had illicit relations with him, but when the reason was explained, the slander was quashed. Again, in the *Ajax* of Theodectes,

[154] Athenian demagogue and opponent of Alcibiades, for whose banishment he was chiefly responsible. When the Four Hundred were established, he was put to death.

[155] Understanding διαβεβλῆσθαι. Others read μὴ (for ἢ) δοκοῦσι, "when there seems no reason to suspect them."

Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα, διότι ἀνδρειότερος ὢν τοῦ Αἴαντος οὐ δοκεῖ.

25 Ἄλλος ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου, ἄν τε ὑπάρχῃ, ὅτι ἔστι, κἂν μὴ ὑπάρχῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἅμα γὰρ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ οὗ αἴτιον, καὶ ἄνευ αἰτίου οὐθέν ἐστιν. οἷον Λεωδάμας ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγε, κατηγορήσαντος Θρασυβούλου ὅτι ἦν στηλίτης γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ἀλλ' ἐκκόψαι ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἔφη· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν πιστεύειν αὐτῷ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐγγεγραμμένης τῆς ἔχθρας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.

26 Ἄλλος, εἰ ἐνεδέχετο βέλτιον ἄλλως ἢ ἐνδέχεται ὧν ἢ συμβουλεύει ἢ πράττει ἢ πέπραχε σκοπεῖν· φα-
1400 b νερὸν γὰρ ὅτι | εἰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐ πέπραχεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἑκὼν τὰ φαῦλα καὶ γιγνώσκων προαιρεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ψεῦδος· πολλάκις γὰρ ὕστερον γίγνεται δῆλον πῶς ἦν πρᾶξαι βέλτιον, πρότερον δὲ ἄδηλον.

27 Ἄλλος, ὅταν τι ἐναντίον μέλλῃ πράττεσθαι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἅμα σκοπεῖν· οἷον Ξενοφάνης Ἐλεάταις ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ θύωσι τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ καὶ θρηνῶσιν, ἢ

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156 The names of traitors were inscribed on a bronze pillar in the Acropolis. Leodamas supported the oligarchic, Thrasybulus the democratic faction. In answer to the charge that he had had his name removed from the pillar when his party came into power, Leodamas replied that, if he had been originally posted as an enemy of the people and a hater of democracy, he would have preferred to keep the record, as likely to increase the confidence of the Thirty in him, than to have it erased, even though it branded him as a traitor.

Odysseus explains to Ajax why, although really more courageous than Ajax, he is not considered to be so.

Another topic is derived from the cause. If the cause exists, the effect exists; if the cause does not exist, the effect does not exist; for the effect exists with the cause, and without cause there is nothing. For example, Leodamas, when defending himself against the accusation of Thrasybulus that his name had been posted in the Acropolis[156] but that he had erased it in the time of the Thirty, declared that it was impossible, for the Thirty would have had more confidence in him if his hatred against the people had been engraved on the stone.

Another topic consists in examining whether there was or is another better course than what is advised, or is being or has been carried out. For it is evident that if this has not been done,[157] a person has not committed a certain action; because no one purposely or knowingly chooses what is bad. However, this argument may be false; for often it is not until later that it becomes clear what was the better course, which previously was uncertain.

Another topic, when something contrary to what has already been done is on the point of being done, consists in examining them together. For instance, when the people of Elea asked Xenophanes whether or not they should sacrifice and sing dirges to Leucothea,[158] he advised them

[157] If a person has not taken the better course when he had the chance, he cannot be guilty.

[158] Leucothea was the name of the deified Ino, daughter of Cadmus and wife of Athamas, king of Thebes. The latter went mad and, in order to escape from him Ino threw herself into the sea with her infant son, Melicertes. Both became marine deities.

μή, συνεβούλευεν, εἰ μὲν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπον, μὴ θύειν.

28 Ἄλλος τόπος τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτηθέντων κατηγορεῖν ἢ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, οἷον ἐν τῇ Καρκίνου Μηδείᾳ οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ φαίνεσθαι γοῦν αὐτούς· ἥμαρτε γὰρ ἡ Μήδεια περὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν παίδων· ἡ δ' ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι οὐκ ἂν τοὺς παῖδας ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰάσονα ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἥμαρτεν ἂν μὴ ποιήσασα, εἴπερ καὶ θάτερον ἐποίησεν. ἔστι δ' ὁ τόπος οὗτος τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὅλη ἡ πρότερον Θεοδώρου τέχνη.

29 Ἄλλος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, οἷον ὡς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς

σαφῶς Σιδηρὼ καὶ φοροῦσα τοὔνομα,

καὶ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπαίνοις εἰώθασι λέγειν, καὶ ὡς Κόνων Θρασύβουλον θρασύβουλον ἐκάλει, καὶ Ἡρόδικος Θρασύμαχον "ἀεὶ θρασύμαχος εἶ," καὶ Πῶλον "ἀεὶ σὺ πῶλος εἶ," καὶ Δράκοντα τὸν νομοθέτην, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρώπου οἱ νόμοι ἀλλὰ δράκοντος· χαλεποὶ γάρ. καὶ ὡς ἡ Εὐριπίδου Ἑκάβη εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην

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159 Tragic poet, contemporary of Aristophanes.

160 An early edition, afterward enlarged; it must have contained something more than the topic of "errors" to be of any use.

161 Soph. *Tyro*, *TrGF* fr. 658.2. The reference is to Sidero (σίδηρος, "iron"), the cruel stepmother of Tyro.

that if they believed her to be a goddess they ought not to sing dirges, but if they believed her to be a mortal, they ought not to sacrifice to her.

Another topic consists in making use of errors committed, for purposes of accusation or defense. For instance, in the *Medea* of Carcinus[159] some accuse Medea of having killed her children; at any rate they had disappeared, for she had made the mistake of sending them out of the way. Medea herself pleads that she would have slain not her children but her husband Jason, for it would have been a mistake on her part not to have done that if she had done the other. This topic and type of enthymeme is the subject of the whole of the first "Art" of Theodorus.[160]

Another topic is derived from the meaning of a name. For instance, Sophocles says,

> Certainly you are steely, like your name.[161]

This topic is also commonly employed in praising the gods. Conon used to call Thrasybulus "the man bold in counsel," and Herodicus said of Thrasymachus,[162] "You are always bold in the fight," and of Polus, "You are always Polus (colt) by name and colt by nature,"[163] and of Draco the legislator that his laws were not those of a man, but of a dragon, so severe were they. Hecuba in Euripides[164] speaks thus of Aphrodite:

[162] The sophist Thrasymachus of Chelcedon, who defends the theory that might makes right in Plato's *Republic*.

[163] "Colt" refers to Polus' youthful high-spiritedness (cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 461b–63e).

[164] *Tro.* 990.

καὶ τοὔνομ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς.

καὶ ὡς Χαιρήμων

Πενθεὺς ἐσομένης συμφορᾶς ἐπώνυμος.

30 Εὐδοκιμεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τὰ ἐλεγκτικὰ τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν διὰ τὸ συναγωγὴν μὲν ἐναντίων εἶναι ἐν μικρῷ τὸ ἐλεγκτικὸν ἐνθύμημα, παρ' ἄλληλα δὲ φανερὰ εἶναι τῷ ἀκροατῇ μᾶλλον. πάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλεγκτικῶν καὶ τῶν δεικτικῶν συλλογισμῶν θορυβεῖται μάλιστα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅσα ἀρχόμενα προορῶσι μὴ τῷ ἐπιπολῆς εἶναι (ἅμα γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφ' αὑτοῖς χαίρουσι προαισθανόμενοι), καὶ ὅσων τοσοῦτον ὑστερίζουσιν ὥσθ' ἅμα εἰρημένων γνωρίζειν.

24. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνδέχεται τὸν μὲν εἶναι συλλογισμόν, τὸν δὲ μὴ εἶναι μὲν φαίνεσθαι δέ, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐνθύμημα τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἐνθύμημα, τὸ δὲ μὴ εἶναι φαίνεσθαι δέ, ἐπείπερ τὸ ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός τις.

2 Τόποι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φαινομένων | ἐνθυμημάτων εἷς
1401 a μὲν ὁ παρὰ τὴν λέξιν, καὶ τούτου ἓν μὲν μέρος, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς, τὸ μὴ συλλογισάμενον συμπερασματικῶς τὸ τελευταῖον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἄρα τὸ καὶ τό, ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸ καὶ τό. καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι τὸ συνεστραμμένως καὶ ἀντικειμένως εἰπεῖν φαίνεται ἐν-

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165 *TrGF* fr. 4. The root of the name Pentheus is πένθος (sorrow).

166 "Admitting the apparent correctness of the opposing argu-

And rightly does the name of the goddess begin like
the word *aphrosyne* (folly);

and Chaeremon[165] of Pentheus,

Pentheus named after his unhappy future.

Enthymemes that serve to refute are more popular than those that serve to demonstrate, because the former is a conclusion of opposites[166] in a small compass, and things in juxtaposition are always clearer to the audience. But of all syllogisms, whether refutative or demonstrative, those are specially applauded, the result of which the listeners foresee as soon as they are begun, and not because they are superficial (for as they listen they congratulate themselves on anticipating the conclusion); and also those that the listeners are only so little behind that they understand what they mean as soon as they are delivered.

24. But as it is possible that some syllogisms may be real and others not real but only apparent, there must also be real and apparent enthymemes, since the enthymeme is a kind of syllogism.

Now of the topics of apparent enthymemes one is that of diction, which is of two kinds. The first, as in dialectic, consists in ending with a conclusion syllogistically expressed, although there has been no syllogistic process, "therefore it is neither this nor that," "so it must be this or that"; and similarly in rhetorical arguments a concise and antithetical statement is supposed to be an enthymeme;

ment, we may prove the contradictory of its conclusion by an unassailable argument of our own, which is then called an elenchus" (Thomson, *Laws of Thought*, §127).

θύμημα· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη λέξις χώρα ἐστὶν ἐνθυμήματος. καὶ ἔοικε τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι παρὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως. ἔστι δὲ εἰς τὸ τῇ λέξει συλλογιστικῶς λέγειν χρήσιμον τὸ συλλογισμῶν πολλῶν κεφάλαια λέγειν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἔσωσε, τοῖς δ' ἑτέροις ἐτιμώρησε, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας ἠλευθέρωσεν· ἕκαστον μὲν γὰρ τούτων ἐξ ἄλλων ἀπεδείχθη, συντεθέντων δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐκ τούτων τι γίγνεσθαι.

Ἓν δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ὡς τὸ φάναι σπουδαῖον εἶναι μῦν, ἀφ' οὗ γ' ἐστὶν ἡ τιμιωτάτη πασῶν τελετή· τὰ γὰρ μυστήρια πασῶν τιμιωτάτη τελετή. ἢ εἴ τις κύνα ἐγκωμιάζων τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ συμπαραλαμβάνει ἢ τὸν Πᾶνα, ὅτι Πίνδαρος ἔφησεν

ὦ μάκαρ, ὅν τε μεγάλας
θεοῦ κύνα παντοδαπὸν
καλέουσιν Ὀλύμπιοι.

ἢ ὅτι τὸ μηδένα εἶναι κύνα ἀτιμότατόν ἐστιν, ὥστε τὸ κύνα δῆλον ὅτι τίμιον. καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν φάναι τὸν Ἑρμῆν εἶναι μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν· μόνος γὰρ καλεῖται κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς. καὶ τὸ τὸν λόγον εἶναι σπουδαιότατον,

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167 Isoc. *Evagoras*, 65–69.

168 Or, equivocation, in which a single term has a double meaning.

169 Deriving *μυστήρια* (*μύειν*, "to close the lips") from *μῦς* (mouse).

170 A fragment from the *Partheneia*, songs sung by unmarried girls to the accompaniment of the flute. Pan is called "the dog of

for such a style appears to contain a real enthymeme. This fallacy appears to be the result of the form of expression. For the purpose of using the diction to create an impression of syllogistic reasoning it is useful to state the heads of several syllogisms: "He saved some, avenged others, and freed the Greeks";[167] for each of these propositions has been proved by others, but their union appears to furnish a fresh conclusion.

The second kind of fallacy of diction is homonymy.[168] For instance, if one were to say that the mouse is an important animal, since from it is derived the most honored of all religious festivals, namely, the Mysteries;[169] or if, in praising the dog, one were to include the dog in heaven (Sirius), or Pan, because Pindar said,[170]

> O blessed one, whom the Olympians
> call dog of the Great Mother,
> taking every form,

or were to say that the dog is an honorable animal since to be without a dog is most dishonorable. And to say that Hermes is the most sociable of the gods because he alone is called common;[171] and that words are most excellent,

Cybele," the great nature goddess of the Greeks, as being always in attendance on her, being himself a nature god. The fact that Pindar calls Pan "dog" is taken as a glorification of that animal.

[171] *κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς* is a proverbial expression meaning "halves!" When anyone had a stroke of luck, such as finding a purse full of money in the street, anyone with him expected to go halves. Hermes was the god of luck, and that such a find was called *ἑρμαῖον*. *κοινωνικός* is taken to mean (1) liberal to others, or (2) sociable.

ὅτι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐ χρημάτων ἀλλὰ λόγου εἰσὶν ἄξιοι· τὸ γὰρ λόγου ἄξιον οὐχ ἁπλῶς λέγεται.

3 Ἄλλος τὸ διῃρημένον συντιθέντα λέγειν ἢ τὸ συγκείμενον διαιροῦντα· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ταὐτὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι οὐκ ὂν ταὐτὸν πολλάκις, ὁπότερον χρησιμώτερον, τοῦτο δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Εὐθυδήμου λόγος, οἷον τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι τριήρης ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐστίν· ἕκαστον γὰρ οἶδεν. καὶ τὸν τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐπιστάμενον ὅτι τὸ ἔπος οἶδεν· τὸ γὰρ ἔπος τὸ αὐτό ἐστιν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ δὶς τοσοῦτον νοσῶδες, μηδὲ τὸ ἓν φάναι ὑγιεινὸν εἶναι· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ τὰ δύο ἀγαθὰ ἓν κακόν ἐστιν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐλεγκτικόν, ὧδε δὲ δεικτικόν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἓν ἀγαθὸν δύο κακά. ὅλος δὲ ὁ τόπος παραλογιστικός. πάλιν τὸ Πολυκράτους εἰς Θρασύβουλον, ὅτι τριάκοντα τυράννους κατέλυσεν· συντίθησι γάρ. ἢ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τῷ Θεοδέκτου· ἐκ διαιρέσεως γάρ ἐστιν.

δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ᾗ τις ἂν κτείνῃ πόσιν,

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172 λόγος: (1) speech; (2) account, esteem.

173 Very obscure and no explanation is satisfactory. The parallel passage in *Sophistici elenchi* 20.6 is: "Do you being in Sicily now know that there are triremes in the Piraeus?" The ambiguity lies in the position of "now," whether it is to be taken with "in Sicily" or with "in the Piraeus." At the moment when a man is in Sicily he cannot know that there are at this time triremes in the Piraeus; but being in Sicily he can certainly know of the ships in the Piraeus, which should be there, but are now in Sicily (Kirchmann). St. Hilaire suggests that the two clauses are: Do you now, being in Sicily, see the triremes that are in the Piraeus? and, Did

since good men are considered worthy, not of riches but of consideration; for λόγου ἄξιος has a double meaning.[172]

Another fallacy consists in combining what is divided or dividing what is combined. For since a thing that is not the same as another often appears to be the same, one may adopt the more convenient alternative. Such was the argument of Euthydemus, to prove, for example, that a man knows that there is a trireme in the Piraeus because he knows the existence of two things, the Piraeus and the trireme;[173] or that, when one knows the letters, one also knows the word made of them, for word and letters are the same thing. Further, since twice so much is unwholesome, one may argue that neither is the original amount wholesome; for it would be absurd that two halves separately should be good, but bad combined. In this way the argument may be used for refutation, in another way for demonstration, if one were to say, one good thing cannot make two bad things. But the whole topic is fallacious. Again, one may quote what Polycrates said of Thrasybulus, that he deposed thirty tyrants,[174] for here he combines them; or the example of the fallacy of division in the *Orestes* of Theodectes:[175]

It is just that a woman who has killed her husband

you, when in Sicily, see the triremes that are now in the Piraeus? The fallacy consists in the two facts (being in the Piraeus and the existence of triremes in Sicily), true separately, being untrue combined.

[174] Thrasybulus deposed the Thirty and put down the single tyranny which they composed; he then claimed a thirtyfold reward, as having put down thirty tyrannies.

[175] *TrGF* fr. 5.

ἀποθνήσκειν ταύτην, καὶ τῷ πατρί γε τιμωρεῖν τὸν|
1401 b υἱόν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα πέπρακται· συντεθέντα γὰρ ἴσως οὐκέτι δίκαιον. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἔλλειψιν· ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ τὸ ὑπὸ τίνος.

4 Ἄλλος δὲ τόπος τὸ δεινώσει κατασκευάζειν ἢ ἀνασκευάζειν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν, μὴ δείξας ὅτι ἐποίησεν, αὐξήσῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα· ποιεῖ γὰρ φαίνεσθαι ἢ ὡς οὔτε πεποίηκεν, ὅταν ὁ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχων αὔξῃ, ἢ ὡς πεποίηκεν, ὅταν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὀργίζηται. οὔκουν ἐστὶν ἐνθύμημα· παραλογίζεται γὰρ ὁ ἀκροατὴς ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἢ οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐ δεδειγμένου.

5 Ἄλλος τὸ ἐκ σημείου· ἀσυλλόγιστον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο. οἷον εἴ τις λέγοι "ταῖς πόλεσι συμφέρουσιν οἱ ἐρῶντες· ὁ γὰρ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἔρως κατέλυσε τὸν τύραννον Ἵππαρχον." ἢ εἴ τις λέγοι ὅτι κλέπτης Διονύσιος· πονηρὸς γάρ· ἀσυλλόγιστον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ πᾶς πονηρὸς κλέπτης, ἀλλ' ὁ κλέπτης πᾶς πονηρός.

6 Ἄλλος διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός, οἷον ὃ λέγει Πολυκράτης εἰς τοὺς μῦς, ὅτι ἐβοήθησαν διατραγόντες τὰς νευράς. ἢ εἴ τις φαίη τὸ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθῆναι τιμιώτατον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς

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176 Hdt. 2.141. The story was that when Sennacherib invaded Egypt, a host of field mice devoured all the quivers, bowstrings, and leather shield holders of the Assyrians. Apollo was called Smintheus (σμίνθος, "mouse") and was represented on coins with a mouse in his hand, either as the mouse slayer and protec-

should be put to death, and that the son should avenge the father; and this in fact is what has been done. But if they are combined, perhaps the act ceases to be just. The same might also be classed as an example of the fallacy of omission; for the name of the one who should put the woman to death is not mentioned.

Another topic is that of constructing or destroying by exaggeration, which takes place when the speaker, without having proved that any crime has actually been committed, exaggerates the supposed fact; for it makes it appear either that the accused is not guilty, when he himself exaggerates it, or that he is guilty, when it is the accuser who is in a rage. Therefore there is no enthymeme; for the hearer falsely concludes that the accused is guilty or not, although neither has been proved.

Another fallacy is that of the sign, for this argument also is invalid. For instance, if one were to say that those who love one another are useful to states, since the love of Harmodius and Aristogiton overthrew the tyrant Hipparchus; or that Dionysius is a thief because he is a rascal; for here again the argument is inconclusive; not every rascal is a thief although every thief is a rascal.

Another fallacy is derived from accident; for instance, when Polycrates says of the mice that they rendered great service by gnawing the bowstrings.[176] Or if one were to say that nothing is more honorable than to be invited to a dinner, for because he was not invited Achilles was angry at

tor of crops, or because the animal was sacred to him. The story, alluded to elsewhere, was of Greek not Egyptian origin. Similar panegyrics on ridiculous things or animals included pots, counters, salt, flies, bees, and such subjects as death, sleep, and food.

ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ· ὁ δ' ὡς ἀτιμαζόμενος ἐμήνισεν, συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ κληθῆναι.

7 Ἄλλος τὸ παρὰ τὸ ἑπόμενον, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι μεγαλόψυχος· ὑπεριδὼν γὰρ τὴν πολλῶν ὁμιλίαν ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ διέτριβε καθ' αὑτόν· ὅτι γὰρ οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τοιοῦτοι, καὶ οὗτος μεγαλόψυχος δόξειεν ἄν. καὶ ἐπεὶ καλλωπιστὴς καὶ νύκτωρ πλανᾶται, μοιχός· τοιοῦτοι γάρ. ὅμοιον δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ ᾄδουσι καὶ ὀρχοῦνται, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς φυγάσιν ἔξεστιν οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἂν θέλωσιν· ὅτι γὰρ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν εὐδαιμονεῖν ὑπάρχει ταῦτα, καὶ οἷς ταῦτα ὑπάρχει, δόξαιεν ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν. διαφέρει δὲ τῷ πῶς· διὸ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔλλειψιν ἐμπίπτει.

8 Ἄλλος παρὰ τὸ ἀναίτιον ὡς αἴτιον, οἷον τῷ ἅμα ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο γεγονέναι· τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνουσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, οἷον ὡς ὁ Δημάδης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν· μετ' ἐκείνην γὰρ συνέβη ὁ πόλεμος.

9 Ἄλλος παρὰ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς, οἷον ὅτι δικαίως Ἀλέξανδρος ἔλαβε τὴν Ἑλένην· αἵρεσις γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐδόθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἴσως.

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177 Sophocles, *Those Who Dine Together* (Σύνδειπνοι), possibly a satyr play; Achilles' not being invited was a mere accident of the disrespect.

178 Assuming a proposition to be convertible when it is not; it does not follow, assuming that all the high-minded dwell by themselves, that all who dwell by themselves are high-minded.

the Achaeans at Tenedos; whereas he was really angry because he had been treated with disrespect, but this was an accident due to his not having been invited.[177]

Another fallacy is that of the consequence.[178] For instance, in the *Alexander* it is said that Paris was high-minded, because he despised the companionship of the common herd and dwelt on Ida by himself; for because the high-minded are of this character, Paris also might be thought high-minded. Or since a man pays attention to dress and roams about at night, he is a libertine, because libertines are of this character. Similarly the poor sing and dance in the temples, exiles can live where they please; and since these things belong to those who are apparently happy, those to whom they belong may also be thought happy. But there is a difference in conditions;[179] for that reason this topic also falls under the head of omission.

Another fallacy consists of taking what is not the cause for the cause, as when a thing has happened at the same time as, or after, another; for it is believed that what happens after is produced by the other, especially by politicians. Thus Demades declared that the policy of Demosthenes was the cause of all the evils that happened, since it was followed by the war.

Another fallacy is the omission of when and how. For instance, Paris had a right to carry off Helen, for the choice of a husband had been given her by her father. But

[179] The poor want to get money; the rich dance and sing to amuse themselves, or to show that they can do as they like. Exiles can certainly live where they like in a foreign land but would prefer to live in their own country; the rich, who are not exiles, travel to amuse themselves.

ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶτον· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ μέχρι τούτου |
1402 a κύριος. ἢ εἴ τις φαίη τὸ τύπτειν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὕβριν εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ πάντως, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄρχῃ χειρῶν ἀδίκων.

10 Ἔτι ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς, παρὰ τὸ ἁπλῶς καὶ μὴ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τί, γίγνεται φαινόμενος συλλογισμός· οἷον ἐν μὲν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς, ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν ὄν· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ μὴ ὂν μὴ ὄν. καὶ ὅτι ἐπιστητὸν τὸ ἄγνωστον· ἔστι γὰρ ἐπιστητὸν τὸ ἄγνωστον ὅτι ἄγνωστον. οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἐστὶ φαινόμενον ἐνθύμημα παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἁπλῶς εἰκός, ἀλλὰ τί εἰκός. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὐ καθόλου, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀγάθων λέγει

τάχ' ἄν τις εἰκὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγοι,
βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα.

γίγνεται γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε εἰκὸς καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἔσται τὸ μὴ εἰκὸς εἰκός. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐριστικῶν τὸ κατὰ τί καὶ πρὸς τί καὶ πῇ οὐ προστιθέμενα ποιεῖ τὴν συκοφαντίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς εἶναι μὴ
11 ἁπλῶς ἀλλὰ τί εἰκός. ἔστι δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου ἡ Κόρακος τέχνη συγκειμένη· ἄν τε γὰρ μὴ ἔνοχος ᾖ τῇ αἰτίᾳ, οἷον ἀσθενὴς ὢν αἰκίας φεύγῃ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκός·

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180 The first "is" means "has a real, absolute existence"; the second "is" merely expresses the identity of the terms of the proposition and is particular; but the sophistical reasoner takes it in the same sense as the first. The same applies to the argument about the unknown.

it was not, as might be thought, for all time, but only for the first time; for the father's authority only lasts till then. Or if one should say that it is wanton outrage to beat a free man; for this is not always the case, but only when the assailant gives the first blow.

Further, as in sophistical disputations, an apparent syllogism arises as the result of considering a thing first absolutely and then not absolutely but only in a particular case. For instance, in dialectic it is argued that what is not is, for what is not is what is not;[180] also that the unknown can be known, for it can be known of the unknown that it is unknown. Similarly in rhetoric, an apparent enthymeme may arise from what is not absolutely probable but only in particular cases. But this is not to be understood absolutely, as Agathon says:

> One might perhaps say that this very thing is
> probable,
> that many things happen to men that are not
> probable;

for what is contrary to probability nevertheless does happen, so that what is contrary to probability is probable. If this is so, what is improbable will be probable. But not absolutely; but as in the case of sophistical disputations the argument becomes fallacious when the circumstances, reference, and manner are not added, so here it will become so owing to the probability being not probable absolutely but only in particular cases. The "Art" of Corax is composed of this topic. For if a man is not likely to be guilty of what he is accused of, for instance if being weak

κἂν ἔνοχος ὤν, οἷον ἂν ἰσχυρὸς ὤν· οὐ γὰρ εἰκός, ὅτι εἰκὸς ἔμελλε δόξειν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἢ γὰρ ἔνοχον ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ αἰτίᾳ· φαίνεται μὲν οὖν ἀμφότερα εἰκότα, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν εἰκός, τὸ δὲ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴρηται. καὶ τὸ τὸν ἥττω δὲ λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστίν. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δικαίως ἐδυσχέραινον οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ Πρωταγόρου ἐπάγγελμα· ψεῦδός τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἀλλὰ φαινόμενον εἰκός, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ ἀλλ' ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ ἐριστικῇ. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν φαινομένων εἴρηται.

25. Περὶ δὲ λύσεως ἐχόμενόν ἐστι τῶν εἰρημένων εἰπεῖν. ἔστι δὲ λύειν ἢ ἀντισυλλογισάμενον ἢ ἔνστα-
2 σιν ἐνεγκόντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀντισυλλογίζεσθαι δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ἐνδέχεται ποιεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ συλλογισμοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνδόξων, δοκοῦντα δὲ πολλὰ
3 ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν. αἱ δ' ἐνστάσεις φέρονται καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς, τετραχῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἢ ἐκ τῶν
4 κεκριμένων. λέγω δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μέν, οἷον εἰ περὶ ἔρω-
1402 b τος | εἴη τὸ ἐνθύμημα ὡς σπουδαῖος, ἡ ἔνστασις δι-

[181] This utterance of Protagoras gave particular offense as apparently implying that the weaker cause was really identical with the worse, so that to support it was to support injustice. But considering the high moral character ascribed to Protagoras, it seems more probable to take the formula as a statement of the aim of all ancient orators: how to overcome stronger arguments by arguments weaker in themselves.

he is accused of assault and battery, his defense will be that the crime is not probable; but if he is likely to be guilty, for instance if he is strong, it may be argued again that the crime is not probable, for the very reason that it was bound to appear so. It is the same in all other cases; for a man must either be likely to have committed a crime or not. Here, both the alternatives appear equally probable, but the one is really so, the other not probable absolutely but only in the conditions mentioned. And this is what "making the worse appear the better argument" means. And so men were justly disgusted with the promise of Protagoras;[181] for it is a lie, not a real but an apparent probability, not found in any art except rhetoric and sophistic. So much for real or apparent enthymemes.

25. Next to what has been said we must speak of refutation. An argument may be refuted either by a countersyllogism[182] or by bringing an objection. It is clear that the same topics may furnish countersyllogisms; for syllogisms are derived from plausible materials and many plausible opinions are contrary to one another. An objection is brought, as shown in the *Topics*, in four ways: it may be derived either from itself,[183] or from what is similar, or from what is contrary, or from what has been decided. In the first case, if for instance the enthymeme was intended to prove that love is good, two objections might be made;

[182] In which the contrary of an opponent's conclusion is proved.

[183] That is, the *opponent's* enthymeme.

χῶς· ἢ γὰρ καθόλου εἰπόντα ὅτι πᾶσα ἔνδεια πονηρόν, ἢ κατὰ μέρος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐλέγετο Καύνιος ἔρως,
5 εἰ μὴ ἦσαν καὶ πονηροὶ ἔρωτες. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἔνστασις φέρεται, οἷον εἰ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἦν ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ πάντας τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ
6 μοχθηρὸς κακῶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὁμοίου, εἰ ἦν τὸ ἐνθύμημα ὅτι οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἀεὶ μισοῦσιν, ὅτι
7 ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ εὖ πεπονθότες ἀεὶ φιλοῦσιν. αἱ δὲ κρίσεις αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν, οἷον εἴ τις ἐνθύμημα εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς μεθύουσι δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἀγνοοῦντες γὰρ ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ἔνστασις ὅτι οὔκουν ὁ Πιττακὸς αἰνετός· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μείζους ζημίας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐάν τις μεθύων ἁμαρτάνῃ.

8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα λέγεται ἐκ τεττάρων, τὰ δὲ τέτταρα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν εἰκὸς παράδειγμα τεκμήριον σημεῖον, ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἢ ὄντων ἢ δοκούντων συνηγμένα ἐνθυμήματα ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων, τὰ δὲ [δι' ἐπαγωγῆς] διὰ τοῦ ὁμοίου, ἢ ἑνὸς ἢ πλειόνων, ὅταν λαβὼν τὸ καθόλου εἶτα συλλογίσηται τὰ κατὰ μέρος, διὰ παραδείγματος. τὰ δὲ δι' ἀναγκαίου καὶ ‹ἀεὶ› ὄντος διὰ τεκμηρίου, τὰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ καθόλου ἢ τοῦ ἐν μέρει ὄντος, ἐάν τε ὂν ἐάν τε μή, διὰ σημείων, τὸ δὲ εἰκὸς οὐ τὸ ἀεὶ ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, φανερὸν

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184 Love is regarded as a desire and therefore as bad as any other desire. It is here included under the general category of want.

either the general statement that all want[184] is bad, or in particular, that Caunian love[185] would not have become proverbial unless some forms of love had been bad. An objection from what is contrary is brought if, for instance, the enthymeme is that the good man does good to all his friends; it may be objected: But the bad man does not do harm [to all his friends].[186] An objection from what is similar is brought if the enthymeme is that those who have been injured always hate, by arguing that those who have been benefited do not always love. The fourth kind of objection is derived from the former decisions of well-known men. For instance, if the enthymeme is that one should make allowance for those who are drunk, for their offense is the result of ignorance, it may be objected that Pittacus then is unworthy of commendation, otherwise he would not have laid down severer punishment for a man who commits an offense when drunk.

Now the material of enthymemes is derived from four sources: probabilities, examples, necessary signs, and signs. Conclusions are drawn from probabilities when based on things that occur or seem to occur in most cases; from examples, when from one or more similar cases one assumes the general and then concludes the particular; from necessary signs, when based upon what is necessary and ‹ever›[187] exists; from signs, when their material is the general or the particular, whether true or not. Now

[185] Incest: cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.454.

[186] The contrary of "good men do good to all their friends" is "bad men do harm to all their friends," but this is not always true.

[187] Translating ἀεί inserted by Vahlen before ὄντος.

ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἀεὶ ἔστι λύειν
φέροντα ἔνστασιν, ἡ δὲ λύσις φαινομένη ἀλλ' οὐκ
9 ἀληθὴς [ἀεί]· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ εἰκός, λύει ὁ ἐνιστάμενος,
10 ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. διὸ καὶ ἀεὶ ἔστι πλεονεκτεῖν
ἀπολογούμενον μᾶλλον ἢ κατηγοροῦντα διὰ τοῦτον
τὸν παραλογισμόν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κατηγορῶν δι'
εἰκότων ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἔστι δὲ οὐ ταὐτὸ λύσαι ἢ ὅτι
οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀεὶ δ' ἔχει ἔνστασιν
τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦν εἰκὸς ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ
ἀναγκαῖον· ὁ δὲ κριτὴς οἴεται, ἂν οὕτω λυθῇ, ἢ οὐκ
εἰκὸς εἶναι ἢ οὐχ αὑτῷ κριτέον, παραλογιζόμενος,
ὥσπερ ἐλέγομεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεῖ αὐτὸν
μόνον κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων· τοῦτο γάρ
ἐστι τὸ γνώμῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ κρίνειν. οὔκουν ἱκανὸν
ἂν λύσῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ λύειν ὅτι οὐκ
εἰκός. τοῦτο δὲ συμβήσεται, ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ ἔνστασις μᾶλλον
11 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. ἐνδέχεται δὲ εἶναι τοιαύτην διχῶς,
1403 a ἢ τῷ χρόνῳ ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν, κυριώτατα δέ, | εἰ
ἀμφοῖν· εἰ γὰρ τὰ πλεονάκις οὕτω, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν εἰκὸς
μᾶλλον.

12 Λύεται δὲ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ διὰ σημείου ἐνθυ-

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188 That is, if the argument is shown to be not "necessary."

189 The important point in the conclusion drawn is that the judge thinks it is not his business to decide, because the argument is not necessary, whereas his duty is to decide, not about things that are necessary but about things that are probable.

the probable being not what occurs invariably but only for the most part, it is evident that enthymemes of this character can always be refuted by bringing an objection. But the objection is only apparent, not real; for he who brings the objection endeavors to show not that the argument is not probable but that it is not necessary. And so, by the employment of this fallacy, the defendant always has an advantage over the accuser. For since the latter always bases his proof on probabilities, and it is not the same thing to show that an argument is not probable as to show that it is not necessary, and what is only true for the most part is always liable to objection (otherwise it would not be probable, but constant and necessary), then the judge thinks, if the refutation is made in this manner,[188] either that the argument is not probable, or that it is not for him to decide,[189] being deceived by the fallacy, as we have just indicated. For his judgment must not rest on necessary arguments alone but also on probabilities; for this is what is meant by deciding according to the best of one's judgment. It is therefore not enough to refute an argument by showing that it is not necessary; it must also be shown that it is not probable. This will be attained if the objection itself is based upon what happens more generally. This may take place in two ways, from consideration either of the time or of the facts. The strongest objections are those in which both are combined; for a thing is more probable the more often similar cases happen.

Signs and enthymemes based on signs, even if true,

μήματα εἰρημένα, κἂν ᾖ ὑπάρχοντα, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις· ὅτι γὰρ ἀσυλλόγιστόν ἐστι πᾶν ση-
13 μεῖον, δῆλον ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν. πρὸς δὲ τὰ παραδειγματώδη ἡ αὐτὴ λύσις καὶ τὰ εἰκότα· ἐάν τε γὰρ ἔχωμέν ‹ἔν› τι οὐχ οὕτω, λέλυται ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ καὶ τὰ πλείω ἢ πλεονάκις, ἄλλως· ἐάν δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείω καὶ τὰ πλεονάκις οὕτω, μαχετέον ἢ ὅτι τὸ παρὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἢ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἢ διαφοράν γέ
14 τινα ἔχει. τὰ δὲ τεκμήρια καὶ τεκμηριώδη ἐνθυμήματα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἀσυλλόγιστον οὐκ ἔσται λύσαι (δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν), λείπεται δ' ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχει τὸ λεγόμενον δεικνύναι. εἰ δὲ φανερὸν καὶ ὅτι ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅτι τεκμήριον, ἄλυτον ἤδη γίγνεται τοῦτο· πάντα γὰρ γίγνεται ἀποδείξει ἤδη φανερά.

26. Τὸ δ' αὔξειν καὶ μειοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνθυμήματος στοιχεῖον· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ λέγω στοιχεῖον καὶ τόπον· ἔστι γὰρ στοιχεῖον καὶ τόπος, εἰς ὃ πολλὰ ἐνθυμήματα ἐμπίπτει. τὸ δ' αὔξειν καὶ μειοῦν ἐστὶν [ἐνθυμήματα] πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι ὅτι μέγα ἢ μικρόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 ὁτιοῦν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ πάντα περὶ ἃ οἱ συλλογισμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα· ὥστ' εἰ μηδὲ τούτων ἕκαστον ἐν-

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190 1.2.18; or "at the beginning," that is, of this book.

191 An. pr. 2.27. 192 Here I have changed Kassel's version of the text to account for the fact that general propositions derived from examples hold only "for the most part." Kassel brackets the words from ἄλλως to πλεονάκις and inserts "ἐάν τε μή"

may be refuted in the manner previously stated;[190] for it is clear from the *Analytics*[191] that no sign can furnish a logical conclusion. As for enthymemes derived from examples, they may be refuted in the same manner as probabilities. For if we have a single fact that contradicts the opponent's example, the argument is refuted as not being necessary; if most things on most occasions are also not so, it is refuted in the other way.[192] But if most things on most occasions are as he says, we must contend that the present case is not similar, or that the thing did not take place in the same way, or at least that there is a difference. But necessary signs and the enthymemes derived from them cannot be refuted on the ground of not furnishing a logical conclusion, as is clear from the *Analytics*;[193] the only thing that remains is to prove that the thing alleged is not true. But if it is evident that it is true and that it is a necessary sign, the argument at once becomes irrefutable; for, by means of demonstration, everything at once becomes clear.[194]

26. Amplification and depreciation are not elements of enthymeme (for I regard element and topic as identical, since element or topic is a category under which several enthymemes are included), but they [are enthymemes which] serve to show that a thing is great or small, just as others serve to show that it is good or bad, just or unjust, or anything else. All these are the materials of syllogisms and enthymemes; so that if none of these is a topic of

after οὕτω. For a discussion of various emendations, see J. Allen, *Inference from Signs* (Oxford, 2001), 78f.

[193] An. pr. 2.27.

[194] That is, "when the *tekmērion* is converted into a syllogism." For *tekmērion* see 1.2.16.

3 θυμήματος τόπος, οὐδὲ τὸ αὔξειν καὶ μειοῦν. οὐδὲ τὰ λυτικὰ ἐνθυμήματα εἶδός τι ἐστὶν ἄλλο τῶν κατασκευαστικῶν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι λύει μὲν ἢ δείξας ἢ ἔνστασιν ἐνεγκών, ἀνταποδεικνύουσι δὲ τὸ ἀντικείμενον, οἷον εἰ ἔδειξεν ὅτι γέγονεν, οὗτος ὅτι οὐ γέγονεν, εἰ δ' ὅτι οὐ γέγονεν, οὗτος ὅτι γέγονεν. ὥστε αὕτη μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἡ διαφορά· τοῖς αὐτοῖς γὰρ χρῶνται ἀμφότεροι· ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ ἔστιν, ἐνθυμήματα
4 φέρουσιν· ἡ δ' ἔνστασις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνθύμημα, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς τὸ εἰπεῖν δόξαν τινὰ ἐξ ἧς ἔσται δῆλον ὅτι οὐ συλλελόγισται ἢ ὅτι ψεῦδός τι
5 εἴληφεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ τρία ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖ πραγματευθῆναι περὶ τὸν λόγον, ὑπὲρ μὲν παραδειγμάτων καὶ γνωμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ ὅλως τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν,
1403 b ὅθεν τε εὐπορήσομεν | καὶ ὡς αὐτὰ λύσομεν, εἰρήσθω ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα, λοιπὸν δὲ διελθεῖν περὶ λέξεως καὶ τάξεως.

enthymeme, neither is amplification or depreciation. Nor are enthymemes by which arguments are refuted of a different kind from those by which they are established; for it is clear that demonstration or bringing an objection is the means of refutation. By the first the contrary of the adversary's conclusion is demonstrated: for instance if he has shown that a thing has happened, his opponent shows that it has not; if he has shown that a thing has not happened, he shows that it has. This therefore will not be the difference between them; for both employ the same arguments; they bring forward enthymemes to show that the thing is or that it is not. And the objection is not an enthymeme, but, as I said in the *Topics*, it is stating an opinion which is intended to make it clear that the adversary's syllogism is not logical, or that he has assumed some false premise. Now, since there are three things in regard to speech, to which special attention should be devoted, let what has been said suffice for examples, maxims, enthymemes, and what concerns the thought[195] generally; for the sources of a supply of arguments and the means of refuting them. It only remains to speak of style and arrangement.

[195] For this use of "thought" (διάνοια), cf. *Poetics* 2.1450a6.

Γ

1. Ἐπειδὴ τρία ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖ πραγματευθῆναι περὶ τὸν λόγον, ἓν μὲν ἐκ τίνων αἱ πίστεις ἔσονται, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, τρίτον δὲ πῶς χρὴ τάξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου, περὶ μὲν τῶν πίστεων εἴρηται, καὶ ἐκ πόσων, ὅτι ἐκ τριῶν εἰσί, καὶ ταῦτα ποῖα, καὶ διὰ τί τοσαῦτα μόνα· ἢ γὰρ τῷ αὐτοί τι πεπονθέναι οἱ κρίνοντες, ἢ τῷ ποιούς τινας ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς λέγοντας, ἢ τῷ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι πείθονται πάντες. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, πόθεν δεῖ πορίζεσθαι· ἔστι γὰρ τὰ μὲν εἴδη τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων, τὰ δὲ τόποι.

2 Περὶ δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ ἔχειν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ συμβάλλεται πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ φανῆ-
3 ναι ποιόν τινα τὸν λόγον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐζητήθη κατὰ φύσιν, ὅπερ πέφυκε πρῶτον, αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐκ τίνων ἔχει τὸ πιθανόν· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ταῦτα τῇ λέξει διαθέσθαι· τρίτον δὲ τούτων, ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην, οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρι-

[1] The Greek word ὑπόκρισις, translated as "delivery" in the context of rhetoric, usually means "acting" (on stage) and was no

BOOK III

1. There are three areas requiring special attention as regards speech-making: first, the means of persuasion; second, style; and third, the arrangement of the parts of the speech. We have already spoken of the means of persuasion and stated that they number three, what their nature is, and why there are only three; for in all cases persuasion is the result either of the judges themselves being affected in a certain manner, or because they consider the speakers to be of a certain character, or because something has been proved. We have also stated the sources from which enthymemes should be derived, some of them being special, the others general topics.

We have therefore next to speak of style; for it is not sufficient to know what one ought to say, but one must also know how one ought to say it, and this largely contributes to making the speech appear of a certain character. In the first place, following the natural order, we investigated what comes naturally first: what gives the facts themselves their persuasiveness; in the second place, their arrangement by style; and in the third place, delivery,[1] which is of the greatest influence, but has not yet been treated by any

doubt transferred to the performances of orators from those of actors.

σιν, καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ῥαψῳδίαν ὀψὲ παρῆλθεν· ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τὴν ῥητορικήν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ποιητικήν· ὅπερ ἕτεροί τινες ἐπραγματεύθησαν καὶ Γλαύκων ὁ
4 Τήϊος. ἔστι δὲ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος, οἷον πότε μεγάλῃ καὶ πότε μικρᾷ καὶ πότε μέσῃ, καὶ πῶς τοῖς τόνοις, οἷον ὀξείᾳ καὶ βαρείᾳ καὶ μέσῃ, καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τίσι πρὸς ἕκαστον. τρία γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὧν σκοποῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μέγεθος ἁρμονία ῥυθμός. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἆθλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων οὗτοι λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖ μεῖζον δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν
5 τῶν πολιτειῶν. οὔπω δὲ σύγκειται τέχνη περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ὀψὲ προῆλθεν· καὶ δοκεῖ |
1404 a φορτικὸν εἶναι, καλῶς ὑπολαμβανόμενον. ἀλλ' ὅλης οὔσης πρὸς δόξαν τῆς πραγματείας τῆς περὶ τὴν ῥητορικήν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαίου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιητέον, ἐπεὶ τό γε δίκαιον μηδὲν πλείω ζητεῖ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἢ ὡς μήτε λυπεῖν μήτε εὐφραίνειν· δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥστε τἆλλα ἔξω τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι περίεργα ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ὅμως μέγα δύναται, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν

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[2] Since the authors of tragedies acted their own plays, there was no need for professional actors nor for instruction in the art

one. In fact, it only made its appearance late in tragedy and epic recitation, for at first the poets themselves acted their tragedies.[2] It is clear, therefore, that there is something of the sort in rhetoric as well as in poetry, and [in poetry] it has been dealt with by Glaucon of Teos among others. Now delivery is a matter of voice, as to the mode in which it should be used for each particular emotion; when it should be loud, when low, when intermediate; and how the tones, that is, shrill, deep, and intermediate, should be used; and what rhythms to use for each subject. For there are three factors that speakers consider, namely volume, harmony, rhythm. Those speakers tend to carry off the prizes in dramatic contests, and as in the present day actors have greater influence on the stage than the poets, it is the same in political contests, owing to the bad state of our forms of government. But no treatise has yet been composed on delivery, since the matter of style itself has only lately come to notice; it is thought to be vulgar, and rightly so. But since the whole business of rhetoric is concerned with opinion, we must pay attention to it, not as being right but as necessary; for as a matter of fairness, one should aim at nothing more in a speech than to avoid exciting pain or pleasure. For fairness consists in fighting the case with the facts alone, so that everything else that is beside proof is superfluous; nevertheless, as we have just said, it is of great influence owing to the depravity of the

of delivery or acting. This explains why no attempt had been made to deal with the question. Similarly, the rhapsodists (reciters of epic poems) were at first as a rule the composers of the poems themselves.

6 τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως ὅμως ἔχει τι μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν πάσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ· διαφέρει γάρ τι πρὸς τὸ δηλῶσαι ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ εἰπεῖν· οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα φαντασία ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν· διὸ οὐδεὶς οὕτω γεωμετρεῖν διδάσκει.

7 Ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ὅταν ἔλθῃ ταὐτὸ ποιήσει τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ, ἐγκεχειρήκασι δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τινές, οἷον Θρασύμαχος ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις· καὶ ἔστι φύσεως τὸ ὑποκριτικὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἀτεχνότερον, περὶ δὲ τὴν λέξιν ἔντεχνον. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τοῦτο δυναμένοις γίνεται πάλιν ἆθλα, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ῥήτορσιν· οἱ γὰρ γραφόμενοι λόγοι μεῖζον ἰσχύουσι διὰ τὴν λέξιν ἢ διὰ τὴν διάνοιαν.

8 Ἤρξαντο μὲν οὖν κινῆσαι τὸ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ πέφυκεν, οἱ ποιηταί· τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα μιμήματα ἐστίν, ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πάντων μιμητικώτατον τῶν μορίων ἡμῖν· διὸ καὶ αἱ τέχναι συνέστησαν, ἥ τε ῥα-
9 ψῳδία καὶ ἡ ὑποκριτικὴ καὶ ἄλλαι γε. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγοντες εὐήθη διὰ τὴν λέξιν ἐδόκουν πορίσασθαι τὴν δόξαν, διὰ τοῦτο ποιητικὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο λέξις, οἷον ἡ Γοργίου. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων τοὺς τοιούτους οἴονται διαλέγεσθαι κάλλιστα. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρα λόγου καὶ ποιήσεως λέξις ἐστίν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τὰς τραγῳδίας ποιοῦντες ἔτι χρῶνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τετραμέτρων εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον

listener. However, in every system of instruction there is some slight necessity to pay attention to style; for it does make a difference, for the purpose of making a thing clear, to speak in this or that manner; still, the difference is not so very great, but all these things are mere outward show and intended for the listener; on that account no one teaches geometry this way.

Now, when style comes into play, it will have the same effect as acting. Some writers have attempted to say a few words about it, as Thrasymachus in his *Eleot*;[3] in fact, a gift for acting is a natural talent and depends less on art, but in regard to style art is involved. Thus people who excel in this in their turn obtain prizes, just as orators who excel in delivery; for written speeches owe their force more to the style than to the thought.

The poets, as was natural, were the first to give an impulse to style; for words are imitations, and the voice also, which of all our parts is best adapted for imitation, was ready to hand; thus the arts of the rhapsodists, actors, and others were fashioned. And as the poets, although what they had to say was rather simple, appeared to have gained their reputation through their style, it was a poetical style that first came into being, as that of Gorgias. Even now the majority of the uneducated think that such speakers hold the most elegant conversations. But this is not the case; rather, the style of a speech is not the same as that of poetry. And this is clear from what happened; for even the writers of tragedies no longer employ it in the same manner, but as they have changed from the tetrametric to

[3] "Appeals to Pity"; cf. 85 B5 DK.

μετέβησαν διὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτο τῶν μέτρων ὁμοιότατον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὅσα παρὰ τὴν διάλεκτόν ἐστιν, οἷς οἱ πρῶτον ἐκόσμουν, καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ τὰ ἑξάμετρα ποιοῦντες, ἀφείκασιν· διὸ γελοῖον μιμεῖσθαι τούτους οἳ αὐτοὶ οὐκέτι χρῶνται
10 ἐκείνῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα περὶ λέξεως ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἀκριβολογητέον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσα περὶ τοιαύτης οἵας λέγομεν. περὶ δ' ἐκείνης εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς. |

1404 b 2. Ἔστω οὖν ἐκεῖνα τεθεωρημένα, καὶ ὡρίσθω λέξεως ἀρετὴ σαφῆ εἶναι· σημεῖον γάρ τι ὁ λόγος, ὥστ' ἐὰν μὴ δηλοῖ, οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον· καὶ μήτε ταπεινὴν μήτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν· ἡ γὰρ ποιητικὴ ἴσως οὐ ταπεινή, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέπουσα
2 λόγῳ. τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων σαφῆ μὲν ποιεῖ τὰ κύρια, μὴ ταπεινὴν δὲ ἀλλα κεκοσμημένην τἆλλα ὀνόματα ὅσα εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς· τὸ γὰρ ἐξαλλάξαι ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι σεμνοτέραν· ὅπερ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας,
3 τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν. διὸ δεῖ ποιεῖν ξένην τὴν διάλεκτον· θαυμασταὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀπόντων εἰσίν, ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ θαυμαστόν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μέτρων πολλά τε ποιεῖ τοῦτο, καὶ ἁρμόττει ἐκεῖ· πλέον γὰρ ἐξέστηκε περὶ ἃ καὶ περὶ οὓς ὁ λόγος· (ἐπεὶ καὶ

[4] See *Poetics* 22, where the choice of words and the extent to which out-of-the-way words and phrases may be used in poetry is discussed.

the iambic meter, because the latter, of all other meters, most nearly resembles speech, they have in like manner discarded all such words as differ from those of ordinary language, with which the early poets used to adorn their writings, and which even now are employed by the writers of hexameters. It is therefore ridiculous to imitate those who themselves no longer employ that manner of writing. Consequently, it is evident that we need not enter too precisely into all questions of style, but only those that concern such a style as we are discussing. As for the other kind of style,[4] it has already been treated in the *Poetics*.

2. Let this suffice for the consideration of these points, and let excellence of style be defined as perspicuity. For speech is a kind of sign, so if it does not make the meaning clear, it will not perform its proper function; neither must it be mean, nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate to it; for the poetic style may not be mean, but it is not appropriate to speech. Of nouns and verbs it is the proper ones that make style perspicuous;[5] the others, which have been spoken of in the *Poetics*,[6] elevate and make it ornate; for departure from the ordinary makes it appear more dignified. Indeed as regards style, men feel the same as they do in regard to strangers and fellow citizens. Thus we should give our language a somewhat unfamiliar air; for men admire what is remote, and what excites admiration is pleasant. In verse many factors conduce to this and there it fits well, for the subjects and persons spoken of are more out of the common, though even there,

[5] "Nouns and verbs" is a conventional expression for all the parts of speech.

[6] Chapter 21.

ἐνταῦθα, εἰ δοῦλος καλλιεποῖτο ἢ λίαν νέος, ἀπρεπέστερον, ἢ περὶ λίαν μικρῶν· ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπισυστελλόμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον τὸ πρέπον·) ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις πολλῷ ἐλάττοσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὑπόθεσις
4 ἐλάττων. διὸ δεῖ λανθάνειν ποιοῦντας, καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν λέγειν πεπλασμένως ἀλλὰ πεφυκότως· τοῦτο γὰρ πιθανόν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοὐναντίον· ὡς γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντα διαβάλλονται, καθάπερ πρὸς τοὺς οἴνους τοὺς μεμιγμένους· καὶ οἷον ἡ Θεοδώρου φωνὴ πέπονθε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑποκριτῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λέγον-
5 τος ἔοικεν εἶναι, αἱ δ' ἀλλότριαι. κλέπτεται δ' εὖ, ἐάν τις ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῇ· ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ καὶ ὑπέδειξε πρῶτος.

Ὄντων δ' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος συνέστηκεν, τῶν δὲ ὀνομάτων τοσαῦτ' ἐχόντων εἴδη ὅσα τεθεώρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιήσεως, τούτων γλώτταις μὲν καὶ διπλοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ πεποιημένοις ὀλιγάκις καὶ ὀλιγαχοῦ χρηστέον (ὅπου δέ, ὕστερον ἐροῦ-
6 μεν, τό τε διὰ τί εἴρηται· ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον γὰρ ἐξαλλάττει τοῦ πρέποντος.) τὸ δὲ κύριον καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μεταφορὰ μόναι χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν λόγων λέξιν. σημεῖον δέ, ὅτι τούτοις μόνοις πάντες χρῶνται· πάντες γὰρ μεταφοραῖς διαλέγονται καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις· ὥστε δῆλον ὡς ἂν εὖ ποιῇ τις, ἔσται τε ξενικὸν καὶ λανθάνειν ἐνδέχεται καὶ σαφηνεῖ.

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[7] Chapters 3 and 7.

if fine language were used by a slave or a very young man, or about quite unimportant matters, it would be hardly becoming, for here too, appropriate style requires contraction or amplification. But in mere speech such methods are needed in many fewer instances, for the subject is less elevated; and so those who practice this artifice must conceal it and avoid the appearance of speaking artificially instead of naturally; for what is natural persuades, but the artificial does the opposite. For men become suspicious of one whom they think to be laying a trap for them, as they are of mixed wines. Such was the case with the voice of Theodorus as contrasted with that of the rest of the actors; for his seemed to be the voice of the speaker, that of the others the voice of some one else. Art is cleverly concealed when the speaker composes his speech by choosing words from ordinary language; this is what Euripides does, who was the first to show the way.

Nouns and verbs being the components of speech, and nouns being of the different kinds which have been considered in the *Poetics*, of these we should use unfamiliar, compound, or coined words only rarely and in few places. We will state later[7] in what places they should be used; the reason for this has already been mentioned, namely, that it involves too great a departure from appropriate language. Proper and familiar words and metaphors are alone to be employed in the style of speech; this is shown by the fact that no one employs anything but these. For all use metaphors in conversation, as well as proper and familiar words; wherefore it is clear that, if a speaker manages well, there will be something unfamiliar about his speech, while possibly the art may not be detected, and his meaning will be clear. And this, as we have said, is the excellence of

7 αὕτη δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ λόγου ἀρετή. τῶν δ' ὀνο-
μάτων τῷ μὲν σοφιστῇ ὁμωνυμίαι χρήσιμοι (παρὰ
ταύτας γὰρ κακουργεῖ), τῷ ποιητῇ δὲ συνωνυμίαι.
1405 a λέγω δὲ κύριά | τε καὶ συνώνυμα, οἷον τὸ πορεύεσθαι
καὶ τὸ βαδίζειν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφότερα καὶ κύρια καὶ
συνώνυμα ἀλλήλοις.

Τί μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστι, καὶ πόσα εἴδη
μεταφορᾶς, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο πλεῖστον δύναται καὶ ἐν
ποιήσει καὶ ἐν λόγοις, εἴρηται, καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν, ἐν
8 τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς· τοσούτῳ δ' ἐν λόγῳ δεῖ μᾶλλον
φιλοπονεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσῳ ἐξ ἐλαττόνων βοηθη-
μάτων ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ τῶν μέτρων. καὶ τὸ σαφὲς καὶ τὸ
ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχει μάλιστα ἡ μεταφορά. καὶ λα-
9 βεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὴν παρ' ἄλλου. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ
ἐπίθετα καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς ἁρμοττούσας λέγειν.
τοῦτο δ' ἔσται ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπρεπὲς
φανεῖται διὰ τὸ παράλληλα τὰ ἐναντία μάλιστα φαί-
νεσθαι. ἀλλὰ δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὡς νέῳ φοινικίς, οὕτω γέ-
10 ροντι τί· οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ πρέπει ἐσθής. καὶ ἐάν τε
κοσμεῖν βούλῃ, ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων τῶν ἐν ταὐτῷ γέ-
νει φέρειν τὴν μεταφοράν, ἐάν τε ψέγειν, ἀπὸ τῶν
χειρόνων. λέγω δ' οἷον, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
γένει, τὸ φάναι τὸν μὲν πτωχεύοντα εὔχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ
εὐχόμενον πτωχεύειν, ὅτι ἄμφω αἰτήσεις, τὸ εἰρημέ-
νον ἐστὶ ποιεῖν· ὡς καὶ Ἰφικράτης Καλλίαν μητρα-
γύρτην ἀλλ' οὐ δᾳδοῦχον. ὁ δ' ἔφη ἀμύητον αὐτὸν

rhetorical language. In regard to nouns, homonyms are most useful to the sophist, for it is by their aid that he uses his tricks, and synonyms to the poet. Instances of words that are both proper and synonymous are "going" and "walking": for these two words are proper and have the same meaning.

It has already been stated, as we have said, in the *Poetics*,[8] what each of these things is, also how many kinds of metaphor there are, and that this has the greatest force both in poetry and in speeches. But the orator must devote the greater attention to metaphor, since bare speech has fewer resources than verse. It is metaphor above all that gives perspicuity, pleasure, and an air of unfamiliarity, and it cannot be learned from anyone else. Also, we must make use of metaphors and epithets that fit together. This will come from analogy; otherwise they will appear inappropriate, because it is when placed in juxtaposition that opposites are most evident. We must consider, as a red cloak suits a young man, what suits an old one; for the same garment is not suitable for both. And if we wish to ornament our subject, we must derive our metaphor from the better species under the same genus; if to depreciate it, from the worse. I mean, for example, since opposites belong to the same genus, to say that the man who begs prays, or that the man who prays begs (for both are forms of asking) is an instance of doing this, as when Iphicrates[9] called Callias[10] a mendicant priest instead of a torchbearer. Callias replied that Iphicrates himself could not be

[8] Chapters 21 and 22. [9] See 1.7.32.

[10] Head of a distinguished Athenian family who held the office of torchbearer at the Eleusinian mysteries.

εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μητραγύρτην αὐτὸν καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ δᾳδοῦχον· ἄμφω γὰρ περὶ θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τίμιον τὸ δὲ ἄτιμον. καὶ ὁ μὲν διονυσοκόλακας, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς τεχνίτας καλοῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἄμφω μεταφορά, ἡ μὲν ῥυπαινόντων ἡ δὲ τοὐναντίον. καὶ οἱ μὲν λῃσταὶ αὐτοὺς ποριστὰς καλοῦσι νῦν· διὸ ἔξεστι λέγειν τὸν ἀδικήσαντα μὲν ἁμαρτάνειν, τὸν δ' ἁμαρτάνοντα ἀδικῆσαι, καὶ τὸν κλέψαντα καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ πορθῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ὡς ὁ Τήλεφος Εὐριπίδου φησί,

κώπης ἀνάσσων κἀποβὰς εἰς Μυσίαν

ἀπρεπές, ὅτι μεῖζον τὸ ἀνάσσειν ἢ κατ' ἀξίαν· οὐ
11 κέκλεπται οὖν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἁμαρτία, ἐὰν μὴ ἡδείας ᾖ σημεῖα φωνῆς, οἷον Διονύσιος προσαγορεύει ὁ χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις

κραυγὴν Καλλιόπης

τὴν ποίησιν, ὅτι ἄμφω φωναί· φαύλη δὲ ἡ μεταφορὰ ταῖς ἀσήμοις φωναῖς.

12 Ἔτι δὲ οὐ πόρρωθεν δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν μεταφέρειν ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τὰ ἀνώνυμα ὠνομασμένως, ὃ λεχθὲν δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι συγγενές, οἷον ἐν
1405 b τῷ | αἰνίγματι τῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι

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11 The δᾳδοῦχος, or hereditary torchbearer, ranked next to the hierophant, or chief priest. In addition to holding the torch during the sacrifices, he took part in the recitation of the ritual and certain purificatory ceremonies. The μητραγύρται, or mendicant priests, collected alms on behalf of various deities, especially the great Mother Cybele (whence their name).

initiated, otherwise he would not have called him mendicant priest but torchbearer;[11] both titles indeed have to do with a divinity, but the one is honorable, the other dishonorable. And some call actors flatterers of Dionysus, whereas they call themselves craftsmen. Both these names are metaphors, but the one is a term of abuse, the other the contrary. Similarly, pirates now call themselves purveyors; and so it is allowable to say that the man who has committed a crime has "made a mistake," that the man who has "made a mistake" is "guilty of crime," and that one who has committed a theft has either "taken" or "plundered." The saying in the *Telephus* of Euripides,

Ruling the oar and gone away to Mysia[12]

is inappropriate, because the word "ruling" exceeds the dignity of the subject, and so the artifice does not remain hidden. Even in syllables there may be a fault, if they do not express an agreeable sound; for instance, Dionysius the Brazen[13] in his elegiacs speaks of poetry as

the scream of Calliope

since both are sounds; but the metaphor is bad because of the meaningless sounds.

Further, metaphors must not be far-fetched, rather, when we give names to things that have none, we must use a metaphor from what is akin and of the same kind, so that, as soon as it is uttered, it is clearly seen to be akin, as in the famous riddle,

[12] *TrGF* fr. 705.

[13] According to Athenaeus (15.669), he was a poet and rhetorician who recommended that the Athenians use bronze money.

ἄνδρ' εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα·

ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ πάθος, ἔστι δ' ἄμφω πρόσθεσίς τις κόλλησιν τοίνυν εἶπε τὴν τῆς σικύας προσβολήν. καὶ ὅλως ἐκ τῶν εὖ ἠνιγμένων ἔστι μεταφορὰς λαβεῖν ἐπιεικεῖς· μεταφοραὶ γὰρ συνίττονται, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι
13 εὖ μετενήνεκται. καὶ ἀπὸ καλῶν· κάλλος δὲ ὀνόματος τὸ μέν, ὥσπερ Λικύμνιος λέγει, ἐν τοῖς ψόφοις ἢ τῷ σημαινομένῳ, καὶ αἶσχος δὲ ὡσαύτως. ἔτι δὲ τρίτον, ὃ λύει τὸν σοφιστικὸν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔφη Βρύσων οὐθένα αἰσχρολογεῖν, εἴπερ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει τόδε ἀντὶ τοῦδε εἰπεῖν· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι ψεῦδος· ἔστι γὰρ ἄλλο ἄλλου κυριώτερον καὶ ὡμοιωμένον μᾶλλον καὶ οἰκειότερον τῷ ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸ ὀμμάτων. ἔτι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔχον σημαίνει τόδε καὶ τόδε, ὥστε καὶ οὕτως ἄλλο ἄλλου κάλλιον καὶ αἴσχιον θετέον ἀμφω μὲν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ᾗ καλὸν ἢ οὐχ ᾗ αἰσχρόν· ἢ ταῦτα μέν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον. τὰς δὲ μεταφορὰς ἐντεῦθεν αἰρετέον, ἀπὸ καλῶν ἢ τῇ φωνῇ ἢ τῇ δυνάμει ἢ τῇ ὄψει ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰσθήσει. διαφέρει δ' εἰπεῖν, οἷον ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠὼς μᾶλλον ἢ φοινικοδάκτυλος, ἢ ἔτι φαυλότερον ἐρυθροδάκτυλος.

14 Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις ἔστι μὲν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ποιεῖσθαι ἀπὸ φαύλου ἢ αἰσχροῦ, οἷον ὁ μητροφόντης.

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14 Cleobulina, *IEG* fr. 1.

15 *Artium script.* B XVI 3 Radermacher

16 *Artium script.* B XXV Radermacher.

I saw a man who glued bronze with fire upon another.[14]

There was no name for what happened to the man, but as in both cases there is a kind of application, he called the application of the cupping instrument "gluing." And generally speaking, good riddles furnish suitable metaphors; for metaphor is a kind of riddle, so that it is clear that the transference of words is good. Metaphors should also be derived from things that are beautiful, the beauty of a word consisting, as Licymnius[15] says, in its sound or sense, and its ugliness in the same. There is a third condition, which refutes the sophistical argument; for it is not the case, as Bryson[16] said, that no one ever uses foul language, since the meaning is the same whether this or that word is used; this is false; for one word is more proper than another, more of a likeness, and better suited to putting the matter before the eyes. Further, this word or that does not signify a thing as in the same state; thus for this reason also it must be admitted that one word is fairer or fouler than another. Both indeed signify something that is fair or foul, but not *qua* fair or foul; or if they do, it is in a greater or less degree. Metaphors, then, should be derived from what is beautiful, either in sound, or in signification, or to sight, or to some other sense. It does make a difference, for instance, whether one says "rosy-fingered dawn," rather than "purple-fingered," or, what is still worse, "red-fingered."

As for epithets, they may be taken from what is vile or disgraceful, for instance, "the matricide," or from what is

ἔστι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος, οἷον ὁ πατρὸς ἀμύντωρ· καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν, οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν ὡς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμιόνους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν, ἐποίησε

χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων·

καίτοι καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν. ἔτι τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκορίζεσθαι. ἔστι δ' ὁ ὑποκορισμός, ὃς ἔλαττον ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης σκώπτει ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ἀντὶ μὲν χρυσίου χρυσιδάριον, ἀντὶ δ' ἱματίου ἱματιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ λοιδορίας λοιδορημάτιον καὶ νοσημάτιον. εὐλαβεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ παρατηρεῖν ἐν ἀμφοῖν τὸ μέτριον.

3. Τὰ δὲ ψυχρὰ ἐν τέτταρσι γίγνεται κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, ἔν τε τοῖς διπλοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οἷον Λυκόφρων τὸν πολυπρόσωπον οὐρανὸν τῆς μεγαλοκορύφου γῆς καὶ ἀκτὴν δὲ στενοπόρον, καὶ ὡς Γοργίας ὠνόμαζε, πτωχόμουσοκόλακας, | ἐπιορκήσαντας καὶ κατευορκήσαντας. καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας "μένους μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν πληρουμένην, πυρίχρων δὲ τὴν ὄψιν γιγνομένην," καὶ "τελεσφόρον ᾠήθη τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι," καὶ "τελεσφόρον τὴν πειθὼ τῶν λόγων κατέστησεν," καὶ "κυανόχρων τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἔδαφος" πάντα ταῦτα γὰρ ποιητικὰ διὰ τὴν δίπλωσιν φαίνεται.

1406 a

2 Μία μὲν οὖν αὕτη αἰτία, μία δὲ τὸ χρῆσθαι γλώτταις, οἷον Λυκόφρων "Ξέρξην τὸν πέλωρον ἄνδρα,"

more honorable, for instance, "the avenger of his father."[17] When the winner in a mule race offered Simonides a small sum, he refused to write an ode, as if he thought it beneath him to write on half-asses; but when he gave him a sufficient amount, he wrote,

Hail, daughters of storm-footed steeds![18]

and yet they were also the daughters of asses. Further, the use of diminutives amounts to the same. It is the diminutive that makes the good and the bad appear less, as Aristophanes in the *Babylonians*[19] jestingly uses "goldlet, cloaklet, affrontlet, diseaselet" instead of "gold, cloak, affront, disease." But one must be careful to observe the due measure in their use as well as in that of epithets.

3. Frigidity of style arises from four causes: first, the use of compound words, as when Lycophron[20] speaks of "the many-faced sky of the mighty-topped earth," and the "narrow-passaged shore"; and Gorgias of "begging poet flatterers, committing perjury and swearing right solemnly." And as Alcidamas says, "the soul full of anger and the face fire-colored," "he thought that their zeal would be end-accomplishing," "he made persuasive words end-accomplishing," and "azure-colored is the floor of the sea," for all these appear poetical because they are compound.

This is one cause of frigidity; another is the use of strange words; as Lycophron speaks of "Xerxes the mon-

[17] Eur. *Or.* 1587–88.
[18] *PMG* fr. 10.
[19] *PCG* fr. 92.
[20] Lycophron 83.5 (II p. 308) DK.

καὶ "Σκίρων σίνις ἀνήρ," καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας "ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει," καὶ τὴν "τῆς φύσεως ἀτασθαλίαν," καὶ "ἀκράτῳ τῆς διανοίας ὀργῇ τεθηγμένον."

3 Τρίτον δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις τὸ ἢ μακροῖς ἢ ἀκαίροις ἢ πυκνοῖς χρῆσθαι· ἐν μὲν γὰρ ποιήσει πρέπει γάλα λευκὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐν δὲ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν ἀπρεπέστερα, τὰ δέ, ἂν ᾖ κατακορῆ, ἐξελέγχει καὶ ποιεῖ φανερὸν ὅτι ποίησις ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ δεῖ γε χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς· ἐξαλλάττει γὰρ τὸ εἰωθός, καὶ ξενικὴν ποιεῖ τὴν λέξιν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ μετρίου, ἐπεὶ μεῖζον ποιεῖ κακὸν τοῦ εἰκῇ λέγειν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει τὸ εὖ, ἡ δὲ τὸ κακῶς. διὸ τὰ Ἀλκιδάμαντος ψυχρὰ φαίνεται· οὐ γὰρ ἡδύσματι χρῆται ἀλλ' ὡς ἐδέσματι τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, οὕτω πυκνοῖς καὶ μείζοσι καὶ ἐπιδήλοις, οἷον οὐχ ἱδρῶτα ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑγρὸν ἱδρῶτα, καὶ οὐκ εἰς Ἴσθμια ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανήγυριν, καὶ οὐχὶ νόμους ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖς νόμους, καὶ οὐ δρόμῳ ἀλλὰ δρομαίᾳ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμῇ, καὶ οὐχὶ μουσεῖον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως παραλαβὼν μουσεῖον, καὶ σκυθρωπὸν τὴν φροντίδα τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ οὐ χάριτος ἀλλὰ πανδήμου χάριτος δημιουργός, καὶ οἰκονόμος τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ οὐ κλάδοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς ὕλης κλάδοις ἀπέκρυψεν, καὶ οὐ τὸ σῶμα παρήμπισχεν ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αἰσχύνην, καὶ ἀντίμιμον τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν (τοῦτο δ' ἅμα καὶ δι-

ster man," "Sciron the human scourge";[21] and Alcidamas says "plaything for poetry," "the audaciousness of nature," "whetted with unmixed wrath of thought."

A third cause is the use of epithets that are either long or untimely or crowded; thus in poetry it is appropriate to speak of white milk, but in a speech such epithets are sometimes less so or, if they are employed to excess, they reveal the art and make it evident that it is poetry. And yet they must be used, for they remove the style from the ordinary and give it its air of unfamiliarity. But one must aim at the due measure, for neglect to do so does more harm than speaking at random; for the one style is not good, the other actually bad. That is why the style of Alcidamas appears frigid; for he uses epithets not as a seasoning but as a regular dish, so crowded, so long, and so glaring are they. For instance, he does not say "sweat" but "damp sweat"; not "to the Isthmian games" but "to the solemn assembly of the Isthmian games"; not "laws," but "the laws, the rulers of states"; not "running," but "with a race-like impulse of the soul"; not "home of the Muses," but "Nature's home of the Muses"; and "the scowling anxiety of the soul"; "creator," not "of favor," but "of favor to all people"; and "dispenser of the pleasure of the listeners"; "he hid," not "with branches," but "with the branches of the forest"; "he covered," not "his body," but "the nakedness of his body." He also speaks of "countermimicking desire of the soul"—an expression at once compound and

[21] The epithet here in Greek is *sinis*, derived from the name Sinnis. Sciron and Sinnis were both robbers slain by Theseus, but Lycophron turns "Sinnis" into a γλῶττα, using it adjectivally = "destructive"; cf. σῖνος (harm).

πλοῦν καὶ ἐπίθετον, ὥστε ποίημα γίνεται), καὶ οὕτως ἕξεδρον τὴν τῆς μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολήν. διὸ ποιητικῶς λέγοντες τῇ ἀπρεπείᾳ τὸ γελοῖον καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐμποιοῦσι, καὶ τὸ ἀσαφὲς διὰ τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν· ὅταν γὰρ γιγνώσκοντι ἐπεμβάλλῃ, διαλύει τὸ σαφὲς τῷ ἐπισκοτεῖν· οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι τοῖς διπλοῖς χρῶνται, ὅταν ἀνώνυμον ᾖ καὶ ὁ λόγος εὐσύνθετος, οἷον τὸ χρονο-
1406 b τριβεῖν· ἀλλ' ἂν πολύ, πάντως ποιητικόν. | διὸ χρησιμωτάτη ἡ διπλῆ λέξις τοῖς διθυραμβοποιοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ψοφώδεις· αἱ δὲ γλῶτται τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς· σεμνὸν γὰρ καὶ αὔθαδες· [ἡ μεταφορὰ τοῖς ἰαμβείοις· τούτοις γὰρ νῦν χρῶνται, ὥσπερ εἴρηται.]

4 Καὶ ἔτι τέταρτον τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς γίγνεται· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ μεταφοραὶ ἀπρεπεῖς, αἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ γελοῖον (χρῶνται γὰρ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοποιοὶ μεταφοραῖς), αἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν ἄγαν καὶ τραγικόν· ἀσαφεῖς δέ, ἂν πόρρωθεν. οἷον Γοργίας "χλωρὰ καὶ ἄναιμα τὰ πράγματα"· "σὺ δὲ ταῦτα αἰσχρῶς μὲν ἔσπειρας, κακῶς δὲ ἐθέρισας·" ποιητικῶς γὰρ ἄγαν. καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτείχισμα τῶν νόμων, καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον, καὶ "οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει προσφέρων·" ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπίθανα διὰ τὰ εἰρημένα. τὸ δὲ Γοργίου εἰς τὴν χελιδόνα, ἐπεὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ

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22 The manuscripts have the additional clause "metaphor to writers of iambics, who now employ them, as we have stated"—probably from a marginal note and hence deleted by Kassel.

an epithet, so that it becomes poetry—and "the excess of his depravity so beyond all bounds." Thus by employing poetic language inappropriately, they make the style ridiculous and frigid, and also unclear through such idle chatter; for when words are piled up on one who already knows, it destroys perspicuity in a cloud of verbiage. People use compound words when something has no name and the phrase is easily composed, as in "pastime"; but if there is too much of this, the style becomes entirely poetical. This is why compound words are especially useful for dithyrambic poets, who are full of noise, and unfamiliar words for epic poets, for they sound solemn and self-assured.[22]

The fourth cause of frigidity of style is to be found in metaphors; for there are also inappropriate metaphors, some because they are ridiculous—for the comic poets also employ metaphors—others because they are too solemn and somewhat tragic; and if they are farfetched, they are obscure, as when Gorgias says: "Affairs pale and bloodless"; "you have sown shame and reaped misfortune";[23] for this is too much like poetry. And as Alcidamas calls philosophy "a bulwark of the laws,"[24] and the *Odyssey* "a beautiful mirror of human life," and "bringing no such plaything to poetry."[25] All these expressions fail to produce persuasion, for the reasons stated. As for what Gorgias said to the swallow that, flying over his head, let fall her drop-

[23] 82 B16 DK.

[24] Or, "a barrier against the laws." This is the general meaning of ἐπιτείχισμα, a border fortress commanding an enemy's country.

[25] Fragments 26 to 28 (p. 156 Sauppe).

πετομένη ἀφῆκε τὸ περίττωμα, ἄριστα τῶν τραγικῶν· εἶπε γὰρ "Αἰσχρόν γε ὦ Φιλομήλα." ὄρνιθι μὲν γάρ, εἰ ἐποίησεν, οὐκ αἰσχρόν, παρθένῳ δὲ αἰσχρόν. εὖ οὖν ἐλοιδόρησεν εἰπὼν ὃ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὃ ἔστιν.

4. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἴπῃ

ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν,

εἰκών ἐστιν, ὅταν δὲ "λέων ἐπόρουσε," μεταφορά· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄμφω ἀνδρείους εἶναι, προσηγόρευσε μετενέγ-
2 κας λέοντα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. χρήσιμον δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, ὀλιγάκις δέ· ποιητικὸν γάρ. οἰστέαι δὲ ὥσπερ αἱ μεταφοραί· μεταφοραὶ γάρ εἰσι διαφέρουσαι τῷ
3 εἰρημένῳ. εἰσὶ δ' εἰκόνες οἷον ἦν Ἀνδροτίων εἰς Ἰδριέα, ὅτι ὅμοιος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν κυνιδίοις· ἐκεῖνά τε γὰρ προσπίπτοντα δάκνειν, καὶ Ἰδριέα λυθέντα ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν εἶναι χαλεπόν. καὶ ὡς Θεοδάμας εἴκαζεν Ἀρχίδαμον Εὐξένῳ γεωμετρεῖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον· ἔσται γὰρ καὶ ὁ Εὔξενος Ἀρχίδαμος γεωμετρικός. καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Πλάτωνος, ὅτι οἱ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας σκυλεύοντες ἐοίκασι τοῖς κυνιδίοις, ἃ τοὺς λίθους δάκνει τοῦ βάλλοντος οὐχ ἁπτόμενα. καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι ὅμοιος ναυκλήρῳ ἰσχυρῷ μὲν ὑποκώφῳ δέ. καὶ ἡ εἰς τὰ μέτρα τῶν ποιητῶν, ὅτι ἔοικε τοῖς ἄνευ κάλλους ὡραίοις· οἱ

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[26] 82 A23 DK.

[27] Androtion was a pupil of Isocrates and a historical writer.

pings on him, it was in the best tragic style. He exclaimed, "For shame indeed, Philomela!";[26] for there would have been nothing in this act disgraceful for a bird, whereas it would have been for a young lady. So this was a good rebuke, calling her what she once was, not what she is.

4. The simile also is a metaphor; for there is very little difference. When the poet says

he rushed on like a lion,

it is a simile; if he says, "a lion, he rushed on," it is a metaphor; for because both are courageous, he transfers the word and calls Achilles a lion. A simile can also be used in a speech, but only rarely, for there is something poetical about it. Similes must be used like metaphors, for they are metaphors that differ only in the manner stated. The following are examples of similes. Androtion[27] said of Idrieus that he was like dogs just unchained; for as they attack and bite, so he when loosed from his bonds was dangerous. Again, Theodamas likened Archidamus to a Euxenus ignorant of geometry; and from analogy, for Euxenus will also be Archidamus acquainted with geometry. Again, Plato in the *Republic*[28] compares those who strip the dead to curs that bite stones but do not touch those who throw them; he also says that the people are like a ship's captain who is vigorous but rather deaf;[29] that poets' verses resemble those who are in the bloom of youth but lack beauty;[30] for neither the one after they have lost their

Idrieus was a prince of Caria, who had been imprisoned. Aristotle's source for the quotation is unknown. [28] 469d.

[29] 488a; as also Aristophanes' personification of Demos in *Knights*. [30] 601b.

1407 a μὲν γὰρ ἀπανθήσαντες, τὰ δὲ διαλυθέντα | οὐχ ὅμοια φαίνεται. καὶ ἡ Περικλέους εἰς Σαμίους, ἐοικέναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς παιδίοις ἃ τὸν ψωμὸν δέχεται μέν, κλαίοντα δέ. καὶ εἰς Βοιωτούς, ὅτι ὅμοιοι τοῖς πρίνοις· τούς τε γὰρ πρίνους ὑφ' αὑτῶν κατακόπτεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους μαχομένους. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι ὅμοιός ἐστι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ναυτιῶσιν. καὶ ὡς ὁ Δημοκράτης εἴκασε τοὺς ῥήτορας ταῖς τίτθαις αἳ τὸ ψώμισμα καταπίνουσαι τῷ σιάλῳ τὰ παιδία παραλείφουσιν. καὶ ὡς Ἀντισθένης Κηφισόδοτον τὸν λεπτὸν λιβανωτῷ εἴκασεν, ὅτι ἀπολλύμενος εὐφραίνει. πάσας γὰρ ταύτας καὶ ὡς εἰκόνας καὶ ὡς μεταφορὰ ἔξεστι λέγειν· ὥστε ὅσαι ἂν εὐδοκιμῶσιν ὡς μεταφοραὶ λεχθεῖσαι, δῆλον ὅτι αὗται καὶ εἰκόνες ἔσονται, καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες μεταφοραὶ λόγου δεόμεναι. ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὴν μεταφορὰν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον ἀνταποδιδόναι καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν ὁμογενῶν· οἷον εἰ ἡ φιάλη ἀσπὶς Διονύσου, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἁρμόττει λέγεσθαι φιάλην Ἄρεος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν λόγος συντίθεται ἐκ τούτων.

5. Ἔστι δ' ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἑλληνίζειν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐν πέντε, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς συνδέσμοις, ἂν ἀποδιδῷ τις ὡς πεφύκασι πρότεροι καὶ ὕστεροι γίνεσθαι ἀλλήλων, οἷον ἔνιοι ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ μέν καὶ ὁ ἐγὼ μέν ἀπαιτεῖ τὸν δέ καὶ τὸν ὁ δέ. δεῖ δὲ ἕως

bloom nor the others after they have been broken up appear the same as before. Pericles said that the Samians were like children who accept the pablum but keep crying.[31] He also compared the Boeotians to holm oaks; for just as these are beaten down by knocking against each other,[32] so are the Boeotians by fighting against each other. Demosthenes compared the people to passengers who are seasick.[33] Democrates said that orators resembled nurses who gulp down the morsel and rub the babies' lips with the spittle.[34] Antisthenes likened the skinny Cephisodotus to incense, for he also gives pleasure by wasting away. All such expressions may be used as similes or metaphors, so that all that are approved as metaphors will obviously also serve as similes, which are metaphors when they lack their explanation. But in all cases the metaphor from analogy should be reciprocal and applicable to either of the two things of the same genus; for instance, if the goblet is the shield of Dionysus, then the shield may properly be called the goblet of Ares. Such then are the elements of speech.

5. The first principle of style is to use correct Greek, which depends on five rules. First, connecting words should be introduced in their natural order, before or after, as some of them require; thus, "the one" (ὁ μέν) calls for "the other" (τὸν δέ), and "I, on the one hand" (ἐγὼ μέν) requires "he, on the other hand" (τὸν δέ). Further, they

[31] Meaning that they did not appreciate the benefits received from the Athenians, who conquered the islands (in 440 BC).

[32] Or, "are cut down by axes, whose handles are made of their own wood." [33] It is disputed whether Demosthenes is the orator or the Athenian general in the Peloponnesian War.

[34] Ar. *Eq.* 715–18.

μέμνηται ἀνταποδιδόναι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ μήτε μακρὰν ἀπαρτᾶν μήτε σύνδεσμον πρὸ συνδέσμου ἀποδιδόναι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου· ὀλιγαχοῦ γὰρ ἁρμόττει. "ἐγὼ δ', ἐπεί μοι εἶπεν (ἦλθε γὰρ Κλέων δεόμενός τε καὶ ἀξιῶν) ἐπορευόμην παραλαβὼν αὐτούς." ἐν τούτοις γὰρ πολλοὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀποδοθησομένου συνδέσμου προεμβέβληνται σύνδεσμοι. ἐὰν δὲ πολὺ τὸ μεταξὺ γένηται,
3 ἀσαφές. ἓν μὲν δὴ τὸ εὖ ἐν τοῖς συνδέσμοις, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀνόμασι λέγειν καὶ μὴ τοῖς περιέχου-
4 σιν. τρίτον, μὴ ἀμφιβόλοις· ταῦτα δέ, ἂν μὴ τἀναντία προαιρῆται. ὅπερ ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν μηθὲν μὲν ἔχωσι λέγειν, προσποιῶνται δέ τι λέγειν· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἐν ποιήσει λέγουσι ταῦτα, οἷον Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· φενακίζει γὰρ τὸ κύκλῳ πολὺ ὄν, καὶ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἀκροαταὶ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τοῖς μάντεσιν· ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσιν ἀμφίβολα, συμπαρανεύουσιν.

Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει. |

1407 b καὶ διὰ τὸ ὅλως ἔλαττον εἶναι ἁμάρτημα, διὰ τῶν γενῶν τοῦ πράγματος λέγουσιν οἱ μάντεις· τύχοι γὰρ ἄν τις μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ἀρτιασμοῖς ἄρτια ἢ περισσὰ εἰπὼν μᾶλλον ἢ πόσα ἔχει, καὶ τὸ ὅτι ἔσται ἢ τὸ πότε, διὸ οἱ χρησμολόγοι οὐ προσορίζονται τὸ πότε.

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35 Hdt. 1.53, 91. Croesus consulted the Delphic oracle about whether or not he should attack Cyrus the Persian king. Encour-

should be made to correspond while the listener still recollects; they should not be put too far apart, nor should another connection be introduced before the necessary one, for this is rarely appropriate. For instance, "As for me, I, after he had told me—for Cleon came begging and praying—set out, taking them with me." For in this phrase several connections have been foisted in before the connecting word that was expected; and if the interval is too great, the result is obscurity. The first rule therefore is to make the right use of connecting words; the second, to employ the proper terms for things, not wider ones. The third consists in not using ambiguous terms, that is unless you deliberately intend the opposite, like those who, having nothing to say, yet pretend to say something; such people accomplish this by the use of verse, after the manner of Empedocles. For the long circumlocution takes in the listeners, who find themselves affected like the majority of those who listen to the soothsayers. For when the latter utter their ambiguities, they nod their assent; for example,

> Croesus, by crossing the Halys, shall ruin a mighty dominion.[35]

And as there is less chance of making a mistake when speaking generally, diviners express themselves in general terms on the question of fact; for in playing odd or even, one is more likely to be right if he says "even" or "odd" than if he gives a definite number, and similarly one who says "it will be" than if he states "when." This is why sooth-

aged by the ambiguous oracle, he did so, thereby destroying his own dominion.

ἅπαντα δὴ ταῦτα ὅμοια· ὥστ' ἂν μὴ τοιούτου τινὸς
5 ἕνεκα, φευκτέον. τέταρτον, ὡς Πρωταγόρας τὰ γένη
τῶν ὀνομάτων διῄρει, ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα καὶ σκεύη·
6 δεῖ γὰρ ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς· "ἡ δ' ἐλθοῦσα
καὶ διαλεχθεῖσα ᾤχετο." πέμπτον, ἐν τῷ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ
ἓν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζειν· "οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες ἔτυπτόν με."

Ὅλως δὲ δεῖ εὐανάγνωστον εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον καὶ εὔφραστον· ἔστι δὲ τὸ αὐτό. ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ σύνδεσμοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐδ' ἃ μὴ ῥᾴδιον διαστίξαι, ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου. τὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείτου διαστίξαι ἔργον διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον εἶναι ποτέρῳ πρόσκειται, τῷ ὕστερον ἢ τῷ πρότερον, οἷον ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ συγγράμματος· φησὶ γὰρ "τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται·" ἄδηλον γὰρ τὸ ἀεί,
7 πρὸς ὁποτέρῳ. ἔτι δὲ ποιεῖ σολοικίζειν τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι, ἐὰν ἐπιζευγνύῃς, ἀμφοῖν ὃ ἁρμόττει· οἷον εἰ ψόφον καὶ χρῶμα, τὸ μὲν ἰδὼν οὐ κοινόν, τὸ δ' αἰσθόμενος κοινόν. ἀσαφῆ δὲ καὶ ἂν μὴ προθεὶς εἴπῃς, μέλλων πολλὰ μεταξὺ ἐμβάλλειν· οἷον "ἔμελλον γὰρ διαλεχθεὶς ἐκείνῳ τάδε καὶ τάδε καὶ ὧδε πορεύεσθαι," ἀλλὰ μὴ "ἔμελλον γὰρ διαλεχθεὶς πορεύεσθαι, εἶτα τάδε καὶ τάδε καὶ ὧδε ἐγένετο."

6. Εἰς ὄγκον δὲ τῆς λέξεως συμβάλλεται τάδε, τὸ

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36 σκεύη, "implements" or inanimate things (compare the use of "my things" in modern English), the classification probably being male, female, and inanimate, not the grammatical one of masculine, feminine, and neuter.

savers do not further specify the exact time. All such ambiguities are alike, so that they should be avoided except for some such reason. The fourth rule consists in keeping the genders distinct: male, female, and "things,"[36] as laid down by Protagoras. These also must be properly introduced: "She, having come (*fem.*) and having conversed (*fem.*) with me, went away." The fifth rule consists in observing number, according as many or one are referred to: "They, having come (*pl.*), began to beat (*pl.*) me."

Generally speaking, what is written should be easy to read and easy to utter, which is the same thing. Now, this is not the case when there are many connecting words or when the punctuation is not easy, as in the writings of Heraclitus. For in Heraclitus' writings this is hard, since it is unclear to which word another belongs, whether to what follows or what precedes; for instance, at the very beginning of his composition he says: "Of this account which is true always men are ignorant," where it is unclear which word "always" belongs to. Further, a solecism results if, when linking two terms, you do not apply a term to them that suits both. For instance, in speaking of sound and color, the word "seeing" should not be used, for it is not suitable to both, whereas "perceiving" is. It also causes obscurity, if you do not say at the outset what you mean, when you intend to insert a lot in the middle; for instance, if you say: "I intended after having spoken to him—this and that and in this way—to set out" instead of "I intended to set out after having spoken to him," and then, "this and that happened, and in this manner."

6. The following rules contribute to loftiness of style.

λόγῳ χρῆσθαι ἀντ' ὀνόματος, οἷον μὴ κύκλον, ἀλλ' ἐπίπεδον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἴσον. εἰς δὲ συντομίαν τὸ
2 ἐναντίον, ἀντὶ τοῦ λόγου ὄνομα. καὶ ἐὰν αἰσχρὸν ᾖ ἀπρεπές· ἐὰν μὲν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ᾖ αἰσχρόν, τοὔνομα
3 λέγειν, ἐὰν δ' ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, τὸν λόγον. καὶ μεταφορᾷ δηλοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, εὐλαβούμενον τὸ ποιητι-
4 κόν. καὶ τὸ ἓν πολλὰ ποιεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ ποιοῦσιν· ἑνὸς ὄντος λιμένος ὅμως λέγουσι

λιμένας εἰς Ἀχαϊκούς

καὶ

δέλτου μὲν αἵδε πολύθυροι διαπτυχαί.

5 καὶ μὴ ἐπιζευγνύναι, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρῳ ἑκάτερον, "τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας." ἐὰν δὲ συντόμως, τοὐναντίον
6 "τῆς ἡμετέρας γυναικός." καὶ μετὰ συνδέσμου λέγειν· ἐὰν δὲ συντόμως, ἄνευ μὲν συνδέσμου, μὴ ἀσύνδετα
1408 a δέ, οἷον | "πορευθεὶς καὶ διαλεχθείς," "πορευθεὶς διελέ-
7 χθην." καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου χρήσιμον, ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει λέγειν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τευμησσοῦ,

ἔστι τις ἠνεμόεις ὀλίγος λόφος·

αὔξεται γὰρ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, ὅπως οὐκ ἔχει, ὁποτέρως ἂν ᾖ χρήσιμον. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οἱ ποιηταὶ φέρουσι,

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[37] *TrGF* adesp. fr. 83. [38] Eur. *IT* 727.
[39] Antimachus *IEG* fr. 2.

Use of the definition instead of the name of a thing; for instance, do not say "circle," but "a plane figure, all the points of which are equidistant from the center." But for the purpose of conciseness the reverse: use the name instead of the definition. You should do the same to express anything foul or indecent; if the foulness is in the definition, use the name; if in the name, the definition. Use metaphor and epithets to make things clear, taking care, however, to avoid what is too poetic. Make many out of one, after the manner of the poets, who, although there is only one harbor, say

to Achaean harbors,[37]

and,

Here are the tablet's many-leaved folds.[38]

You should avoid linking up, but give to each word its own due: "of the wife of ours"; but for conciseness, the reverse: "of our wife." Employ a connecting word or for conciseness omit it, but do not leave words unconnected; for instance "having gone and having conversed with him," or, "having gone, I conversed with him." Also the practice of Antimachus is useful, that of describing something by the qualities it does not possess; thus, in speaking of the hill Teumessus,[39] he says,

There is a little wind-swept hill;

for in this way amplification may be carried on *ad infinitum*. This may also be applied to things good and bad, saying what they are not, in whichever way may be useful. Poets also make use of this in forming words, as a "string-

τὸ ἄχορδον καὶ τὸ ἄλυρον μέλος· ἐκ τῶν στερήσεων γὰρ ἐπιφέρουσιν· εὐδοκιμεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς λεγόμενον ταῖς ἀνάλογον, οἷον τὸ φάναι τὴν σάλπιγγα εἶναι μέλος ἄλυρον.

7. Τὸ δὲ πρέπον ἕξει ἡ λέξις, ἐὰν ᾖ παθητική τε καὶ ἠθικὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν ἀνάλο-
2 γον. τὸ δ' ἀνάλογόν ἐστιν, ἐὰν μήτε περὶ εὐόγκων αὐτοκαβδάλως λέγηται μήτε περὶ εὐτελῶν σεμνῶς, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐτελεῖ ὀνόματι ἐπῇ κόσμος· εἰ δὲ μή, κωμῳδία φαίνεται, οἷον ποιεῖ Κλεοφῶν· ὁμοίως γὰρ
3 ἔνια ἔλεγε καὶ εἰ εἴπειεν ἂν "πότνια συκῆ." παθητικὴ δέ, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ ὕβρις, ὀργιζομένου λέξις, ἐὰν δὲ ἀσεβῆ καὶ αἰσχρά, δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ εὐλαβουμένου καὶ λέγειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπαινετά, ἀγαμένως, ἐὰν δὲ ἐλεεινά, τα-
4 πεινῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως. πιθανοῖ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἡ οἰκεία λέξις· παραλογίζεταί τε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς λέγοντος, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὥστ' οἴονται, εἰ καὶ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ λέγων, τὰ πράγματα οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ συνομοιοπαθεῖ ὁ ἀκούων ἀεὶ τῷ παθητικῶς λέγοντι, κἂν μηθὲν
5 λέγῃ. διὸ πολλοὶ καταπλήττουσι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς θορυβοῦντες.

6 Καὶ ἠθικὴ δὲ αὕτη ἡ ἐκ τῶν σημείων δεῖξις, ὅτι ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ ἁρμόττουσα ἑκάστῳ γένει καὶ ἕξει. λέγω δὲ γένος μὲν καθ' ἡλικίαν, οἷον παῖς ἢ ἀνὴρ ἢ γέρων, καὶ γυνὴ ἢ ἀνήρ, καὶ Λάκων ἢ Θετταλός, ἕξεις δέ,

less" or "lyreless" melody; for they take their epithets from negations. This is popular in metaphors from analogy, as for instance, to say that the sound of the trumpet is a lyreless melody.

7. The style will be appropriate if it expresses emotion and character corresponding to the subject matter. It corresponds to the subject matter when neither weighty matters are treated offhand nor trifling matters solemnly, and no embellishment is attached to an ordinary word; otherwise there is an appearance of comedy, as in the poetry of Cleophon,[40] who sometimes used expressions that reminded one of saying "madam fig." Style expresses emotion, when a man speaks with angry outrage; with indignation and reserve, even in mentioning them, of things foul or impious; with admiration of things praiseworthy; in a subdued tone of things pitiable; and so in all other cases. Proper style also makes the fact convincing; for the mind of the listener is mislead into thinking that the speaker is speaking the truth, because, in such circumstances, the listeners' feelings are the same, so that they think (even if it is not the case as the speaker puts it) that things are as he represents them; and the listener always sympathizes with one who speaks emotionally, even though he really says nothing. This is why speakers often confound their listeners by mere noise.

This kind of proof from signs also expresses character, because each class and disposition goes with a style that belongs to it. I mean class in reference to age—child, man, or old man; and man or woman; Spartan or Thessalian. I

[40] A fourth-century tragic poet; of his plays only eleven titles remain.

7 καθ' ἃς ποιός τις τῷ βίῳ· οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἅπασαν ἕξιν οἱ βίοι ποιοί τινες. ἐὰν οὖν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οἰκεῖα λέγῃ τῇ ἕξει, ποιήσει τὸ ἦθος· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ οὐδ' ὡσαύτως ἀγροῖκος ἂν καὶ πεπαιδευμένος εἴποιεν. πάσχουσι δέ τι οἱ ἀκροαταὶ καὶ ᾧ κατακόρως χρῶνται οἱ λογογράφοι, "τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν;" "ἅπαντες ἴσασιν·" ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἀκούων αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅπως μετέχῃ οὗπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

8 Τὸ δ' εὐκαίρως ἢ μὴ εὐκαίρως χρῆσθαι | κοινὸν
1408 b ἁπάντων τῶν εἰδῶν ἐστίν. ἄκος δ' ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὑπερβολῇ
9 τὸ θρυλούμενον· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ προεπιπλήττειν· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ λανθάνει γε ὃ ποιεῖ
10 τὸν λέγοντα. ἔτι τοῖς ἀνάλογον μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα χρήσασθαι· οὕτω γὰρ κλέπτεται. λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐὰν τὰ ὀνόματα σκληρὰ ᾖ, μὴ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἁρμόττουσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, φανερὸν γίνεται. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ μή, λανθάνει ποιῶν τὸ αὐτό. ἐὰν δ' οὖν τὰ μαλακὰ σκληρῶς καὶ τὰ σκληρὰ μαλακῶς λέγηται, ἀπίθανον γίγνεται.

11 Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τὰ διπλᾶ καὶ τὰ ἐπίθετα πλείω καὶ τὰ ξένα μάλιστα ἁρμόττει λέγοντι παθητικῶς· συγγνώμη γὰρ ὀργιζομένῳ κακὸν φάναι οὐρανόμηκες ἢ πελώριον εἰπεῖν. καὶ ὅταν ἔχῃ ἤδη τοὺς ἀκροατὰς καὶ

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41 Or, "to all the special rules given above."

42 The exaggeration should be brought forward first, by way of forestalling the objection, and accompanied by some limiting phrase. Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.3.37) gives as examples: "so to say," "if I may be allowed to say so."

call dispositions those states that form a man's character in life; for not all dispositions do this. If then a speaker uses the language that belongs to each state, he will represent the character; for the uneducated man will not say the same things in the same way as the educated. The listeners are also impressed in a certain way by a device employed *ad nauseam* by writers of speeches: "Who does not know?" "Everybody knows"; for the listener agrees, because he is ashamed to appear not to share what is a matter of common knowledge.

The opportune or inopportune use of these devices applies to all kinds of rhetoric.[41] But whenever one has gone too far, the remedy may be found in the common piece of advice—that the speaker should rebuke himself in advance;[42] then what he says seems true, since the orator is obviously aware of what he is doing. Further, one ought not to make use of all kinds of correspondence together; for in this manner the artifice is hidden. I mean, for instance, if the language is harsh, the voice and countenance should not be equally harsh; otherwise the conceit becomes evident. But if you do this in one instance and not in another, the art escapes notice, although the result is the same. However, if mild sentiments are harshly expressed or harsh sentiments mildly, the speech lacks persuasiveness.

Compound words, a number of epithets, and unfamiliar words especially, are appropriate to an emotional speaker; for when a man is enraged it is excusable for him to call an evil "high-as-heaven" or "stupendous." He may do the same when he has gripped his audience and filled

ποιήσῃ ἐνθουσιάσαι ἢ ἐπαίνοις ἢ ψόγοις ἢ ὀργῇ ἢ φιλίᾳ, οἷον καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ ἐπὶ τέλει, "φήμη δὲ καὶ γνώμη" καὶ "οἵ τινες ἔτλησαν·" φθέγγονταί τε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥστε καὶ ἀποδέχονται δῆλον ὅτι ὁμοίως ἔχοντες. διὸ καὶ τῇ ποιήσει ἥρμοσεν· ἔνθεον γὰρ ἡ ποιήσις. ἢ δὴ οὕτω δεῖ, ἢ μετ' εἰρωνείας, ὅπερ Γοργίας ἐποίει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ.

8. Τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπίθανον (πεπλάσθαι γὰρ δοκεῖ) καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησιν· προσέχειν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῷ ὁμοίῳ, πότε πάλιν ἥξει. ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν κηρύκων προλαμβάνουσι τὰ παιδία τὸ "τίνα αἱρεῖται
2 ἐπίτροπον ὁ ἀπελευθερούμενος; Κλέωνα." τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπέραντον, δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μέν, μὴ μέτρῳ δέ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον. περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντα· ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως
3 ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμός ἐστιν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμητά. διὸ ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή· ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν μέχρι του ᾖ.

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43 §186, where *μνήμη* is the reading, translated "name" above (lit., "memory") for the sake of the jingle, which also appears in the Greek of Isocrates. All the MSS of Aristotle give *γνώμην* here, which shows that it is a misquotation.

44 For Gorgias, cf. *Politics* 3.2 (1275b27 = 82 A19 DK); Pl. *Phdr.* 238d, 241e.

it with passion, either by praise, blame, anger, or friendliness, as Isocrates does at the end of his *Panegyricus*:[43] "Oh, the fame and the name!" and "In that they endured." For such is the voice of passionate orators, and the listeners accept what they say because they are clearly in a similar state. Thus this style is appropriate to poetry; for there is something divinely inspired in poetry. It should therefore be used either in this way or when speaking ironically, after the manner of Gorgias, or as in the *Phaedrus*.[44]

8. The form of diction should be neither metrical nor without rhythm. If it is metrical, it lacks persuasiveness, for it appears artificial, and at the same time it distracts the listener, since it sets him on the watch for the recurrence of such and such a cadence; just as, when the public criers ask, "Whom does the freedman[45] choose for his patron?" the children anticipate the answer: "Cleon." Language without rhythm is unlimited, whereas it ought to be limited, though not by meter; for what is unlimited is unpleasant and unknowable. Now all things are limited by number, and the number that limits the form of diction is rhythm, of which the meters are segments. For this reason a speech must be rhythmical but not metrical, otherwise it will be a poem. Nor must this rhythm be rigorously applied, but only up to a certain point.

[45] Freedmen did not generally possess full rights of citizenship. The point of the illustration is that the listener looks for the cadence just as confidently as when a freedman is asked what patron he selects, every one expects him to say "Cleon."

4 Τῶν δὲ ῥυθμῶν ὁ μὲν ἡρῷος σεμνὸς καὶ ‹οὐ› λεκτικὸς καὶ ἁρμονίας δεόμενος, ὁ δ' ἴαμβος αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντες τῶν μέτρων ἰαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες. δεῖ δὲ σεμνότητα γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκστῆσαι. ὁ δὲ τροχαῖος κορδακικώτερος
1409 a δηλοῖ δὲ τὰ | τετράμετρα· ἔστι γὰρ τροχερὸς ῥυθμὸς τὰ τετράμετρα. λείπεται δὲ παιάν, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο μὲν ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου ἀρξάμενοι, οὐκ εἶχον δὲ λέγειν τίς ἦν.

Ἔστι δὲ τρίτος ὁ παιάν, καὶ ἐχόμενος τῶν εἰρημένων· τρία γὰρ πρὸς δύ' ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δὲ ὁ μὲν ἓν πρὸς ἕν, ὁ δὲ δύο πρὸς ἕν. ἔχεται δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων
5 ὁ ἡμιόλιος· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ παιάν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι διά τε τὰ εἰρημένα ἀφετέοι, καὶ διότι μετρικοί· ὁ δὲ παιὰν ληπτέος· ἀπὸ μόνου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι μέτρον τῶν ῥηθέντων ῥυθμῶν, ὥστε μάλιστα λανθάνειν. νῦν μὲν οὖν χρῶνται τῷ ἑνὶ παιᾶνι καὶ ἀρχόμενοι ‹καὶ τελευτῶντες›, δεῖ δὲ διαφέρειν τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς.
6 ἔστι δὲ παιᾶνος δύο εἴδη ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἁρμόττει, ὥσπερ καὶ χρῶνται· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν οὗ ἄρχει μὲν ἡ μακρά, τελευτῶσι δὲ τρεῖς βραχεῖαι,

Δαλογενὲς εἴτε Λυκίαν

καὶ

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46 Fr. 85 A11 DK.

47 The heroic rhythm (dactyls, spondees, and anapests) is as 1 to 1, two short syllables being equal to one long; trochaic and

Of the different rhythms the heroic is dignified, not colloquial, and needs musical intonation; the iambic is precisely the language of the many, so that everybody uses iambs most of all meters in conversation; but a speech should be dignified and calculated to rouse the listener. The trochaic is too much like the comedians' dance; this is clear from the tetrameters, for they are a rhythm of skipping. There remains the paean, used by rhetoricians from the time of Thrasymachus,[46] although they could not define it.

The paean is a third kind of rhythm closely related to those already mentioned; for its proportion is 3 to 2, that of the others 1 to 1 and 2 to 1, with both of which the paean, whose proportion is 1½ to 1, is connected.[47] The other meters then are to be disregarded for the reasons stated, and also because they are metrical; but the paean should be retained, because it is the only one of the rhythms mentioned which is not adapted to a metrical system, so that it is most likely to be undetected. At the present day one kind of paean is employed, at the beginning as well as at the end; the end, however, ought to differ from the beginning. Now there are two kinds of paeans, opposed to each other. The one is appropriate at the beginning, where in fact it is used. It begins with a long syllable and ends with three short:

> Δᾱλŏγĕνĕ̀ς | *εἴτĕ* Λŭκΐ̄λᾱν ("O Delos-born, or it may be Lycia").

and

iambic, 2 to 1 on the same principle; paean, 3 to 2 (three shorts and one long), lying between the other two.

χρυσεοκόμα Ἕκατε παῖ Διός.

ἕτερος δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας, οὗ βραχεῖαι ἄρχουσι τρεῖς, ἡ δὲ μακρὰ τελευτᾷ·

μετὰ δὲ γᾶν ὕδατά τ' ὠκεανὸν ἠφάνισε νύξ.

οὗτος δὲ τελευτὴν ποιεῖ· ἡ γὰρ βραχεῖα διὰ τὸ ἀτελὴς εἶναι ποιεῖ κολοβόν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ μακρᾷ ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ δήλην εἶναι τὴν τελευτήν, μὴ διὰ τὸν γραφέα, μηδὲ διὰ τὴν παραγραφήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ῥυθμόν.
7 ὅτι μὲν οὖν εὔρυθμον δεῖ εἶναι τὴν λέξιν καὶ μὴ ἄρρυθμον, καὶ τίνες εὔρυθμον ποιοῦσι ῥυθμοὶ καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, εἴρηται.

9. Τὴν δὲ λέξιν ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἢ εἰρομένην καὶ τῷ συνδέσμῳ μίαν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς διθυράμβοις ἀναβολαί, ἢ κατεστραμμένην καὶ ὁμοίαν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν ἀντιστρόφοις. ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη λέ-
2 ξις ἡ ἀρχαία ἐστίν· "Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἥδ' ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις·" ταύτῃ γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἅπαντες, νῦν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ χρῶνται. λέγω δὲ εἰρομένην, ἣ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὑτήν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ. ἔστι δὲ ἀηδὲς διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον· τὸ γὰρ τέλος πάντες βούλονται καθορᾶν. διόπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς καμπτῆρσιν ἐκπνέουσι καὶ ἐκλύονται· προορῶντες γὰρ τὸ πέρας

[48] The three citations = *PMG* fr. 950 (adesp. 32).

[49] The parenthetical sentence is the opening of Herodotus' *Histories*. It is deleted by most editors, since it does not illustrate the style; but Kassel keeps it in the text, indicating that it might

χρῡσἔὄκŏμἰᾱ Ἕκᾰτἔ | παῖ Δῐὸς ("Golden-haired far-darter, son of Zeus").

The other on the contrary begins with three short syllables and ends with one long one:

μἔτᾸ δἔ γᾶν | ὕδᾰτᾸ τ' ὦἰκἔᾰνὸν ἦἰφᾰνῐσἔ νῦξ ("after earth and waters, night obscured the ocean").[48]

This is a suitable ending, for the short syllable leaves the cadence incomplete and hence truncated. But the sentence should be broken off by a long syllable and the end should be evident, not because of the scribe nor by a marginal mark, but because of the rhythm itself. That the diction should be rhythmical and not unrhythmical, and what rhythms and what arrangement of them produce a good rhythm, has now been stated.

9. The style must be either continuous and united by connecting words, like the dithyrambic preludes, or bounded, like the antistrophes of the ancient poets. The continuous style is the ancient one ("Of Herodotus of Thurii this is the exposition of the investigation"),[49] for it was formerly used by all but now is used only by a few. By a continuous style I mean what has no end in itself and only stops when the story told is complete. It is unpleasant, because it is endless, for all wish to have the end in sight. That explains why runners, just when they have reached the finish line,[50] lose their breath and strength, whereas

be an addition by Aristotle himself. Herodotus was seen as the most prominent author who wrote in this style.

[50] καμπτῆρες, properly the turning point of the δίαυλος or double course, is here used for the finish line itself.

3 οὐ κάμνουσι πρότερον. ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη τῆς λέξεώς ἐστιν ἥδε, κατεστραμμένη δὲ ἡ ἐν περιόδοις· λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν
1409 b καθ' αὑτὴν καὶ μέγεθος | εὐσύνοπτον. ἡδεῖα δ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ εὐμαθής, ἡδεῖα μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν τῷ ἀπεράντῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἀεί τι οἴεται ἔχειν ὁ ἀκροατὴς τῷ ἀεί πεπεράνθαι τι αὐτῷ· τὸ δὲ μηδὲν προνοεῖν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀνύειν ἀηδές. εὐμαθὴς δέ, ὅτι εὐμνημόνευτος. τοῦτο δέ, ὅτι ἀριθμὸν ἔχει ἡ ἐν περιόδοις λέξις, ὃ πάντων εὐμνημονευτότατον. διὸ καὶ τὰ μέτρα πάντες
4 μνημονεύουσι μᾶλλον τῶν χύδην· ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ἔχει ᾧ μετρεῖται. δεῖ δὲ τὴν περίοδον καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τετελειῶσθαι, καὶ μὴ διακόπτεσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα,

Καλυδὼν μὲν ἥδε γαῖα Πελοπίας χθονός·

τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπολαβεῖν τῷ διαιρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου τὴν Καλυδῶνα εἶναι τῆς Πελοποννήσου.

5 Περίοδος δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐν κώλοις, ἡ δ' ἀφελής. ἔστι δ' ἐν κώλοις μὲν λέξις ἡ τετελειωμένη τε καὶ διῃρημένη καὶ εὐανάπνευστος, μὴ ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει ὥσπερ ἡ εἰρημένη περίοδος, ἀλλ' ὅλη. κῶλον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἕτερον
6 μόριον ταύτης. ἀφελῆ δὲ λέγω τὴν μονόκωλον. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ κῶλα καὶ τὰς περιόδους μήτε μυούρους εἶναι

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51 From Euripides' *Meleager* (*TrGF* fr. 515.1). The break in the sense comes after γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονός really belonging

before, when the end is in sight, they show no signs of fatigue. Such is the continuous style. The bounded style consists of periods, and by period I mean a phrase that has a beginning and end in itself and a magnitude that can be easily grasped. *What is written in this style is pleasant and easy to learn*, pleasant because it is the opposite of what is unlimited, because the listener at every moment thinks he has a hold of something and that he has reached some conclusion; whereas it is unpleasant neither to be able to foresee nor to get to the end of anything. *It is easy to learn*, because it can be easily retained in the memory. The reason is that the periodic style has number, which of all things *is the easiest to remember*; that explains why all learn verse with greater facility than a flood of words, for it has number by which it can be measured. But the period must be completed with the thought and not broken up, as in the iambic lines[51]

This land is Calydon, of Pelops' soil,

for by a division of this kind it is possible to suppose the contrary of the fact, as in the example, that Calydon is in the Peloponnese.

A period may be composed of several members, or simple. The former is complete, distinct in its parts and easy to pronounce in a single breath, not as divided, but taken as a whole. By a member I mean one of the two parts of this period, and by a simple period one that consists of only one member. But neither the members nor the peri-

to the next line: ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοις πέδι' ἔχουσ' εὐδαίμονα. The meaning then is: "This is the land of Calydon, with its fertile plains in the country over against Peloponnesus."

μήτε μακράς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν προσπταίειν πολλάκις ποιεῖ τὸν ἀκροατήν· ἀνάγκη γάρ, ὅταν ἔτι ὁρμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πόρρω καὶ τὸ μέτρον, οὗ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅρον, ἀντισπασθῇ παυσαμένου, οἷον προσπταίειν γίγνεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀντίκρουσιν. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ ἀπολείπεσθαι ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐξωτέρω ἀποκάμπτοντες τοῦ τέρματος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ περίοδοι αἱ μακραὶ οὖσαι λόγος γίνεται καὶ ἀναβολῇ ὅμοιον. ὥστε γίγνεται ὃ ἔσκωψε Δημόκριτος ὁ Χῖος εἰς Μελανιππίδην ποιήσαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀντιστρόφων ἀναβολάς,

οἷ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων,
ἡ δὲ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη·

ἁρμόττει γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ εἰς τοὺς μακροκώλους λέγειν. αἵ τε λίαν βραχύκωλοι οὐ περίοδος γίγνεται· προπετῆ οὖν ἄγει τὸν ἀκροατήν.

7 Τῆς δὲ ἐν κώλοις λέξεως ἡ μὲν διῃρημένη ἐστὶν ἡ δὲ ἀντικειμένη, διῃρημένη μὲν οἷον "πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν τὰς πανηγύρεις συναγόντων καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάντων," ἀντικειμένη δέ, ἐν ᾗ ἑκατέρῳ τῷ κώλῳ ἢ πρὸς ἐναντίῳ ἐναντίον σύγ-
1410 a κειται ἢ ταὐτὸ | ἐπέζευκται τοῖς ἐναντίοις, οἷον "ἀμφο-

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52 A well-known musician.

53 Of Melos. He wrote rambling dithyrambic *preludes* without strophic correspondence. Others take ἀναβολή to mean an entire ode.

54 Hes. *Op.* 265. The second line is a parody of ἡ δὲ κακὴ

ods should be curtailed or too long. If too short, they often make the listener stumble; for when he is hurrying on toward the measure of which he already has a definite idea, if he is checked by the speaker stopping, a sort of stumble is bound to occur in consequence of the sudden stop. If too long, they leave the listener behind, like those who do not turn till past the ordinary limit. Similarly, periods that are too long assume the proportions of a speech and resemble dithyrambic preludes. This gives rise to what Democritus of Chios[52] jokingly rebuked in Melanippides,[53] who instead of antistrophes composed dithyrambic preludes:

> He brings harm to himself who tries to do harm to another,
> and a long prelude is the worst for the one who writes it;[54]

for these verses may also be applied to those who employ periods with long members. Again, if the members are too short, they do not make a period, so that the listener is carried away headlong.

The members of the periodic style are divided or opposed; divided, as in the following sentence: "I have often wondered at those who gathered together the general assemblies and instituted the gymnastic contests";[55] opposed, in which, in each of the two members, one contrary is brought close to another, or the same word is coupled with both contraries; for instance, "They were useful to

βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη (bad advice is worst for the one who gives it).

[55] The beginning of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*.

τέρους δ' ὤνησαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πλείω τῆς οἴκοι προσεκτήσαντο, τοῖς δὲ ἱκανὴν τὴν οἴκοι κατέλιπον." ἐναντία ὑπομονὴ ἀκολούθησις, ἱκανὸν πλεῖον. "ὥστε καὶ τοῖς χρημάτων δεομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπολαῦσαι βουλομένοις." ἀπόλαυσις κτήσει ἀντίκειται. καὶ ἔτι "συμβαίνει πολλάκις ἐν ταύταις καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους ἀτυχεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄφρονας κατορθοῦν." "εὐθὺς μὲν τῶν ἀριστείων ἠξιώθησαν, οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον." "πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, πεζεῦσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἄθω διορύξας." "καὶ φύσει πολίτας ὄντας νόμῳ τῆς πόλεως στέρεσθαι." "οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' αἰσχρῶς ἐσώθησαν." "ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις χρῆσθαι, κοινῇ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων περιορᾶν δουλεύοντας." "ἢ ζῶντας ἕξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν." καὶ ὃ εἰς Πειθόλαόν τις εἶπε καὶ Λυκόφρονα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, "οὗτοι δ' ὑμᾶς οἴκοι μὲν ὄντες ἐπώλουν, ἐλθόντες δ' ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐώνηνται." ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὸ εἰρη-
8 μένον. ἡδεῖα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη λέξις, ὅτι τἀναντία γνωριμώτατα καὶ παράλληλα μᾶλλον γνώριμα, καὶ ὅτι ἔοικε συλλογισμῷ· ὁ γὰρ ἔλεγχος συναγωγὴ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἐστίν.

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[56] All the above quotations are from the *Panegyricus*: 1, 35, 41, 48, 72, 89, 105, 149, 181, 186, with slight variations.

[57] They murdered Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, being instigated by their sister, his wife. Nothing is known of the case re-

both, both those who stayed behind and those who followed; for the latter they gained more land than they had had at home, for the former they left land enough at home." Here staying behind and following, enough and more are contraries. Again: "to those who need money and those who wish to enjoy it"; where enjoying is contrary to acquiring. Again: "It often happens in these circumstances that the wise men fail, while the fools succeed"; "At once they were deemed worthy of the prize of valor and not long after won the command of the sea"; "To sail through the mainland, to march through the sea, by bridging over the Hellespont and digging through Athos"; "And that, though citizens by nature, they were deprived of the rights of citizenship by law"; "For some of them perished miserably, others were saved disgracefully": "Privately to employ the barbarians as servants, but publicly to view with indifference many of the allies reduced to slavery": "Either to possess it while living or to leave it behind when dead."[56] And what some one said against Pitholaus and Lycophron[57] in the law court: "These men used to sell you when they were at home, but having come to you, they have bought you." All these examples have the form described above. This kind of style is pleasing, because contraries are easily understood and even more so when placed side by side, and also because antithesis resembles a syllogism; for refutation is a bringing together of contraries.

ferred to. According to Cope, the meaning is: "When they were at Pherae, they used to sell you as slaves, but now they have come to buy you" (referring to bribery in court). Others take ὠνεῖσθαι in a passive sense: "they have been bought," that is, have had to sell themselves to you.

9 Ἀντίθεσις μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, παρίσωσις δ' ἐὰν ἴσα τὰ κῶλα, παρομοίωσις δ' ἐὰν ὅμοια τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχῃ ἑκάτερον τὸ κῶλον. ἀνάγκη δὲ ἢ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἢ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἔχειν. καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἡ δὲ τελευτὴ τὰς ἐσχάτας συλλαβὰς ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος πτῶσις ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα "ἀγρὸν γὰρ ἔλαβεν ἀργὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ,"

δωρητοί τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσιν·

ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ "ᾠήθης ἂν αὐτὸν ‹οὐ› παιδίον τετοκέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παιδίον γεγονέναι," "ἐν πλείσταις δὲ φροντίσι καὶ ἐν ἐλαχίσταις ἐλπίσιν." πτώσεις δὲ ταὐτοῦ "ἄξιος δὲ σταθῆναι χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄξιος ὢν χαλκοῦ." ταὐτὸ δ' ὄνομα "σὺ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ζῶντα ἔλεγες κακῶς καὶ νῦν γράφεις κακῶς." ἀπὸ συλλαβῆς δὲ "τί ἂν ἔπαθες δεινόν, εἰ ἄνδρ' εἶδες ἀργόν;" ἔστι δὲ
1410 b ἅμα πάντα ἔχειν ταὐτό, | καὶ ἀντίθεσιν εἶναι ταὐτὸ καὶ πάρισον καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτον. αἱ δ' ἀρχαὶ τῶν περιόδων
10 σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς Θεοδεκτείοις ἐξηρίθμηνται. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς ἀντιθέσεις, οἷον καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐποίει,

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58 Aristophanes (*PCG* fr. 666).

59 Hom. *Il.* 9.526.

60 Kassel's text here is heavily reconstructed by conjectures; Freese simply declared that it is obviously corrupt.

61 See note to 2.23.3.

62 Epicharmus (*PCG* fr. 145 = 23 B20a DK).

Such then is the nature of antithesis; equal length of members is parisosis; the similarity of the extremes of each member paromoiosis. This must take place at the beginning or end. At the beginning the similarity is always shown in entire words; at the end, in the last syllables, or the inflection of one and the same word, or the repetition of the same word. For instance, at the beginning: ἀγρὸν γὰρ ἔλαβεν ἀργὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ,[58] "for he received from him land untilled";

> δωρητοί τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσιν,[59] ("they were ready to accept gifts and to be persuaded by words";)

at the end: ᾠήθης ἂν αὐτὸν ‹οὐ› παιδίον τετοκέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παιδίον γεγονέναι[60] ("you might think that he had not begotten a child, but that he had himself become a child); ἐν πλείσταις δὲ φροντίσι καὶ ἐν ἐλαχίσταις ἐλπίσιν, ("in the greatest anxiety and the smallest hopes.") Inflections of the same word: ἄξιος δὲ σταθῆναι χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄξιος ὢν χαλκοῦ, ("worthy of a bronze statue, not being worth a coin of bronze.") Repetition of a word: σὺ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ζῶντα ἔλεγες κακῶς καὶ νῦν γράφεις κακῶς, ("while he lived you spoke ill of him, now he is dead you write ill of him.") Resemblance of one syllable: τί ἂν ἔπαθες δεινόν, εἰ ἄνδρ' εἶδες ἀργόν, ("what ill would you have suffered, if you had seen an idle man?") All these figures may be found in the same sentence at once—antithesis, equality of members, and similarity of endings. In the *Theodectea*[61] the beginnings of periods have been pretty much enumerated. There are also false antitheses, as in the verse of Epicharmus:[62]

τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνων ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἐγώ.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διώρισται περὶ τούτων, πόθεν λέγεται τὰ ἀστεῖα καὶ τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα λεκτέον. ποιεῖν μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦ εὐφυοῦς ἢ τοῦ γεγυμνασμένου, δεῖξαι δὲ
2 τῆς μεθόδου ταύτης. εἴπωμεν οὖν καὶ διαριθμησώμεθα· ἀρχὴ δ' ἔστω ἡμῖν αὕτη. τὸ γὰρ μανθάνειν ῥᾳδίως ἡδὺ φύσει πᾶσιν ἐστί, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα σημαίνει τι, ὥστε ὅσα τῶν ὀνομάτων ποιεῖ ἡμῖν μάθησιν, ἥδιστα. αἱ μὲν οὖν γλῶτται ἀγνῶτες, τὰ δὲ κύρια ἴσμεν. ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ποιεῖ τοῦτο μάλιστα· ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ τὸ γῆρας καλάμην, ἐποίησε μάθησιν καὶ γνῶσιν διὰ
3 τοῦ γένους· ἄμφω γὰρ ἀπηνθηκότα. ποιοῦσι μὲν οὖν καὶ αἱ τῶν ποιητῶν εἰκόνες τὸ αὐτό· διόπερ ἂν εὖ, ἀστεῖον φαίνεται. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ εἰκών, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, μεταφορὰ διαφέρουσα προθέσει· διὸ ἧττον ἡδύ, ὅτι μακροτέρως· καὶ οὐ λέγει ὡς τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο·
4 οὔκουν οὐδὲ ζητεῖ τοῦτο ἡ ψυχή. ἀνάγκη δὴ καὶ λέξιν καὶ ἐνθυμήματα ταῦτ' εἶναι ἀστεῖα, ὅσα ποιεῖ ἡμῖν μάθησιν ταχεῖαν. διὸ οὔτε τὰ ἐπιπόλαια τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων εὐδοκιμεῖ (ἐπιπόλαια γὰρ λέγομεν τὰ παντὶ δῆλα, καὶ ἃ μηδὲν δεῖ ζητῆσαι), οὔτε ὅσα εἰρημένα ἀγνοούμενα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅσων ἢ ἅμα λεγομένων ἡ γνῶσις γίνεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον ὑπῆρχεν, ἢ μι-

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63 Hom. *Od.* 14.213–14, "Yet if you look at the stubble you see what the corn was like": Odysseus, whom Athena had changed

τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνων ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἐγώ ("at one time I was in their house, at another I was with them.")

10. Having settled these questions, we must next state the sources of smart and popular sayings. They are produced either by natural genius or by practice; to show what they are is the function of this inquiry. Let us therefore begin by giving a full list of them, and let our starting point be the following. Easy learning is naturally pleasant to all, and words signify something, so that all words that make us learn something are most pleasant. Now we do not understand unfamiliar words, but proper terms we know already. It is metaphor that above all produces this effect; for when he[63] calls old age stubble, he teaches and informs us through the genus; for both have lost their bloom. The similes of the poets also have the same effect; and so, if they are well constructed, they give an impression of smartness. For the simile, as we have said, is a metaphor differing only in the way it is presented, hence it is less pleasant because it is longer, and it does not say that this *is* that, so that the mind does not even examine this. Of necessity, therefore, all style and enthymemes are smart that make us learn something quickly. This is the reason why superficial enthymemes, meaning those that are obvious to all and need no mental effort, and those which, when stated, are not understood, are not popular, but only those that are understood the moment they are stated, though they had not been known before, or those

into an old beggar, speaks to Eumaeus, his faithful swineherd, in whose house he was staying unrecognized.

κρὸν ὑστερίζει ἡ διάνοια· γίγνεται γὰρ οἷον μάθησις, ἐκείνως δὲ οὐδέτερον.

5 Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ λεγομένου τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐδοκιμεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν λέξιν τῷ μὲν σχήματι, ἐὰν ἀντικειμένως λέγηται, οἷον "καὶ τὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινὴν εἰρήνην νομιζόντων τοῖς αὐτῶν
6 ἰδίοις πόλεμον·" ἀντίκειται πόλεμος εἰρήνῃ. τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασιν, ἐὰν ἔχῃ μεταφοράν, καὶ ταύτην μήτ' ἀλλοτρίαν, χαλεπὸν γὰρ συνιδεῖν, μήτ' ἐπιπόλαιον, οὐδὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ πάσχειν. ἔτι εἰ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖ· ὁρᾶν γὰρ δεῖ πραττόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ μέλλοντα. δεῖ ἄρα τούτων στοχάζεσθαι τριῶν, μεταφορᾶς ἀντιθέσεως ἐνεργείας.

7 Τῶν δὲ μεταφορῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν | εὐδοκιμοῦσι
1411 a μάλιστα αἱ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, ὥσπερ Περικλῆς ἔφη τὴν νεότητα τὴν ἀπολομένην ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὕτως ἠφανίσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ εἴ τις τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξέλοι. καὶ Λεπτίνης περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐκ ἐᾶν περιιδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑτερόφθαλμον γενομένην. καὶ Κηφισόδοτος σπουδάζοντος Χάρητος εὐθύνας δοῦναι ‹τῶν› περὶ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον ἠγανάκτει, φάσκων ‹αὐτὸν› εἰς πνῖγμα τὸν δῆμον ἄγχοντα τὰς εὐθύνας πειρᾶσθαι δοῦναι. καὶ παρακαλῶν ποτὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐπισιτισαμένους ἔφη δεῖν ἐξι-

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64 Isoc. *Philippus* 73.

65 For the four kinds of metaphor see *Poetics* 21 (1457b6ff.)

66 Cf. above, 1.7.34

where the thought is left only just a little bit behind; for from the latter a kind of knowledge results, from the former, neither at once or later.

In regard to the thought of what is said, then, such enthymemes are popular. As to style, popularity of form is due to antithetical statement; for instance, "regarding the peace shared by the others to be a war against their private interests,"[64] where war is opposed to peace; as to words, they are popular if they contain metaphor, provided it be neither unfamiliar, for then it is difficult to take in at a glance, nor superficial, for then it does not impress the listener; further, if they set things before the eyes; for we ought to see what is being done rather than what is going to be done. We ought therefore to aim at three things—metaphor, antithesis, activity.

Of the four kinds of metaphor[65] the most popular are those based on analogy. Thus, Pericles said that the youth that had perished during the war had disappeared from the state as if the year had lost its springtime.[66] Leptines, speaking of the Lacedaemonians, said that he would not let the Athenians stand by and see Greece deprived of one of her eyes. When Chares was eager to have his accounts for the Olynthian war examined, Cephisodotus indignantly exclaimed that he was trying to get his accounts examined while holding the people by the throat;[67] and on another occasion he exhorted the Athenians to set out for

[67] εὔθυνα was the technical term for the examination of accounts to which all public officers had to submit when their term of office expired. Cephisodotus and Chares were both Athenian generals.

έναι τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψήφισμα. καὶ Ἰφικράτης σπεισαμένων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἠγανάκτει, φάσκων αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐφόδια τοῦ πολέμου παρῃρῆσθαι. καὶ Πειθόλαος τὴν Πάραλον ῥόπαλον τοῦ δήμου, Σηστὸν δὲ τηλίαν τοῦ Πειραιέως. καὶ Περικλῆς τὴν Αἴγιναν ἀφελεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιέως. καὶ Μοιροκλῆς οὐθὲν ἔφη πονηρότερος εἶναι, ὀνομάσας τινὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν· ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτρίτων τόκων πονηρεύεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιδεκάτων. καὶ τὸ Ἀναξανδρίδου ἰαμβεῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων πρὸς τὸν γάμον ἐγχρονιζουσῶν,

ὑπερήμεροί μοι τῶν γάμων αἱ παρθένοι.

καὶ τὸ Πολυεύκτου εἰς ἀποπληκτικόν τινα Σπεύσιππον, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ νόσῳ δεδεμένον. καὶ Κηφισόδοτος τὰς τριήρεις ἐκάλει μύλωνας ποικίλους, ὁ Κύων δὲ τὰ καπηλεῖα τὰ Ἀττικὰ φιδίτια. Αἰσίων δέ, ὅτι εἰς Σικελίαν τὴν πόλιν ἐξέχεαν· τοῦτο γὰρ μεταφορὰ καὶ πρὸ ὀμ-

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68 This may refer to a decree of Miltiades which was so speedily carried out that it became proverbial. The expedition was undertaken to assist Euboea against Thebes.

69 The Paralus and Salaminia were the two sacred galleys which conveyed state prisoners.

70 Moerocles was a contemporary of Demosthenes and an anti-Macedonian in politics. He seems to have been a money-grubber and was once prosecuted for extortion. The degree of the respectability (or rather, the swindling practices) of each is calculated by his respective profits.

Euboea with the decree of Miltiades as their provisions.[68] After the Athenians had made peace with Epidaurus and the maritime cities, Iphicrates indignantly declared that they had deprived themselves of travel funds for the war. Pitholaus called the Paralus[69] the bludgeon of the people, and Sestos the baker's board of the Piraeus. Pericles recommended that Aegina, "the eyesore of the Piraeus," should be removed. Moerocles, mentioning a very respectable person by name, declared that he was as much a scoundrel as himself; for whereas that man played the scoundrel at one third, he himself was satisfied with a tenth.[70] And the iambic of Anaxandrides,[71] on girls who were slow to marry,

My daughters are well overdue for marriage now.

And the saying of Polyeuctus[72] upon a certain paralytic named Speusippus, that he could not keep quiet, although Fortune had bound him in a five-holed pillory of disease. Cephisodotus called the triremes colored millstones,[73] and [Diogenes] the Cynic used to say that the taverns[74] were the "mess halls" of Attica. Aesion[75] used to say that they had drained the state into Sicily, which is a metaphor

[71] Poet of Middle Comedy: *PCG* fr. 67. The metaphor in ὑπερήμεροι is from those who failed to keep the term of payment of a fine or debt.

[72] Athenian orator, contemporary of Demosthenes.

[73] As grinding down the tributary states. They differed from ordinary millstones in being gaily painted. [74] Contrasted with the Spartan mess halls (φιδίτια) which were of a plain and simple character, at which all the citizens dined together.

[75] Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes.

μάτων. καὶ "ὥστε βοῆσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα"· καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ μεταφορὰ καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων. καὶ ὥσπερ Κηφισόδοτος εὐλαβεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε μὴ πολλὰς ποιήσωσι τὰς συνδρομάς. καὶ Ἰσοκράτης πρὸς τοὺς συντρέχοντας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν. καὶ οἷον ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, διότι ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτησάντων κείρασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς συγκαταθαπτομένης τῇ ἀρετῇ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι ἄξιον δακρῦσαι συγκαταθαπτομένης
1411 b τῆς ἀρετῆς, μεταφορὰ καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων, | τὸ δὲ "τῇ ἀρετῇ τῆς ἐλευθερίας" ἀντίθεσίν τινα ἔχει. καὶ ὡς Ἰφικράτης εἶπεν "ἡ γὰρ ὁδός μοι τῶν λόγων διὰ μέσων τῶν Χάρητι πεπραγμένων ἐστίν·" μεταφορὰ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖ. καὶ τὸ φάναι παρακαλεῖν τοὺς κινδύνους τοῖς κινδύνοις βοηθήσοντας, πρὸ ὀμμάτων ‹καὶ› μεταφορά. καὶ Λυκολέων ὑπὲρ Χαβρίου "οὐδὲ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν αἰσχυνθέντες αὐτοῦ, τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν χαλκῆν"· μεταφορὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀεί, ἀλλὰ πρὸ ὀμμάτων· κινδυνεύοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἱκετεύει ἡ εἰκών, τὸ ἄψυχον δὴ ἔμψυχον, τὸ ὑπόμνημα τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔργων. καὶ "πάντα τρόπον μικρὸν φρονεῖν μελετῶντες"· τὸ γὰρ

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[76] *Philippus* 12. Both συνδρομάς and συντρέχοντας refer to the collecting of a mob in a state of excitement.

[77] Cf. Lys. 2.60, obviously quoted somewhat freely from memory, since Lysias was speaking of the dead from Aegospotami not Salamis.

and sets the thing before the eyes. His words "so that Greece shouted aloud" are also in a manner a metaphor and set things before the eyes. And again, as Cephisodotus bade the Athenians take care not to hold their "concourses" too often; and in the same way Isocrates, who spoke of those "who rush together" in the assemblies.[76] And as in the funeral oration,[77] that it was right that Greece should cut her hair at the tomb of those who fell at Salamis, since her freedom was buried along with their valor. If the speaker had said that it was fitting that Greece should weep, her valor being buried with them, it would have been a metaphor and a vivid one, but "freedom" by the side of "valor" also makes a kind of antithesis. And as Iphicrates said, "The path of my words leads through the center of the deeds of Chares"; here the metaphor is by analogy, and the words "through the center" set it before the eyes. Also, to say that one calls upon dangers to help against dangers is a vivid metaphor. And Lycoleon on behalf of Chabrias said, "not even respecting the suppliant attitude of his statue of bronze,"[78] a metaphor for the moment, not for all time, but still vivid; for when Chabrias is in danger, the statue intercedes for him, the inanimate becomes animate, the memorial of what he has done for the state. And "in every way practicing smallness of mind,"[79] for practicing a thing means to increase it. And

[78] The statue of Chabrias, erected after one of his victories, represented him as kneeling on the ground, the position which he had ordered his soldiers to take up when awaiting the enemy. The statue was in the agora and could be seen from the court. Lycoleon points to it and bases his appeal on its suppliant posture.

[79] Isoc. *Paneg.* 151.

μελετᾶν αὔξειν τι ἐστίν. καὶ ὅτι τὸν νοῦν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἀνῆψεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· ἄμφω γὰρ δηλοῖ τι. "οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθα τοὺς πολέμους, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλόμεθα·" ἄμφω γάρ ἐστι μέλλοντα, καὶ ἡ ἀναβολὴ καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη εἰρήνη. καὶ τὸ τὰς συνθήκας φάναι "τρόπαιον εἶναι πολὺ κάλλιον τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γινομένων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν καὶ μιᾶς τύχης, αὗται δ' ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου"· ἄμφω γὰρ νίκης σημεῖα. ὅτι καὶ αἱ πόλεις τῷ ψόγῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεγάλας εὐθύνας διδόασιν· ἡ γὰρ εὔθυνα βλάβη τις δικαία ἐστίν. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀστεῖα ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τε τῆς ἀνάλογον λέγεται καὶ τῷ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν, εἴρηται.

11. Λεκτέον δὲ τί λέγομεν πρὸ ὀμμάτων, καὶ τί
2 ποιοῦσι γίγνεται τοῦτο. λέγω δὴ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὅσα ἐνεργοῦντα σημαίνει. οἷον τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα φάναι εἶναι τετράγωνον μεταφορά· ἄμφω γὰρ τέλεια, ἀλλ' οὐ σημαίνει ἐνέργειαν. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθοῦσαν ἔχοντος τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐνέργεια, καὶ τὸ σὲ δ' ὥσπερ ἄφετον ἐνέργεια, καὶ

τοὐντεῦθεν οὖν Ἕλληνες ᾕξαντες ποσίν

τὸ ᾕξαντες ἐνέργεια καὶ μεταφορά· ταχὺ γὰρ λέγει.

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80 Isoc. *Paneg.* 172.

81 Isoc. *Paneg.* 180 (apparently from memory).

82 εὔθυνα (see n. 67 above) further implies the punishment for an unsatisfactory statement of accounts.

that "reason is a light that God has kindled in the soul," for both make something clear. "For we do not put an end to wars, but put them off,"[80] for both relate to the future—putting off and a peace of such a kind. And again, it is a metaphor to say that "the treaty is a trophy far more splendid than those gained in war; for the latter are raised in honor of trifling advantages and a single favor of fortune, but the former stands for the end of the whole war;"[81] for both are signs of victory. Again, that cities also render a heavy account in the censure of men; for rendering an account[82] is a sort of damage justly imposed. That smart sayings are derived from metaphor based on analogy and expressions that set things before the eyes has now been stated.

11. But we must explain what we mean by "before the eyes," and what must be done to produce this. I mean that things are set before the eyes by words that signify activity. For instance, to say that a good man is "foursquare"[83] is a metaphor, for both these are perfect, but the word does not suggest activity, whereas "of one at the prime of his life in full bloom"[84] does; similarly, "you, like a sacred animal ranging at will"[85] expresses activity, and in

> Now then the Greeks were darting forward on their feet[86]

the word "darting" contains both activity and metaphor,

[83] Simon. *PMG* fr. 542.

[84] Isoc. *Philippus* 10.

[85] Isoc. *Philippus* 127. As a sacred animal could roam where it pleased within the precincts of its temple.

[86] Eur. *IA* 80, with *δορί* for *ποσίν*.

καὶ ὡς κέχρηται πολλαχοῦ Ὅμηρος, τὸ τὰ ἄψυχα ἔμ-
3 ψυχα λέγειν διὰ τῆς μεταφορᾶς. ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τῷ ἐνέρ-
γειαν ποιεῖν εὐδοκιμεῖ, οἷον ἐν τοῖσδε,

αὖτις ἐπὶ δάπεδόνδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής,

καὶ

ἔπταρ' ὀϊστός,

καὶ

ἐπιπτέσθαι μενεαίνων,

καὶ

1412 a ἐν γαίῃ ἵσταντο | λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἆσαι,

καὶ

αἰχμὴ δὲ στέρνοιο διέσσυτο μαιμώωσα.

ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις διὰ τὸ ἔμψυχα εἶναι ἐνεργοῦντα
φαίνεται· τὸ ἀναισχυντεῖν γὰρ καὶ μαιμᾶν καὶ τἆλλα
ἐνέργεια. ταῦτα δὲ προσῆψε διὰ τῆς κατ' ἀναλογίαν
μεταφορᾶς· ὡς γὰρ ὁ λίθος πρὸς τὸν Σίσυφον, ὁ
4 ἀναισχυντῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀναισχυντούμενον. ποιεῖ δὲ
καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐδοκιμούσαις εἰκόσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀψύχων
ταῦτα·

for it means "swiftly." And as Homer often does, making use of metaphor to speak of inanimate things as if they were animate. It is to creating activity in all such cases that his popularity is due, as in the following examples:

> Downward back to the plain the shameless stone was rolling.[87]

> The arrow flew[88]

> . . . eager to fly toward them.[89]

> [The spears were] stuck in the ground and longing to feast on the flesh [of the heroes].[90]

> *And the point of the spear sped eagerly through his* breastbone.[91]

For in all these examples there is appearance of activity, since the objects are represented as animate: shameless behavior and eager speeding and the rest are activities. Homer has attached these attributes by the employment of metaphor from analogy; for as the stone is to Sisyphus, so is the shameless one to the one who is shamelessly treated. In his popular similes also he proceeds in the same manner with inanimate things:

[87] Hom. *Od.* 11.598, with ἔπειτα πέδονδε for ἐπὶ δαπεδόνδε.
[88] Hom. *Il.* 13.587.
[89] Hom. *Il.* 4.126.
[90] Hom. *Il.* 11.574.
[91] Hom. *Il.* 15.541.

κυρτά, φαληριόωντα· πρὸ μέν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα·

κινούμενα γὰρ καὶ ζῶντα ποιεῖ πάντα, ἡ δ' ἐνέργεια κίνησις.

5 Δεῖ δὲ μεταφέρειν, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀπὸ οἰκείων καὶ μὴ φανερῶν, οἷον καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ‹τὸ› τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἐν πολὺ διέχουσι θεωρεῖν εὐστόχου, ὥσπερ Ἀρχύτας ἔφη ταὐτὸν εἶναι διαιτητὴν καὶ βωμόν· ἐπ' ἄμφω γὰρ τὸ ἀδικούμενον καταφεύγει. ἢ εἴ τις φαίη ἄγκυραν καὶ κρεμάθραν τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι· ἄμφω γὰρ ταὐτό τι, ἀλλὰ διαφέρει τῷ ἄνωθεν καὶ κάτωθεν. καὶ τὸ ἀνωμαλίσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν πολὺ διέχουσι ταὐτό, ἐν ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ δυνάμεσι τὸ ἴσον.

6 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀστεῖα τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ μεταφορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προσεξαπατᾶν· μᾶλλον γὰρ γίγνεται δῆλον ὅτι ἔμαθε παρὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν, καὶ ἔοικε λέγειν ἡ ψυχὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐγὼ δ' ἥμαρτον. καὶ τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων δὲ τὰ ἀστεῖά ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὅ φησι λέγειν, οἷον τὸ Στησιχόρου, ὅτι οἱ τέττιγες αὐτοῖς χαμόθεν ᾄσονται. καὶ τὰ εὖ ᾐνιγμένα διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡδέα· μάθησις γάρ, καὶ λέγεται μεταφορά. καὶ ὃ λέγει Θεόδωρος, τὸ καινὰ λέγειν. γίγνεται δέ, ὅταν

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92 Hom. *Il.* 13.799. The reference is to the "boiling waves of the loud-roaring sea."

Arched, crested with foam, some in front, yet others
behind them;[92]

for he gives movement and life to all, and activity is movement.

As we have said before, metaphors should be drawn from things that belong to the object but are not obvious; just as, for instance, in philosophy too it needs sagacity to grasp the similarity in things that are far apart. Thus Archytas said that there was no difference between an arbitrator and an altar, for the wronged betakes itself to one or the other. Similarly, if one were to say that an anchor and a pot hook were the same; for both are the same in a way, but they differ in this: one holds a thing from above and the other from below. And if one were to say "the cities have been reduced to the same level," this amounts to the same in the case of things far apart—the equality in regard to surface and to resources.

Most smart sayings are derived from metaphor with the addition of some deception. For it becomes more evident to the listener that he has learned something when the conclusion turns out contrary to his expectation, and the mind seems to say, "Yes indeed, but I missed it." And smart epigrams arise from not meaning what one says, as in the saying of Stesichorus, that the cicadas will sing to them from the ground.[93] And clever riddles are agreeable for the same reason; for something is learned, and the expression is also metaphorical. And what Theodorus calls

[93] See 2.21.8 (1395a2).

παράδοξον ᾖ, καὶ μή, ὡς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, πρὸς τὴν ἔμπροσθεν δόξαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γελοίοις τὰ παραπεποιημένα. ὅπερ δύναται καὶ τὰ παρὰ γράμμα σκώμματα· ἐξαπατᾷ γάρ. καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέτροις· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ ἀκούων ὑπέλαβεν·

ἔστειχε δ' ἔχων ὑπὸ ποσσὶ χίμεθλα·

ὁ δ' ᾤετο πέδιλα ἐρεῖν. τούτου δ' ἅμα λεγομένου δέ δῆλον εἶναι. τὰ δὲ παρὰ γράμμα ποιεῖ οὐχ ὃ λέγει λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὃ μεταστρέφει ὄνομα, οἷον τὸ Θεοδώρου εἰς Νίκωνα τὸν κιθαρῳδόν "θράττει·" προσποιεῖται γὰρ λέγειν τὸ "θράττει σε" καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ· ἄλλο γὰρ
1412 b λέγει· διὸ | μαθόντι ἡδύ, ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ ὑπολαμβάνει
7 Θρᾷκα εἶναι, οὐ δόξει ἀστεῖον εἶναι. καὶ τὸ "βούλει αὐτὸν πέρσαι." δεῖ δὲ ἀμφότερα προσηκόντως λεχθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀστεῖα, οἷον τὸ φάναι Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν κακῶν· ὄνασθαι γάρ. ἢ ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτης τὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν κακῶν. ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ ὃ οὐκ ἂν ᾠήθη τις ἐρεῖν, τοῦτ' εἴρηται, καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι ἀληθές· τό τε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν φάναι ἀρχὴν εἶναι

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[94] Sense uncertain, but possibly a pun, Θρᾷττ' εἶ, "you are no better than a Thracian slave girl."

[95] There is obviously a play on πέρσαι (aor. 1 infin. of πέρθω) and Πέρσαι (Persians), but no satisfactory interpretation of the joke has been suggested.

"novel expressions" arise when what follows is paradoxical, and not, as he puts it, against our previous opinion, but just as when humorists make use of slight changes in words. The same effect is produced by jokes that turn on a change of letter; for they are deceptive. This occurs in metric poetry as well; for instance, the following verse does not finish as the listener expected:

He strode on, wearing—chilblains on his feet,

whereas the listener thought he was going to say "sandals." This kind of joke must be clear from the moment of utterance. Jokes that turn on a letter lead to not saying what a word means, by twisting it; for instance, when Theodorus said to Nicon, the player on the cithara, "you are troubled" (θράττει); for while pretending to say "something troubles you," he deceives us; for he means something else.[94] Therefore the joke is only amusing to one who understands the point; for if one does not know that Nicon is a Thracian, he will not find it smart. Similarly, "you wish to destroy him (πέρσαι)."[95] Jokes of both these kinds must be suitably pronounced. Similar instances are such smart remarks as saying that the empire (ἀρχή) of the sea was not the beginning (ἀρχή) of their misfortunes for the Athenians, for they benefited by it; or, with Isocrates,[96] that the empire was the beginning of misfortunes for the city; in both cases what one would not have expected to be said is said, and recognized as true. For to say that the

[96] *Philippus* 61; *On the Peace* 101.

οὐθὲν σοφόν· ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω λέγει ἀλλ' ἄλλως, καὶ
8 ἀρχὴν οὐχ ὃ εἶπεν ἀπόφησιν, ἀλλ' ἄλλως. ἐν ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις, ἐὰν προσηκόντως τὸ ὄνομα ἐνέγκῃ ὁμωνυμίᾳ ἢ μεταφορᾷ, τότε τὸ εὖ. οἷον "Ἀνάσχετος οὐκ ἀνασχετός·" ὁμωνυμίαν ἀπέφησεν, ἀλλὰ προσηκόντως, εἰ ἀηδής. καὶ

οὐκ ἂν γένοιο μᾶλλον ἢ ξένος ξένος·

ἢ οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ δεῖ. τὸ αὐτό καὶ "οὐ δεῖ τὸν ξένον ξένον ἀεὶ εἶναι·" ἀλλότριον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ Ἀναξανδρίδου τὸ ἐπαινούμενον,

καλόν γ' ἀποθανεῖν πρὶν θανάτου δρᾶν ἄξιον·

ταὐτὸ γάρ ἐστι τῷ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ ὄντα ἄξιον ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ ἄξιόν γ' ἀποθανεῖν μὴ θα-
9 νάτου ἄξιον ὄντα, ἢ μὴ ποιοῦντα θανάτου ἄξια. τὸ μὲν οὖν εἶδος τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς λέξεως τούτων· ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν ‹ἐν› ἐλάττονι καὶ ἀντικειμένως λεχθῇ, τοσούτῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ μᾶλλον. τὸ δ' αἴτιον ὅτι ἡ μάθησις διὰ μὲν τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ὀλίγῳ θᾶττον
10 γίνεται. δεῖ δ' ἀεὶ προσεῖναι ἢ τὸ πρὸς ὃν λέγεται ἢ τὸ ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι, εἰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθὲς καὶ μὴ

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97 The word Ἀνάσχετος is first used as a proper name, then as an adjective, meaning "bearable" (ἀνασχετός). Freese suggests the translation "There is no bearing Baring."

empire is the empire shows no cleverness, but this is not what he means, but something else; and the ἀρχή that is denied is so called in a different sense. In all these cases, success is attained when the word is appropriately applied, either by homonym or by metaphor. For example, in the phrase "Anaschetos is unbearable,"[97] there is a negation of the homonym, which is appropriate, if Anaschetus is an unpleasant person. And,

Do not be more a stranger than a stranger is,[98]

or not more than you should be. It is the same with "The stranger must not always be a stranger," for here too the word is taken in a different sense. It is the same also with the celebrated verse of Anaxandrides,

Noble to die before a deed deserving death;[99]

for this is the same as saying that it is worthy to die when one does not deserve to die, or, that it is worthy to die when one is not worthy of death, or, when one does nothing that is worthy of death. Now the kind of expression is the same in these cases; but the more concisely and antithetically they are expressed, the greater is their popularity. The reason is that one learns better by antithesis, and more quickly through conciseness. Further, it must always either apply to a particular person or be suitably expressed, if what is said is to be true and not superficial, for it is

[98] *PCG* adesp. fr. 97.
[99] *PCG* fr. 65.

ἐπιπόλαιον· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα χωρὶς ἔχειν, οἷον "ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ μηθὲν ἁμαρτάνοντα"· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀστεῖον, "τὴν ἀξίαν δεῖ γαμεῖν τὸν ἄξιον·" ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀστεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἅμα ἄμφω ἔχῃ· "ἄξιόν γ' ἀποθανεῖν μὴ ἄξιον ὄντα τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν." ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πλείω ἔχῃ, τοσούτῳ ἀστειότερον φαίνεται, οἷον εἰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα μεταφορὰ εἴη καὶ μεταφορὰ τοιαδὶ καὶ ἀντίθεσις καὶ παρίσωσις, καὶ ἔχοι ἐνέργειαν.

11 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες, ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω, αἱ εὐδοκιμοῦσαι τρόπον τινὰ μεταφοραί. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐκ δυοῖν λέγονται, ὥσπερ ἡ ἀνάλογον μεταφορά· οἷον
1413 a ἡ ἀσπὶς φαμέν ἐστι φιάλη Ἄρεος, καὶ | τόξον φόρμιγξ ἄχορδος. οὕτω μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν οὐχ ἁπλοῦν, τὸ δ' εἰπεῖν τὸ τόξον φόρμιγγα ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα φιάλην
12 ἁπλοῦν. καὶ εἰκάζουσι δὲ οὕτως, οἷον πιθήκῳ αὐλη-
13 τήν, λύχνῳ ψακαζομένῳ μύωπα· ἄμφω γὰρ συνάγεται. τὸ δὲ εὖ ἐστὶν ὅταν μεταφορὰ ᾖ· ἔστι γὰρ εἰκάσαι τὴν ἀσπίδα φιάλῃ Ἄρεος καὶ τὸ ἐρείπιον ῥάκει οἰκίας, καὶ τὸν Νικήρατον φάναι Φιλοκτήτην εἶναι δεδηγμένον ὑπὸ Πράτυος, ὥσπερ εἴκασε Θρασύμαχος ἰδὼν τὸν Νικήρατον ἡττημένον ὑπὸ Πράτυος ῥαψῳδοῦντα, κομῶντα δὲ καὶ αὐχμηρὸν ἔτι. ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ ποιηταί, ἐὰν μὴ εὖ, καὶ ἐὰν εὖ, εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. λέγω δ' ὅταν ἀποδιδῶσιν,

possible for it to have one quality and not the other. For instance, "One ought to die guiltless of any offense," –but that is not smart. "The worthy man should take a worthy wife"—but that is not smart. But there will be smartness if both conditions are fulfilled: "It is worthy for a man to die, when he is not worthy of death." The more special qualities the expression possesses, the smarter it appears; for instance, if the words contain a metaphor, and a metaphor of a special kind, antithesis, and equality of clauses, and when it conveys activity.

The popular similes also, as stated above, are always in a manner metaphors; since they always involve two terms, like the metaphor from analogy, as when we say, for instance, that the shield is the goblet of Ares, and the bow a lyre without strings. These phrases are not simple, but when we call the bow a lyre, or the shield a goblet, it is a simple metaphor. And similes may also be formed as follows: a flute player resembles an ape; a shortsighted man a spluttering lamp, for both [eyelids and flame] are contracted. They are successful when there is a metaphor; for it is possible to liken a shield to the goblet of Ares and a ruin to the rag of a house; to say that Niceratus is a Philoctetes bitten by Pratys, to use the simile of Thrasymachus, when he saw Niceratus, defeated by Pratys in a rhapsodic competition, still unkempt and dirty.[100] It is in this regard that poets are especially condemned if they fail, and applauded if they succeed. I mean, for instance, when they introduce corresponding terms:

[100] Like Philoctetes on Lemnos after he had been bitten by the snake.

ὥσπερ σέλινον οὖλα τὰ σκέλη φορεῖ,
ὥσπερ Φιλάμμων ζυγομαχῶν τῷ κωρύκῳ.

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντ' εἰκόνες εἰσίν. αἱ δ' εἰκόνες ὅτι μεταφοραί, εἴρηται πολλάκις.

14 Καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι μεταφοραὶ ἀπ' εἴδους ἐπ' εἶδός εἰσιν· οἷον ἄν τις ὡς ἀγαθὸν πεισόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπαγάγηται, εἶτα βλαβῇ, ὡς ὁ Καρπάθιός φασι τὸν λαγώ· ἄμφω γὰρ τὸ εἰρημένον πεπόνθασιν. ὅθεν μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀστεῖα λέγεται καὶ διότι, σχεδὸν εἴρηται τὸ αἴτιον.

15 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ‹αἱ› εὐδοκιμοῦσαι ὑπερβολαὶ μεταφοραί, οἷον εἰς ὑπωπιασμένον "ᾠήθητε δ' ἂν αὐτὸν εἶναι συκαμίνων κάλαθον"· ἐρυθρὸν γάρ τι τὸ ὑπώπιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ σφόδρα. τὸ δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ καὶ τό, ὑπερβολὴ τῇ λέξει διαφέρουσα.

ὥσπερ Φιλάμμων ζυγομαχῶν τῷ κωρύκῳ·

ᾠήθης δ' ἂν αὐτὸν Φιλάμμωνα εἶναι μαχόμενον τῷ κωρύκῳ.

ὥσπερ σέλινον οὖλα τὰ σκέλη φορεῖν·

ᾠήθης δ' ἂν οὐ σκέλη ἀλλὰ σέλινα ἔχειν οὕτως οὖλα.

16 εἰσὶ δὲ ‹αἱ› ὑπερβολαὶ μειρακιώδεις· σφοδρότητα γὰρ δηλοῦσιν. διὸ ὀργιζόμενοι λέγουσι μάλιστα·

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101 An inhabitant of the island of Carpathus introduced a brace of hares, which so multiplied that they devoured all the crops and ruined the farmers.

He carries his legs twisted like parsley,

or again,

Like Philammon struggling with the punching bag.

All such expressions are similes, and similes, as has been often said, are metaphors.

Proverbs also are metaphors from species to species. If a man, for instance, introduces into his house something from which he expects to benefit, but afterward finds himself injured instead, it is like the Carpathian[101] and the hare, as they say, for both have experienced the same misfortunes. This is more or less all that can be said of the sources of smart sayings and the reasons that make them so.

Popular hyperboles are also metaphors. For instance, one may say of a man with a black eye, "you would have thought he was a basket of mulberries," because the black eye is something purple, but the great quantity makes for exaggeration. Again, when one says "like this or that" there is a hyperbole differing only in the wording:

Like Philammon struggling with the punching bag,

or, "you would have thought that he was Philammon fighting the punching bag";

Carrying his legs twisted like parsley,

or, "you would have thought that he had not legs but parsley, so twisted were they." There is something youthful about hyperboles; for they show vehemence. Wherefore those who are in a passion of anger most frequently make use of them:

οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε
. . .
κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρείδαο,
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι,
ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίῃ.[102]

1413 b χρῶνται δὲ μάλιστα τούτῳ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ῥήτορες. διὰ πρεσβυτέρῳ λέγειν ἀπρεπές.

12. Δεῖ δὲ μὴ λεληθέναι ὅτι ἄλλη ἑκάστῳ γένει ἁρμόττει λέξις. οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀγωνιστική, οὐδὲ δημηγορικὴ καὶ δικανική. ἄμφω δὲ ἀνάγκη εἰδέναι· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἑλληνίζειν ἐπίστασθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι κατασιωπᾶν, ἄν τι βούληται μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ
2 μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι γράφειν. ἔστι δὲ λέξις γραφικὴ μὲν ἡ ἀκριβεστάτη, ἀγωνιστικὴ δὲ ἡ ὑποκριτικωτάτη. ταύτης δὲ δύο εἴδη· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἠθικὴ ἡ δὲ παθητική. διὸ καὶ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν δραμάτων διώκουσι, καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τοιούτους. βαστάζονται δὲ οἱ ἀναγνωστικοί, οἷον Χαιρήμων (ἀκριβὴς γὰρ ὥσπερ λογογράφος) καὶ Λικύμνιος τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν. καὶ παραβαλλόμενοι ‹οἱ λόγοι› οἱ μὲν τῶν γραφικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι στενοὶ φαίνονται, οἱ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἰδιωτικοὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἁρμόττει· διὸ καὶ τὰ ὑποκριτικὰ ἀφῃρημένης τῆς ὑποκρίσεως οὐ ποιοῦντα τὸ αὐτῶν ἔργον φαίνεται

[102] Hom. *Il.* 9.385ff., Achilles speaking.
[103] See 2.13 above (1405b6–8).

Not even were he to offer me gifts as many in
number as the sand and dust . . .
but I will not marry a daughter of Agamemnon, son
of Atreus,
not even if she rivaled golden Aphrodite in beauty,
or Athene in accomplishments.[102]

This is why it is unbecoming for elderly people to make use of them.

12. But we must not lose sight of the fact that a different style is suitable to each kind of rhetoric. The style of written compositions is not the same as that of debate, nor in the latter is that of public speaking the same as that of the law courts. But it is necessary to be acquainted with both; for the one requires a knowledge of good Greek, while the other prevents the necessity of keeping silent when we wish to communicate something to others, which happens to those who do not know how to write. The style of written compositions is most precise, that of debate requires the most in delivery. Of the latter there are two kinds, expressing character and expressing emotion; this is why actors are always running after plays of this character, and poets after such actors. Poets whose works are only meant for reading are also appreciated, as Chaeremon, who is as precise as a writer of speeches, and Licymnius[103] among dithyrambic poets. When compared, the speeches of writers appear meager in public debates, while those of the rhetoricians appear amateurish when read. The reason is that they are only suitable to debate; hence things intended for delivery, when acting is absent, do not fulfill their proper function and appear silly. For

εὐήθη, οἷον τά τε ἀσύνδετα καὶ τὸ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ γραφικῇ ὀρθῶς ἀποδοκιμάζεται, ἐν δὲ ἀγωνιστικῇ οὔ, καὶ οἱ ῥήτορες χρῶνται· ἔστι γὰρ
3 ὑποκριτικά. ἀνάγκη δὲ μεταβάλλειν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντας· ὅπερ ὡς προοδοποιεῖ τῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι· "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κλέψας ὑμῶν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξαπατήσας, οὗτος ὁ τὸ ἔσχατον προδοῦναι ἐπιχειρήσας." οἷον καὶ Φιλήμων ὁ ὑποκριτὴς ἐποίει ἔν τε τῇ Ἀναξανδρίδου γεροντομανίᾳ, ὅτε λέγει "Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ Παλαμήδης," καὶ ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ τῶν Εὐσεβῶν τὸ "ἐγώ·" ἐὰν γάρ τις τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ ὑποκρίνηται, γίνεται "ὁ τὴν δοκὸν φέρων."

4 Καὶ τὰ ἀσύνδετα ὡσαύτως· "ἦλθον, ἀπήντησα, ἐδεόμην·" ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὑποκρίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ ὡς ἓν λέγοντα τῷ αὐτῷ ἤθει καὶ τόνῳ εἰπεῖν. ἔτι ἔχει ἴδιόν τι τὰ ἀσύνδετα· ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ χρόνῳ πολλὰ δοκεῖ εἰρῆσθαι· ὁ γὰρ σύνδεσμος ἓν ποιεῖ τὰ πολλά, ὥστ' ἐὰν ἐξαιρεθῇ, δῆλον ὅτι τοὐναντίον ἔσται τὸ ἓν πολλά.
1414 a ἔχει οὖν αὔξησιν· "ἦλθον, διελέχθην, | ἱκέτευσα" (πολλὰ δοκεῖ) "ὑπερεῖδεν ὅσα εἶπον." τοῦτο δὲ βούλεται ποιεῖν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῷ

Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν . . . ,
Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης . . . ,
Νιρεὺς ὃς κάλλιστος . . . .

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104 The meaning of this has not been satisfactorily explained. On the face of it, it seems to mean that the excellence of Phile-

instance, asyndeta and frequent repetition of the same word are rightly disapproved in written speech, but not in debate, and the rhetoricians make use of them, for they lend themselves to acting. (But one must vary the expression when one repeats the same thing, for this as it were paves the way for declamation, as "This is he who robbed you, this is he who deceived you, this is he who at last attempted to betray you." This is what the actor Philemon did in *The Old Man's Folly* of Anaxandrides, when he says "Rhadamanthus and Palamedes," and when he repeats the word "I" in the prologue to *The Pious*.[104] For unless such expressions are varied by action, it is a case of the [proverbial] "man who carries the beam.")

It is the same with asyndeta: "I came, I met, I entreated." For here delivery is needed, and the words should not be pronounced with the same tone and character, as if there were only one clause. Further, asyndeta have a special characteristic, for many things appear to be said at the same time; this is because the connecting words make many things one, so that, if the connection is removed, it is clear that the contrary will be the case, and that the one will become many. Therefore an asyndeton produces amplification: thus, in "I came, I conversed, I besought," (many things, it seems), "he overlooked everything I said." This also is Homer's intention in the passage

> Nireus, again, from Syme . . . ,
> Nireus son of Aglaïa . . . ,
> Nireus, the most beautiful . . . ;[105]

mon's delivery lay in his way of declaiming passages in which the same words were repeated.

[105] Hom. *Il.* 2.671ff.

περὶ οὗ γὰρ πολλὰ εἴρηται, ἀνάγκη καὶ πολλάκις εἰρῆσθαι· εἰ οὖν καὶ πολλάκις, καὶ πολλὰ δοκεῖ, ὥστε ηὔξησεν· ἅπαξ μνησθεὶς διὰ τὸν παραλογισμόν, καὶ μνήμην πεποίηκεν, οὐδαμοῦ ὕστερον αὐτοῦ λόγον ποιησάμενος.

5 Ἡ μὲν οὖν δημηγορικὴ λέξις καὶ παντελῶς ἔοικε τῇ σκιαγραφίᾳ· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλείων ᾖ ὁ ὄχλος, πορρωτέρω ἡ θέα, διὸ τὰ ἀκριβῆ περίεργα καὶ χείρω φαίνεται ἐν ἀμφοτέροις· ἡ δὲ δίκη ἀκριβέστερον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ‹ἐν› ἑνὶ κριτῇ· ἐλάχιστον γάρ ἐστιν ἐν ῥητορικοῖς· εὐσύνοπτον γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ οἰκεῖον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἄπεστιν, ὥστε καθαρὰ ἡ κρίσις. διὸ οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις εὐδοκιμοῦσι ῥήτορες· ἀλλ᾽ ὅπου μάλιστα ὑποκρίσεως, ἐνταῦθα ἥκιστα ἀκρίβεια ἔνι. τοῦτο δέ, ὅπου φωνῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅπου μεγάλης.

6 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιδεικτικὴ λέξις γραφικωτάτη· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγνωσις· δευτέρα δὲ ἡ δικανική. τὸ δὲ προσδιαιρεῖσθαι τὴν λέξιν, ὅτι ἡδεῖαν δεῖ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ, περίεργον· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ σώφρονα καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη ἤθους ἀρετή; τὸ δὲ ἡδεῖαν εἶναι ποιήσει δῆλον ὅτι τὰ εἰρημένα, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ὥρισται ἡ ἀρετὴ τῆς λέξεως· τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα δεῖ σαφῆ καὶ μὴ ταπεινὴν εἶναι ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν; ἄν τε γὰρ ἀδολεσχῇ, οὐ σαφής, οὐδὲ ἂν σύντομος. ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τὸ μέσον ἁρμόττει. καὶ τὸ ἡδεῖαν τὰ εἰρημένα

for one of whom much is said must be mentioned many times; if then the name is often mentioned, it seems as if much has been said; so that, by means of this fallacy, Homer has increased the reputation of Nireus, though he only mentions him in one passage; he has perpetuated his memory, although he never speaks of him again.

The style of public speaking is very much like shadow painting,[106] for the greater the crowd, the further off is the point of view; thus in both too much detail is superfluous and gives a worse impression. But a court case requires more precision, and even more so before a single judge, because there is least opportunity of employing rhetorical devices, for it is easier to see what belongs to the subject and what is foreign to it, and there is no debate, so the judgment is clear. This is why the same orators do not excel in all these styles; where action is most effective, there the style is least precise, and this is the case where voice, especially a loud one, is needed.

The epideictic style is especially suited to written compositions, for its function is reading; and next to it comes the forensic style. It is superfluous to make the further distinction that style should be pleasant or magnificent. Why so, any more than temperate, liberal, or any other virtue of character? It is evident that if virtue of style has been correctly defined, what we have mentioned will suffice to make it pleasant. For why need it be clear, not mean, but appropriate? Since if it is too diffuse or too concise, it will not be clear; but it is plain that the mean is most suitable. The things we have mentioned will make

[106] Intended to produce the effect of finished work at a distance before a large number of spectators.

ποιήσει, ἂν εὖ μιχθῇ, τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ ξενικόν, καὶ ὁ ῥυθμός, καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρέποντος. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως εἴρηται, καὶ κοινῇ περὶ ἁπάντων καὶ ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἕκαστον γένος· λοιπὸν δὲ περὶ τάξεως εἰπεῖν.

13. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύο μέρη· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ τό τε πρᾶγμα εἰπεῖν περὶ οὗ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀποδεῖξαι. διὸ εἰπόντα μὴ ἀποδεῖξαι ἢ ἀποδεῖξαι μὴ προειπόντα ἀδύνατον· ὅ τε γὰρ ἀποδεικνύων τι ἀποδείκνυσι, καὶ
2 ὁ προλέγων ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι προλέγει. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόθεσίς ἐστι τὸ δὲ πίστις, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις
3 διέλοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρόβλημα τὸ δὲ ἀπόδειξις. νῦν δὲ διαιροῦσι γελοίως· διήγησις γάρ που τοῦ δικανικοῦ μόνου λόγου ἐστίν, ἐπιδεικτικοῦ δὲ καὶ δημηγορικοῦ πῶς ἐνδέχεται εἶναι διήγησιν οἵαν λέγουσιν, ἢ τὰ
1414 b πρὸς τὸν | ἀντίδικον, ἢ ἐπίλογον τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν; προοίμιον δὲ καὶ ἀντιπαραβολὴ καὶ ἐπάνοδος ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις τότε γίνεται, ὅταν ἀντιλογία ᾖ, καὶ γὰρ ἡ κατηγορία καὶ ἡ ἀπολογία πολλάκις· ἀλλ' οὐχ ᾗ συμβουλή. ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπίλογος ἔτι οὐδὲ δικανικοῦ παντός, οἷον ἐὰν μικρὸς ὁ λόγος, ἢ τὸ πρᾶγμα εὐμνημόνευτον· συμβαίνει γὰρ τοῦ μήκους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

4 Ἀναγκαῖα ἄρα μόρια πρόθεσις καὶ πίστις. ἴδια μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα προοίμιον πρόθεσις πίστις ἐπίλογος· τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἀντίδικον τῶν πίστεών ἐστι, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπαραβολὴ αὔξησις τῶν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε

the style pleasant, if it contains a happy mixture of proper and unfamiliar words, of rhythm, and of persuasiveness resulting from appropriateness. This finishes what we had to say about style; of all the three kinds of rhetoric in general, and of each of them in particular. It remains to speak of arrangement.

13. A speech has two parts. It is necessary to state what is the matter at issue and to prove it. One cannot make a statement and then not prove it, or prove it without first putting it forward; for both he who proves proves something, and he who puts something forward does so in order to prove it. The first of these parts is the statement of the case, the second the proof, just as if one were distinguishing the problem from the demonstration. But the division now generally made is absurd; for narrative surely belongs only to forensic speech, but in an epideictic or public speech how is it possible that there should be narrative as they describe it, or replies to the opponent, or an epilogue to a proof? Introduction, comparison of conflicting arguments, and recapitulation occur in public speeches when there is a conflict of opinion, for both accusation and defense are also often found there, but not insofar as there is deliberation. And further, the epilogue does not even belong to every forensic speech, for instance when it is short, or the matter is easy to recollect; for the effect of an epilogue is a shortening of the argument.

So then the necessary parts of a speech are the statement of the case and proof. These properly belong to every speech, and at the most the parts are four in number—introduction, statement, proof, epilogue; for the replies to an opponent are part of the supporting arguments, and comparison of opposing cases is an amplification of one's

μέρος τι τῶν πίστεων· ἀποδείκνυσι γάρ τι ὁ ποιῶν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ προοίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ ἐπίλογος, ἀλλ'
5 ἀναμιμνήσκει. ἔσται οὖν, ἄν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα διαιρῇ, ὅπερ ἐποίουν οἱ περὶ Θεόδωρον, διήγησις ἕτερον καὶ ἐπιδιήγησις καὶ προδιήγησις καὶ ἔλεγχος καὶ ἐπεξέλεγχος. δεῖ δὲ εἶδός τι λέγοντα καὶ διαφορὰν ὄνομα τίθεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μή, γίνεται κενὸν καὶ ληρῶδες, οἷον Λικύμνιος ποιεῖ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ, ἐπούρωσιν ὀνομάζων καὶ ἀποπλάνησιν καὶ ὄζους.

14. Τὸ μὲν οὖν προοίμιόν ἐστιν ἀρχὴ λόγου, ὅπερ ἐν ποιήσει πρόλογος καὶ ἐν αὐλήσει προαύλιον· πάντα γὰρ ἀρχαὶ ταῦτ' εἰσί, καὶ οἷον ὁδοποίησις τῷ ἐπιόντι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προαύλιον ὅμοιον τῷ τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν προοιμίῳ· καὶ γὰρ οἱ αὐληταί, ὅ τι ἂν εὖ ἔχωσιν αὐλῆσαι, τοῦτο προαυλήσαντες συνῆψαν τῷ ἐνδοσίμῳ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς λόγοις δεῖ οὕτω γράφειν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν βούληται εὐθὺ εἰπόντα ἐνδοῦναι καὶ συνάψαι, ὅπερ πάντες ποιοῦσιν. παράδειγμα τὸ τῆς Ἰσοκράτους Ἑλένης προοίμιον· οὐθὲν γὰρ κοινὸν ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς καὶ Ἑλένῃ. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐὰν ἐκτοπίσῃ, ἁρμόττει μὴ ὅλον τὸν λόγον ὁμοειδῆ εἶναι.
2 Λέγεται δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν προοίμια ἐξ ἐπαίνου ἢ ψόγου· οἷον Γοργίας μὲν ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ λόγῳ "ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἄξιοι θαυμάζεσθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες"

own case, and therefore also part of the arguments; for he who does this proves something, whereas the introduction does not, and the epilogue is merely an aid to memory. Therefore, if we adopt all such divisions, as did the followers of Theodorus,[107] we will distinguish narrative, additional narrative, and preliminary narrative, refutation and additional refutation. But one must only adopt a name to express a distinct species or a real difference; otherwise, it becomes empty and silly, like the terms introduced by Licymnius in his "Art," where he speaks of "wafting along," "wandering from the subject," and "ramifications."

14. The preamble is the beginning of a speech, as the prologue in poetry and the prelude in flute playing; for all these are beginnings, and as it were a paving the way for what follows. The prelude resembles the introduction of epideictic speeches; for as flute players begin by playing whatever they can execute skillfully and attach it to the keynote, so also in epideictic speeches should be the composition of the introduction; the speaker should say at once whatever he likes best, give the keynote, and then attach the main subject. And all do this, an example being the preamble of the *Helen* of Isocrates; for the eristics and Helen have nothing in common. At the same time, even if the speaker wanders from the point, it is appropriate that the whole speech should not be monotonous.

In epideictic speeches, the sources of the preambles are praise and blame, as when Gorgias, in the *Olympic Speech*, says, "Men of Greece, you are worthy to be ad-

[107] Pl. *Phdr.* 266d, where the additional kinds of narrative are omitted, and their place taken by πίστωσις and ἐπιπίστωσις (confirmation of the proof).

ἐπαινεῖ γὰρ τοὺς τὰς πανηγύρεις συνάγοντας· Ἰσοκράτης δὲ ψέγει, ὅτι τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ἀρετὰς δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησαν, τοῖς δ' εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐθὲν ἆθλον
3 ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἀπὸ συμβουλῆς, οἷον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστείδην ἐπαινεῖ, ἢ τοὺς τοιούτους οἳ μήτε εὐδοκιμοῦσι μήτε φαῦλοι, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες ἄδηλοι, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου·
4 οὗτος | γὰρ συμβουλεύει. ἔτι δ' ἐκ τῶν δικανικῶν προ-
1415 a οιμίων· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν, εἰ περὶ παραδόξου λόγος ἢ περὶ χαλεποῦ ἢ περὶ τεθρυλημένου πολλοῖς, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχειν, οἷον Χοιρίλος

νῦν δ' ὅτε πάντα δέδασται.

τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν λόγων προοίμια ἐκ τούτων, ἐξ ἐπαίνου, ἐκ ψόγου, ἐκ προτροπῆς, ἐξ ἀποτροπῆς, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν· δεῖ δὲ ἢ ξένα ἢ οἰκεῖα εἶναι τὰ ἐνδόσιμα τῷ λόγῳ.

5 Τὰ δὲ τοῦ δικανικοῦ προοίμια δεῖ λαβεῖν ὅτι ταὐτὸ δύναται ὅπερ τῶν δραμάτων οἱ πρόλογοι καὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ προοίμια· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν διθυράμβων ὅμοια τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς·

διὰ σὲ καὶ τεὰ δῶρα †εἶτα σκύλλα†.

6 ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἔπεσι δεῖγμά ἐστι τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα προειδῶσι περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος καὶ μὴ κρέμηται ἡ διάνοια· τὸ γὰρ ἀόριστον πλανᾷ· ὁ δοὺς οὖν ὥσπερ

mired by many," praising those who instituted the solemn assemblies. Isocrates on the other hand blames them because they rewarded physical excellences, but instituted no prize for men of wisdom. Introductions may also be derived from advice, for instance, that one should honor the good, and so the speaker praises Aristides; or such as are neither famous nor worthless, but who, although they are good, remain obscure, as Alexander, son of Priam; for this speaker offers advice. Again, they may be derived from forensic introductions, that is to say from appeals to the listener, if the subject treated is paradoxical, difficult, or commonly known, in order to obtain indulgence, like Choerilus:[108]

Now that all has been allotted . . .

These then are the sources of epideictic preambles—praise, blame, exhortation, dissuasion, appeals to the listener. And these[109] must be either unconnected or intimately connected with the speech.

As for the introductions of the forensic speech, it must be noted that they produce the same effect as dramatic prologues and epic introductions (for those of dithyrambs resemble the epideictic ones):

For you and your presents . . .[110]

But in those speeches and in epic poems the introductions provide a sample of the story, so that the listeners may know beforehand what it is about, and that the mind may not be kept in suspense, for what is indeterminate leads

[108] *SH* fr. 317.3. [109] ἐνδόσιμα, here = προοίμια.
[110] Timotheus *PMG* fr. 794. The text is uncertain here.

εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖ ἐχόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ. διὰ τοῦτο

μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά,

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε μοῦσα,

ἤγεό μοι λόγον ἄλλον, ὅπως Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίης
ἦλθεν ἐς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας.

καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ δηλοῦσι περὶ ‹οὗ› τὸ δρᾶμα, κἂν μὴ εὐθὺς ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ που. ὥσπερ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς

ἐμοὶ πατὴρ ἦν Πόλυβος.

καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία ὡσαύτως. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον τοῦ προοιμίου καὶ ἴδιον τοῦτο, δηλῶσαι τί ἐστι τὸ τέλος οὗ ἕνεκα ὁ λόγος. διόπερ ἂν δῆλον ᾖ καὶ
7 μικρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ χρηστέον προοιμίῳ. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἴδη οἷς χρῶνται, ἰατρεύματα καὶ κοινά. λέγεται δὲ ταῦτα ἔκ τε τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου. περὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν καὶ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου, ὅσα περὶ διαβολὴν λῦσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως· ἀπολογουμένῳ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τὰ πρὸς διαβολήν, κατηγοροῦντι δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ. δι' ὃ δέ, οὐκ ἄδηλον· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενον, ὅταν μέλλῃ εἰσάξειν αὐτόν, ἀναγκαῖον ἀνελεῖν τὰ κωλύ-

astray; so then he who puts the beginning, so to speak, into the listener's hand enables him, if he holds fast to it, to follow the story. Hence the following:

> Sing, goddess of song, the wrath . . .[111]

> Tell me, Muse, of the man . . .[112]

> Bring me another tale, of how from the land of Asia
> came to Europe a war so great . . .[113]

Similarly, tragic poets make clear the subject of their drama, if not at the outset, like Euripides, at least somewhere in the prologue, like Sophocles,

> My father was Polybus.[114]

It is the same in comedy. So then the most essential and special function of the introduction is to make clear what is the aim of the speech; and so it should not be employed if the subject is quite clear or unimportant. All the other forms of introduction in use are remedies, and common to all three branches of rhetoric. These are derived from the speaker, the listener, the subject, and the opponent. From the speaker and the opponent, all that helps to destroy or create prejudice. But this must not be done in the same way; for the defendant must deal with this at the beginning, the accuser in the epilogue. The reason is not hard to see, for the defendant, when about to introduce himself, must remove any obstacles, so that he must first

[113] From Choerilus, *SH* fr. 316.2.
[114] Soph. *OT* 774. But this can hardly be called the prologue.

οντα, ὥστε λυτέον πρῶτον τὴν διαβολήν· τῷ δὲ διαβάλλοντι ἐν τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ διαβλητέον, ἵνα μνημονεύσωσι μᾶλλον.

Τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἔκ τε τοῦ εὔνουν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐνίοτε προσεκτικὸν ἢ τοὐναντίον· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ συμφέρει ποιεῖν προσεκτικόν, διὸ πολλοὶ εἰς γέλωτα πειρῶνται προάγειν. εἰς δὲ εὐμάθειαν ἅπαντα ἀνάξει, ἐάν τις βούληται, καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικῆ φαίνεσθαι· προσέχουσι
1415 b | γὰρ μᾶλλον τούτοις. προσεκτικοὶ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις, τοῖς ἰδίοις, τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς, τοῖς ἡδέσιν· διὸ δεῖ ἐμποιεῖν ὡς περὶ τοιούτων ὁ λόγος. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ προσεκτικούς, ὅτι μικρόν, ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνους, ὅτι λυπηρόν.

8 Δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι πάντα ἔξω τοῦ λόγου τὰ τοιαῦτα· πρὸς φαῦλον γὰρ ἀκροατὴν καὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος ἀκούοντα, ἐπεὶ ἂν μὴ τοιοῦτος ᾖ, οὐθὲν δεῖ προοιμίου, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅσον τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰπεῖν κεφα-
9 λαιωδῶς, ἵνα ἔχῃ ὥσπερ σῶμα κεφαλήν. ἔτι τὸ προσεκτικοὺς ποιεῖν πάντων τῶν μερῶν κοινόν, ἐὰν δέῃ· πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἀνιᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρχόμενοι. διὸ γελοῖον ἐν ἀρχῇ τάττειν, ὅτε μάλιστα πάντες προσέχοντες ἀκροῶνται. ὥστε ὅπου ἂν ᾖ καιρός, λεκτέον "καί μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐμὸν ἢ ὑμέτερον" καὶ "ἐρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οἷον οὐδεπώποτε ἀκη-

115 Kassel deletes the words "or the opposite" (ἢ τοὐναντίον), found in all the MSS; I have followed Kennedy in keeping them.

clear away all prejudice; but the accuser must place his accusation in the epilogue, so that his listeners may have a better recollection of it.

The appeal to the listener aims at making him well disposed, and sometimes to engage his attention or the opposite;[115] for it is not always expedient to engage his attention, which is the reason why many speakers try to make their listeners laugh. As for rendering the listeners receptive, everything will lead up to it if a person wishes, including the appearance of respectability, because respectable persons command more attention. Listeners pay attention to things that are important, that concern their own interest, that are astonishing, that are agreeable; and so one should put the idea into their heads that the speech deals with such subjects. To make his listeners inattentive, the speaker must persuade them that the matter is unimportant, that it does not concern them, or that it is painful.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that all such things are outside the argument, for they are only addressed to a listener whose judgment is poor and who is ready to listen to what is outside the subject; for if he is not a man of this kind, there is no need of an introduction, except just to make a summary statement of the subject, so that, like a body, the speech may have a head. Further, engaging the listeners' attention is common to all parts of the speech, if necessary; for attention slackens everywhere else rather than at the beginning. Accordingly, it is ridiculous to put this at the beginning, at a time when all listen with the greatest attention. And so, when the occasion arises, one must say, "And give me *your* attention, for it concerns you as much as myself"; and, "I will tell you a thing so terrible, the like of which you have never heard,"

κόατε δεινόν" ἢ οὕτω θαυμαστόν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἔφη Πρόδικος, ὅτε νυστάζοιεν οἱ ἀκροαταί,
10 παρεμβάλλειν τῆς πεντηκονταδράχμου αὐτοῖς. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατὴν οὐχ ᾗπερ ἀκροατής, δῆλον· πάντες γὰρ ἢ διαβάλλουσιν ἢ ἀπολύονται ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις.

ἄναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως σπουδῆς ὕπο.

τί φροιμιάζῃ;

καὶ οἱ πονηρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχοντες ἢ δοκοῦντες· πανταχοῦ γὰρ βέλτιον διατρίβειν ἢ ἐν τῷ πράγματι. διὸ οἱ δοῦλοι οὐ τὰ ἐρωτώμενα λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τὰ κύκλῳ,
11 καὶ προοιμιάζονται. πόθεν δ' εὔνους δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἴρηται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων. ἐπεὶ δ' εὖ λέγεται

δός μ' ἐς Φαίηκας φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν,

τούτων δεῖ δύο στοχάζεσθαι.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς οἴεσθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν συνεπαινεῖσθαι τὸν ἀκροατήν, ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ γένος ἢ ἐπιτηδεύματ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ἁμῶς γέ πως· ὃ γὰρ λέγει Σωκράτης ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν ἀλλ' ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις.

12 Τὰ δὲ τοῦ δημηγορικοῦ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ δικανικοῦ λόγου ἐστίν, φύσει δ' ἥκιστα ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ οὗ

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116 Soph. Ant. 223. 117 Eur. IT 1162.

or "so marvelous." This is, as Prodicus said, to throw in a dash of the fifty-drachma lecture when the listeners begin to nod. (It is clear that one does not speak thus to the listener *qua* listener; for all speakers endeavor either to arouse or to remove prejudice in their introductions.)

My lord, I will not mention how with haste . . .[116]

Why this preamble?[117]

This is what those also do who have, or seem to have, a bad case; for it is better to lay stress upon anything rather than the case itself. That is why slaves do not answer questions directly but go all round them, and indulge in preambles. We have already said[118] how the listener's goodwill is to be secured and all other similar states of mind. And since it is well said,

Grant that on reaching the Phaeacians I may find
friendship or compassion,[119]

the orator should aim at exciting these two things.

In epideictic introductions, one must make the listener believe that he shares the praise, either himself, or his family, or his pursuits, or at any rate in some way or other. For it is true, as Socrates says in his funeral oration, that it is easy to praise Athenians among the Athenians, but not among the Spartans.[120]

Public oratory borrows its introductions from forensic, but naturally they are very uncommon in it. For in fact the

[118] 2.1.7–8.
[119] Hom. *Od.* 7.327.
[120] Pl. *Menex.* 235d; cf. 1.9.30 (1367b8).

ἴσασι, καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα προοιμίου, ἀλλ' ἢ δι' αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας, ἢ ἐὰν μὴ ἡλίκον βούλει ὑπολαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ μεῖζον ἢ ἔλαττον. διὰ ἢ διαβάλλειν ἢ ἀπολύεσθαι ἀνάγκη, καὶ ἢ αὐξῆσαι ἢ μειῶσαι. τούτων δὲ ἕνεκα προοιμίου δεῖται, ἢ κό-
1416 a σμου χάριν, ὡς αὐτοκάβδαλα | φαίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ Γορίου ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἠλείους· οὐδὲν γὰρ προεξαγκωνίσας οὐδὲ προανακινήσας εὐθὺς ἄρχεται "Ἦλις πόλις εὐδαίμων."

15. Περὶ δὲ διαβολῆς ἓν μὲν τὸ ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις ὑπόληψιν δυσχερῆ ἀπολύσαιτο· οὐθὲν γὰρ διαφέρει εἴτε
2 εἰπόντος τινὸς εἴτε μή, ὥστε τοῦτο καθόλου. ἄλλος τόπος ὥστε πρὸς τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα ἀπαντᾶν, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ βλαβερόν, ἢ οὐ τούτῳ, ἢ ὡς οὐ τηλικοῦτον ἢ οὐκ ἄδικον ἢ οὐ μέγα ἢ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἢ οὐκ ἔχον μέγεθος· περὶ γὰρ τοιούτων ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ὥσπερ Ἰφικράτης πρὸς Ναυσικράτην· ἔφη γὰρ ποιῆσαι ὃ ἔλεγε καὶ βλάψαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικεῖν. ἢ ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ βλαβερὸν ἀλλ' οὖν καλόν, εἰ λυπηρὸν ἀλλ' ὠφέλιμον ἤ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον.

3 Ἄλλος τόπος ὡς ἐστὶν ἁμάρτημα ἢ ἀτύχημα ἢ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη τρέμειν οὐχ ὡς ὁ διαβάλλων ἔφη, ἵνα δοκῇ γέρων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης· οὐ

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[121] Gorgias: fr. 82 B10 DK.

listeners are acquainted with the subject, so that the case needs no introduction, except for the orator's own sake, or on account of his adversaries, or if the listeners attach more or less importance to the question than he would like. Wherefore he must either excite or remove prejudice, and magnify or minimize the importance of the subject. Such are the reasons for introductions; or else they merely serve the purpose of ornament, since their absence makes the speech appear offhand. For such is the encomium on the Eleans, in which Gorgias, without any preliminary sparring or warming up, starts off at once, "Elis, happy city."[121]

15. One way of removing prejudice is to make use of the arguments by which one may clear oneself from disagreeable suspicion; for it makes no difference whether this suspicion has been openly expressed or not; and so this may be taken as a general rule. Another topic consists in contesting the disputed points, either by denying the fact or its harmfulness, at least to the plaintiff; or by asserting that its importance is exaggerated; or that it is not unjust at all, or only slightly so; or neither disgraceful nor important. These are the sorts of points of dispute: as Iphicrates, in answer to Nausicrates, admitted that he had done what the accuser alleged and inflicted damage, but not that he had done him wrong. Again, one may strike the balance, when guilty of wrongdoing, by maintaining that the action was injurious, but it was still honorable, painful but useful, or something else of the kind.

Another topic consists in saying that it was a case of error, misfortune, or necessity; as, for example, Sophocles said that he trembled, not, as the accuser said, in order to appear old, but from necessity, for it was not by his own

γὰρ ἑκόντι εἶναι αὐτῷ ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα, ὅτι οὐ βλάψαι ἐβούλετο, ἀλλὰ τόδε, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ὃ διεβάλλετο ποιῆσαι, συνέβη δὲ βλαβῆναι· "δίκαιον δὲ μισεῖν, εἰ ὅπως τοῦτο γένηται ἐποίουν."

4 Ἄλλος, εἰ ἐμπεριείληπται ὁ διαβάλλων, ἢ νῦν ἢ
5 πρότερον, ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐγγύς. ἄλλος, εἰ ἄλλοι ἐμπεριλαμβάνονται, οὓς ὁμολογοῦσι μὴ ἐνόχους εἶναι τῇ διαβολῇ, οἷον εἰ ὅτι καθάριος μοιχός, καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἄρα.

6 Ἄλλος, εἰ ἄλλους διέβαλεν, ἢ ἄλλος ‹ἢ› αὐτός, ἢ ἄνευ διαβολῆς ὑπελαμβάνοντο ὥσπερ αὐτὸς νῦν, οἱ πεφήνασιν οὐκ ἔνοχοι.

7 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιδιαβάλλειν τὸν διαβάλλοντα· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ ὃς αὐτὸς ἄπιστος, οἱ τούτου λόγοι ἔσονται πιστοί.

8 Ἄλλος, εἰ γέγονε κρίσις, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει κατηγοροῦντα ὡς ἀσεβής, ὅς γ' ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιορκεῖν

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἀγῶνος κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄγοντα· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῶν δεδωκέναι λόγον ἢ δώσειν, εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν.

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122 When a citizen was called on to perform a "liturgy" or public service (e.g., the equipment of a chorus), if he thought that one richer than himself had been passed over he could summon him and compel him to exchange properties.

wish that he was eighty years of age. One may also substitute one motive for another, and say that one did not mean to injure but to do something else, not that of which one was accused, and that the injury was accidental: "I should deserve your hatred, had I acted so as to bring this about."

Another method may be employed if the accuser, either himself or one closely related to him has been involved in a similar charge, either now or formerly; or if others are involved who are admittedly not exposed to the charge, for instance if it is argued that so-and-so is an adulterer, because he is a dandy, then so-and-so must be.

Again, if the accuser himself or someone else has already similarly accused others, or if others, without being formally accused, have been suspected as you are now, and have been shown to be innocent.

Another method consists in counterattacking the accuser; for it would be odd to believe the words of one who is himself unworthy of belief.

Another method is to appeal to a verdict already given, as Euripides did in the case about the exchange of property;[122] when Hygiaenon accused him of impiety as having advised perjury in the verse,

My tongue hath sworn, but my mind is unsworn,

Euripides replied that his accuser did wrong in transferring the decisions of the court of Dionysus to the law courts; for he had already rendered an account of what he had said there,[123] or was still ready to do so, if his adversary desired to accuse him.

[123] In the great Theater of Dionysus.

9 Ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ διαβολῆς κατηγορεῖν, ἡλίκον, καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἄλλας κρίσεις ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πιστεύει τῷ πράγματι.

1416 b Κοινὸς δ' ἀμφοῖν ὁ τόπος τὸ σύμβολα λέγειν, οἷον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρῳ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὅτι οἰκεῖος τῷ Πριάμῳ· ἡ γὰρ Ἡσιόνη ἀδελφή· ὁ δὲ ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ἐχθρὸς τῷ Πριάμῳ, ὁ Τελαμών, καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατεῖπε τῶν κατασκόπων.

10 Ἄλλος τῷ διαβάλλοντι, τὸ ἐπαινοῦντι μικρὸν μακρῶς ψέξαι μέγα συντόμως, ἢ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ προθέντα, ὃ εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα προφέρει ἓν ψέξαι. τοιοῦτοι δὲ οἱ τεχνικώτατοι καὶ ἀδικώτατοι· τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς γὰρ βλάπτειν πειρῶνται, μιγνύντες αὐτὰ τῷ κακῷ.

Κοινὸν δὲ τῷ διαβάλλοντι καὶ τῷ ἀπολυομένῳ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνδέχεται πλειόνων ἕνεκα πραχθῆναι, τῷ μὲν διαβάλλοντι κακοηθιστέον ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐκλαμβάνοντι, τῷ δὲ ἀπολυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον· οἷον ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης τὸν Ὀδυσσέα προείλετο, τῷ μὲν ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἄριστον ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, τῷ δ' ὅτι οὔ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μόνον μὴ ἀνταγωνιστεῖν ὡς φαῦλον. καὶ περὶ μὲν διαβολῆς εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

16. Διήγησις δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὰς πράξεις διελθεῖν ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος· σύγκειται γὰρ ἔχων ὁ λόγος τὸ μὲν ἄτεχνον (οὐθὲν γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ λέγων τῶν πρά-

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124 Of Sophocles.

Another method consists in attacking slander, showing how great an evil it is, and this because it alters judgments, and that it does not rely on the real facts of the case.

Common to both parties is the topic of tokens, as in the *Teucer*[124] Odysseus reproaches Teucer with being a relative of Priam, since his mother Hesione was Priam's sister; to which Teucer replied that his father Telamon was the enemy of Priam, and that he himself did not denounce the spies.

Another method suitable for the accuser is to praise something unimportant at great length, and to condemn something important concisely; or, putting forward several things that are praiseworthy in the opponent, to condemn the one thing that has an important bearing upon the case. Such accusers are the most artful and unfair; for they endeavor to make what is good in a man injurious to him, by mixing it up with what is bad.

Another method is common to both accuser and defender. Since the same thing may have been done from several motives, the accuser must disparage it by taking it in the worse sense, while the defender must take it in the better sense. For instance, that Diomedes chose Odysseus for his companion, one speaker may say, because he considered him to be the bravest of men, the other, because Odysseus was the only man who was no possible rival for him, since he was an utter coward. Let this suffice for the question of prejudice.

16. In the epideictic style the narrative is not consecutive, but part by part; for it is necessary to go through the actions that form the subject of the speech. For the speech is made up of one part that is not technical (the speaker being in no way the author of the actions which he relates)

ξεων) τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς τέχνης· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἢ ὅτι ἔστι δεῖξαι, ἐὰν ᾖ ἄπιστον, ἢ ὅτι ποιόν, ἢ ὅτι ποσόν, ἢ καὶ
2 ἅπαντα. διὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἐφεξῆς δεῖ διηγεῖσθαι πάντα, ὅτι δυσμνημόνευτον τὸ δεικνύναι οὕτως. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνδρεῖος, ἐκ δὲ τῶνδε σοφὸς ἢ δίκαιος. καὶ ἁπλούστερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ποικίλος
3 καὶ οὐ λιτός. δεῖ δὲ τὰς μὲν γνωρίμους ἀναμιμνήσκειν· διὸ οἱ πολλοὶ οὐδὲν δέονται διηγήσεως, οἷον εἰ θέλεις Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαινεῖν· ἴσασι γὰρ πάντες τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς δεῖ. ἐὰν δὲ Κριτίαν, δεῖ·
4 οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἴσασιν. . . .

νῦν δὲ γελοίως τὴν διήγησίν φασι δεῖν εἶναι ταχεῖαν. καίτοι ὥσπερ ὁ τῷ μάττοντι ἐρομένῳ πότερον σκληρὰν ἢ μαλακὴν μάξῃ, "τί δ';" ἔφη, "εὖ ἀδύνατον;" καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁμοίως· δεῖ γὰρ μὴ μακρῶς διηγεῖσθαι ὥσπερ οὐδὲ προοιμιάζεσθαι μακρῶς, οὐδὲ τὰς πίστεις λέγειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι τὸ εὖ τὸ ταχὺ ἢ τὸ συντόμως, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετρίως· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν ὅσα δηλώσει τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ ὅσα ποιήσει ὑπο-
1417 a λαβεῖν | γεγονέναι ἢ βεβλαφέναι ἢ ἠδικηκέναι, ἢ τη-
5 λικαῦτα ἡλίκα βούλει· τῷ δὲ ἐναντίῳ τὰ ἐναντία. παραδιηγεῖσθαι δὲ ὅσα εἰς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν φέρει, οἷον "ἐγὼ δ' ἐνουθέτουν ἀεὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγων, μὴ τὰ

[125] Something has been lost here, as is shown by the transition from epideictic to forensic rhetoric. All the MSS have a gap, which in several of them is filled by introducing the passage ἔστι δ' ἔπαινος . . . μετατεθῇ from 1.9.33–37 (1367b26–68a10).

and of another that does depend upon art. The latter consists in showing that the action did take place, if it is hard to believe, or that it is of a certain kind, or of a certain importance, or all three together. This is why it is sometimes right not to narrate all the facts consecutively, because a presentation of this kind is difficult to remember. From some facts a man may be shown to be courageous, from others wise or just. Besides, a speech of this kind is simpler, whereas the other is intricate and not plain. It is only necessary to recall famous actions; and so most people have no need of narrative, for instance if you wish to praise Achilles, for everybody knows what he did and one need only to make use of it. But if you wish to praise Critias, narrative is necessary, for not many people know what he did . . .[125]

But in the present day it is absurdly laid down that the narrative should be rapid. And yet, as the man said to the baker when he asked whether he was to knead bread hard or soft, "What? Is it impossible to knead it well?" so it is in this case; for the narrative must not be long, nor the preamble, nor the proofs either. For in this case too, speaking well does not consist either in rapidity or conciseness but in due measure; that is, one must say all that will make the facts clear, or create the belief that they have happened or have done injury or wrong, or that they are as important as you wish to make them. The opposite party must do the opposite. And you should incidentally narrate anything that tends to show your own virtue, for instance "I always recommended him to act rightly, not to forsake

τέκνα ἐγκαταλείπειν," ἢ θατέρου κακίαν· "ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατό μοι ὅτι οὗ ἂν ᾖ αὐτός, ἔσται ἄλλα παιδία" ὃ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους Αἰγυπτίους ἀποκρίνασθαί φησιν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος. ἢ ὅσα ἡδέα τοῖς δικασταῖς.

6 Ἀπολογουμένῳ δὲ ἐλάττων ἡ διήγησις, αἱ δ' ἀμφισβητήσεις ἢ μὴ γεγονέναι ἢ μὴ βλαβερὸν εἶναι ἢ μὴ ἄδικον ἢ μὴ τηλικοῦτον, ὥστε περὶ τὸ ὁμολογούμενον οὐ διατριπτέον, ἐὰν μή τι εἰς ἐκεῖνο συντείνῃ,
7 οἷον εἰ πέπρακται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄδικον. ἔτι πεπραγμένα δεῖ λέγειν, ὅσα μὴ πραττόμενα ἢ οἶκτον ἢ δείνωσιν φέρει. παράδειγμα ὁ Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐν ἑξήκοντα ἔπεσι πεποίηται. καὶ ὡς Φάϋλλος τὸν κύκλον, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Οἰνεῖ πρόλογος.

8 Ἠθικὴν δὲ χρὴ τὴν διήγησιν εἶναι. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν εἰδῶμεν τί ἦθος ποιεῖ· ἓν μὲν δὴ τὸ προαίρεσιν δηλοῦν, ποιὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος τῷ ποιὰν ταύτην· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις ποιὰ τῷ τέλει. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ λόγοι ἤθη, ὅτι οὐδὲ προαίρεσιν· τὸ γὰρ οὗ ἕνεκα οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ Σωκρατικοί· [περὶ τοιούτων
9 γὰρ λέγουσιν.] ἄλλα ἠθικὰ τὰ ἑπόμενα ἑκάστῳ ἤθει, οἷον ὅτι ἅμα λέγων ἐβάδιζεν· δηλοῖ γὰρ θρασύτητα καὶ ἀγροικίαν ἤθους. καὶ μὴ ὡς ἀπὸ διανοίας λέγειν, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως. "ἐγὼ δ'

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126 Hom. *Od.* 23.264–84, 310–43. The "story told to Alcinous" was the narrative in *Odyssey* 9–12, which became proverbial for a long-winded story. 127 He apparently summarized it.

128 Of Euripides. It was apparently very compact.

his children;" or the wickedness of your opponent, for instance "but he answered that, wherever he might be, there would always be other children," an answer attributed by Herodotus to the Egyptian rebels; or anything that is likely to please the judges.

In defense, the narrative need not be so long; for the points at issue are either that the fact has not happened or that it was neither injurious nor wrong nor so important as asserted, so that one should not waste time over what all are agreed upon, unless anything tends to show that, admitting the act, it is not wrong. Again, one should only mention such past things as are not likely to excite pity or indignation if described as actually happening. An example is the story told to Alcinous, because in the presence of Penelope it is reduced to sixty lines,[126] and the way in which Phaÿllus dealt with the epic cycle,[127] and the prologue to the *Oeneus*.[128]

And the narrative should show the agents' character, and in fact it will do so if we know what effects this. One thing is to reveal a person's plan; for the kind of character corresponds to the kind of plan, and the plan depends on its aim. For this reason mathematical treatises have no character, because neither do they have a plan, for they do not aim at an end. But the Socratic dialogues do show character. Other indications of character are the accompanying peculiarities of each individual character; for instance "He was talking and walking at the same time," which indicates effrontery and rudeness. Nor should we speak as if from the intellect, after the manner of present-day orators, but from deliberate choice: "But I wished it,

ἐβουλόμην· καὶ προειλόμην γὰρ τοῦτο· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ὠνήμην, βέλτιον." τὸ μὲν γὰρ φρονίμου τὸ δὲ ἀγαθοῦ· φρονίμου μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τὸ ὠφέλιμον διώκειν, ἀγαθοῦ δ' ἐν τῷ τὸ καλόν. ἂν δ' ἄπιστον ᾖ, τότε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιλέγειν, ὥσπερ Σοφοκλῆς ποιεῖ· παράδειγμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης, ὅτι μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐκήδετο ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τέκνων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι ἀπολόμενα,

μητρὸς δ' ἐν ᾄδου καὶ πατρὸς βεβηκότων
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅς τις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ἄπιστα λέγων, ἀλλὰ φύσει τοιοῦτος εἶ· ἀπιστοῦσι γὰρ ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἑκόντα πλὴν τὸ συμφέρον.

10 Ἔτι ἐκ τῶν παθητικῶν λέγε, διηγούμενος καὶ τὰ ἑπόμενα καὶ ἃ ἴσασι, καὶ τὰ ἰδίᾳ ἢ ἑαυτῷ ἢ ἐκείνῳ
1417 b προσόντα· "ὁ δ' ᾤχετό με ὑποβλέψας." | καὶ ὡς περὶ Κρατύλου Αἰσχίνης, ὅτι διασίζων καὶ τοῖν χεροῖν διασείων· πιθανὰ γάρ, διότι σύμβολα γίνεται ταῦτα ἃ ἴσασιν ἐκείνων ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν, πλεῖστα δὲ τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν ἐξ Ὁμήρου ἔστιν.

ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρηὺς δὲ κατέσχετο χερσὶ πρόσωπα·

οἱ γὰρ δακρύειν ἀρχόμενοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. καὶ εὐθὺς εἰσάγαγε καὶ σεαυτὸν ποιόν

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129 Soph. *Ant.* 911–12, where the MSS have κεκευθότοιν instead of Aristotle's βεβηκότων. 130 Hom. *Od.* 19.361.

for I preferred it; and even if I profited nothing, it is better." The first statement indicates prudence, the second virtue; for prudence consists in the pursuit of what is useful, virtue in that of what is honorable. If anything of the kind seems incredible, then the reason must be added, as Sophocles does. An example is the passage from the Antigone, where she says that she cared more for her brother than for husband or children; for the latter can be replaced after they are gone,

> when mother and father have gone to the grave,
> no brother could ever be born again.[129]

If you have no reason, you should at least say that you are aware that what you assert is incredible, but that such is your nature; for no one believes that a man ever does anything willingly except what is to his advantage.

Further, draw upon what is emotional, mentioning both the effects that are well known, and what is specially characteristic of either yourself or of the adversary: "And he went off looking grimly at me;" and as Aeschines says of Cratylus, that he hissed violently and violently shook his fists. Such details produce persuasion because, being known to the listener, they become tokens of what he does not know. Numerous examples of this may be found in Homer:

> Thus she spoke, the old woman, and covered her face
> with her hands;[130]

for those who are beginning to weep lay hold on their eyes. And you should at once introduce yourself as being of a certain character, that the listeners may regard you as

τινα, ἵνα ὡς τοιοῦτον θεωρῶσι, καὶ τὸν ἀντίδικον λανθάνων δὲ ποίει. ὅτι δὲ ῥᾴδιον, ὁρᾶν δεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων· περὶ ὧν γὰρ μηθὲν ἴσμεν, ὅμως λαμβάνομεν ὑπόληψίν τινα. πολλαχοῦ δὲ δεῖ διηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ.

11 Ἐν δὲ δημηγορίᾳ ἥκιστα διήγησίς ἐστιν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐθεὶς διηγεῖται· ἀλλ' ἐάν περ διήγησις ᾖ, τῶν γενομένων ἔσται, ἵν' ἀναμνησθέντες ἐκείνων βέλτιον βουλεύσωνται περὶ τῶν ὕστερον. ἢ διαβάλλοντες, ἢ ἐπαινοῦντες. ἀλλὰ τότε οὐ τὸ τοῦ συμβούλου ποιεῖ ἔργον. ἂν δ' ᾖ ἄπιστον, ὑπισχνεῖσθαί τε καὶ αἰτίαν λέγειν εὐθύς, καὶ διατάττειν οἷς βούλονται, οἷον ἡ Ἰοκάστη ἡ Καρκίνου ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἀεὶ ὑπισχνεῖται πυνθανομένου τοῦ ζητοῦντος τὸν υἱόν. καὶ ὁ Αἵμων ὁ Σοφοκλέους.

17. Τὰς δὲ πίστεις δεῖ ἀποδεικτικὰς εἶναι· ἀποδεικνύναι δὲ χρή, ἐπεὶ περὶ τεττάρων ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, περὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμένου φέροντα τὴν ἀπόδείξιν· οἷον εἰ ὅτι οὐ γέγονεν ἀμφισβητεῖ, ἐν τῇ κρίσει δεῖ τούτου μάλιστα τὴν ἀπόδειξιν φέρειν, εἰ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔβλαψεν, τούτου, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τοσόνδε ἢ ὅτι δικαίως, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ περὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἡ ἀμφι-
2 σβήτησις. μὴ λανθανέτω [δ'] ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀμφισβητήσει μόνῃ τὸν ἕτερον εἶναι πονηρόν· οὐ

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131 Text and meaning uncertain.

132 According to Jebb, Jocasta tells the inquirer incredible

such, and also your opponent; but do not let it be seen. That this is easy is can be seen from the example of messengers; we do not yet know what they are going to say, but nevertheless we have an inkling of it. Narrative should be introduced in several places, and sometimes not at the beginning.

In public deliberation narrative is very rare, because no one narrates things to come; but if there is narrative, it will be of things past, in order that, being reminded of them, the listeners may take better counsel about the future. This may be done in a spirit either of blame or of praise; but in that case the speaker does not perform the function of an advisor. If there is anything incredible, he should promise to give a reason for it immediately and set it out acceptably to the listeners;[131] as, for instance, Jocasta in the *Oedipus* of Carcinus[132] is always promising, when the man who is looking for her son makes inquiries of her; and similarly Haemon in Sophocles.[133]

17. Proofs should be demonstrative, and as the disputed points are four, the demonstration should bear on the particular point disputed; for instance if the fact is disputed, proof of this must be brought at the trial before anything else; or if it is maintained that no injury has been done; or that the act was not so important as asserted; or was just, then this must be proved, the three last questions being matters of dispute just as the question of fact. But do not forget that it is only in the case of a dispute as to this question of fact that one of the two parties must nec-

things about her son and pledges her word for the facts. Cope says: "promises (to do something or other to satisfy him)."

[133] Soph. *Ant.* 683–723.

γὰρ ἐστιν ἄγνοια αἰτία, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τινες περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἀμφισβητοῖεν, ὥστ' ἐν τούτῳ χρονιστέον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὔ.

3 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς τὸ πολύ, ὅτι καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα, ἡ αὔξησις ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ πράγματα δεῖ πιστεύεσθαι· ὀλιγάκις γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἀποδείξεις φέρουσιν, ἐὰν ἄπιστα ᾖ ἢ ἐὰν ἄλλος αἰτίαν ἔχῃ.

4 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημηγορικοῖς ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔσται ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἄν τις, ἢ ὡς ἔσται μὲν ἃ κελεύει, ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαια ἢ οὐκ ὠφέλιμα ἢ οὐ τηλικαῦτα, δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁρᾶν εἴ τι ψεύδεται ἐκτὸς τοῦ πράγματος· τεκμήρια γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι ψεύδεται.

5 Ἔστι δὲ τὰ | μὲν παραδείγματα δημηγορικώτατα,
1418 a τὰ δ' ἐνθυμήματα δικανικώτερα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸ μέλλον, ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν γενομένων ἀνάγκη παραδείγματα λέγειν, ἡ δὲ περὶ ὄντων ἢ μὴ ὄντων, οὗ μᾶλλον ἀπόδειξίς ἐστι καὶ ἀνάγκη· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ γεγονὸς
6 ἀνάγκην. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἐφεξῆς λέγειν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα,

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[134] Aristotle's argument may be paraphrased as follows: but it must not be forgotten that it is only in a dispute as to this question of fact that one of the two parties must necessarily be a rogue. For ignorance is not the cause (of there being a dispute about the fact, e.g., "you hit me," "no, I didn't," where both know the truth), as it might be in a dispute on what was right or wrong, so that this is the topic on which you should spend some time (i.e., because here you can prove or disprove that A is *πονηρός*).

essarily[134] be a scoundrel; for ignorance is not the cause, as it might be if a question of right or wrong were the issue; so that in this case one should spend time on this topic, but not in the others.

In epideictic speeches, amplification is employed, as a rule, to prove that things are honorable or useful; for the facts must be taken on trust, since proofs of these are rarely given, and only if they are incredible or the responsibility is attributed to another.[135]

In deliberative oratory, it may be maintained either that certain consequences will not happen, or that what the adversary recommends will happen, but that it will be unjust, inexpedient, or not so important as supposed. But one must also look to see whether he makes any false statements as to things outside the issue; for these look like evidence that he makes misstatements about the issue itself as well.

Examples are best suited to deliberative oratory and enthymemes to forensic. The first is concerned with the future, so that its examples must be derived from the past; the second with the question of the existence or nonexistence of facts, in which demonstrative and necessary proofs are more in place; for the past involves a kind of necessity.[136] One should not introduce a series of

[135] Or, reading ἄλλως, "if there is some other reason."

[136] It is irrevocable, and it is possible to discuss it with some degree of certainty, whereas the future is quite uncertain, and all that can be done is to draw inferences from the past.

ἀλλ' ἀναμιγνύναι· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβλάπτει ἄλληλα. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ποιοῦ ὅρος·

ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόδε εἶπες ὅτ' ἂν πεπιημένος ἀνὴρ,[137]

7 ἀλλ' οὐ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων ἐνθυμήματα ζητεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ποιήσεις ὅπερ ἔνιοι ποιοῦσι τῶν φιλοσοφούντων, οἳ συλλογίζονται τὰ γνωριμώτερα καὶ
8 πιστότερα ἢ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσιν, καὶ ὅταν πάθος ποιῇς, μὴ λέγε ἐνθύμημα· ἢ γὰρ ἐκκρούσει τὸ πάθος ἢ μάτην εἰρημένον ἔσται τὸ ἐνθύμημα· ἐκκρούουσι γὰρ αἱ κινήσεις ἀλλήλας αἱ ἅμα, καὶ ἢ ἀφανίζουσιν ἢ ἀσθενεῖς ποιοῦσιν. οὐδ' ὅταν ἠθικὸν τὸν λόγον, οὐ δεῖ ἐνθύμημά τι ζητεῖν ἅμα· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει οὔτε ἦθος οὔτε προαίρεσιν ἡ ἀπόδειξις.

9 Γνώμαις δὲ χρηστέον καὶ ἐν διηγήσει καὶ ἐν πίστει· ἠθικὸν γάρ. "καὶ ἐγὼ δέδοκα, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὡς οὐ δεῖ πιστεύειν." ἐὰν δὲ παθητικῶς, "καὶ οὐ μεταμέλει μοι καίπερ ἠδικημένῳ· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ περίεστι τὸ κέρδος, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ δίκαιον."

10 Τὸ δὲ δημηγορεῖν χαλεπώτερον τοῦ δικάζεσθαι, εἰκότως, διότι περὶ τὸ μέλλον· ἐκεῖ δὲ περὶ τὸ γεγονός, ὃ ἐπιστητὸν ἤδη καὶ τοῖς μάντεσιν, ὡς ἔφη Ἐπιμενί-

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[137] Hom. *Od.* 4.204.

[138] For this passage see 1.2.12–13. The meaning is that it is absurd to prove what every one knows already.

enthymemes continuously but mix them up; otherwise they destroy one another, for there is a limit of quantity; thus,

> Friend, since you have said as much as a wise man would say,[137]

where Homer does not say τοιαῦτα (such things as), but τόσα (as many things as). Nor should you try to find enthymemes about everything; otherwise you will be imitating certain philosophers, who draw conclusions that are better known and more plausible than the premises from which they are drawn.[138] And whenever you wish to arouse emotion, do not use an enthymeme, for it will either drive out the emotion or it will be useless; for simultaneous movements drive each other out, the result being their mutual destruction or weakening. Nor should you look for an enthymeme at the time when you wish to give the speech an ethical character; for demonstration involves neither character nor moral purpose.

Maxims, on the other hand, should be used in both narrative and proof; for they express moral character; for instance, "I gave him the money and that although I knew that one ought not to trust." Or, to arouse emotion: "I do not regret it, although I have been wronged; his is the profit, mine the right."

Deliberative speaking is more difficult than forensic, and naturally so, because it has to do with the future; whereas forensic speaking has to do with the past, which is already known, even by diviners, as Epimenides the

δης ὁ Κρής· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων οὐκ ἐμαντεύετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων μὲν ἀδήλων δέ. καὶ ὁ νόμος ὑπόθεσις ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς· ἔχοντα δὲ ἀρχὴν ῥᾷον εὑρεῖν ἀπόδειξιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει πολλὰς διατριβάς, οἷον πρὸς ἀντίδικον ἢ περὶ αὑτοῦ, ἢ παθητικὸν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἥκιστα πάντων, ἐὰν μὴ ἐξίστηται. δεῖ οὖν ἀποροῦντα τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅπερ οἱ Ἀθήνησι ῥήτορες ποιοῦσι καὶ Ἰσοκράτης· καὶ γὰρ συμβουλεύων κατηγορεῖ, οἷον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ, Χάρητος δ' ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ.

11 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς δεῖ τὸν λόγον ἐπεισοδιοῦν ἐπαίνοις, οἷον Ἰσοκράτης ποιεῖ· ἀεὶ γάρ τινα εἰσάγει, καὶ ὃ ἔλεγε Γοργίας, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπολείπει αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, τοῦτό ἐστιν· εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλέα λέγων, Πηλέα ἐπαινεῖ, εἶτα Αἰακόν, εἶτα τὸν θεόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀν-
12 δρείαν, ἢ τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖ ἢ τοιόνδε ἐστίν. ἔχοντα μὲν οὖν ἀποδείξεις καὶ ἠθικῶς λεκτέον καὶ ἀποδεικτικῶς,

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139 Epimenides' remark is by many editors interpreted as sarcasm about soothsayers, who pretended to be able to *foretell the future*. But how is this to be construed from the Greek? The point is perhaps something like: "it is easy enough to talk about the past, for even soothsayers know it." What Aristotle says here is that Epimenides practiced a different kind of divination, relating to the obscure phenomena of the past. The following is an instance. After the followers of Cylon, who tried to make himself tyrant of Athens (ca. 632 BC), had been put to death by the Alcmaeonid archon Megacles in violation of the terms of surrender, a curse rested on the city and it was devastated by a pestilence. On the

Cretan said; for he used to divine, not the future, but only things that were past but obscure.[139] Further, the law is the subject in forensic speaking; and when one has a starting point, it is easier to find a demonstrative proof. Deliberative speaking does not allow many opportunities for lingering—for instance, attacks on the adversary, remarks about oneself, or attempts to arouse emotion. In this branch of rhetoric there is less room for these than in any other, unless the speaker wanders from the subject. Therefore, when at a loss for topics, one must do as the orators at Athens, among them Isocrates, for even when deliberating, he brings accusations against the Spartans, for instance in the *Panegyricus*[140] and against Chares in the *Symmachikos* (On the Peace).[141]

Epideictic speeches should be varied with laudatory episodes, after the manner of Isocrates, who is always bringing somebody in. This is what Gorgias meant when he said that he was never at a loss for something to say; for, if he is speaking of Achilles, he praises Peleus, then Aeacus, then the god; similarly courage, which does this and that,[142] or is of such a kind. If you have proofs, then, your language must be both ethical and demonstrative; if

advice of the oracle, Epimenides was summoned from Crete, and by certain rites and sacrifices purified the city and put a stop to the pestilence.

[140] Isoc. *Paneg.* 110–14.

[141] Isoc. *Symmachikos* 27.

[142] He enumerates all the deeds that proceed from courage. Another reading is ἢ τὰ καὶ τά, ποιεῖ ὃ τοιόνδε ἐστίν, that is, when praising courage, and this or that, he is employing a method of the kind mentioned.

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ἐνθυμήματα, ἠθικῶς· καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ
1418 b ἐπιεικεῖ | ἁρμόττει χρηστὸν φαίνεσθαι ἢ τὸν λόγον
ἀκριβῆ.

13 Τῶν δὲ ἐνθυμημάτων τὰ ἐλεγκτικὰ μᾶλλον εὐδοκι-
μεῖ τῶν δεικτικῶν, ὅτι ὅσα ἔλεγχον ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον
δῆλον ὅτι συλλελόγισται· παράλληλα γὰρ μᾶλλον
14 τἀναντία γνωρίζεται. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀντίδικον οὐχ
ἕτερόν τι εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τῶν πίστεων ἔστι [τὰ μὲν λῦσαι
ἐνστάσει τὰ δὲ συλλογισμῷ]. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν συμβουλῇ
καὶ ἐν δίκῃ ἀρχόμενον μὲν λέγειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πίστεις
πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς τἀναντία ἁπαντᾶν λύοντα
καὶ προδιασύροντα. ἂν δὲ πολύχους ᾖ ἡ ἐναντίωσις,
πρότερον τὰ ἐναντία, οἷον ἐποίησε Καλλίστρατος ἐν
τῇ Μεσσηνιακῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἃ γὰρ ἐροῦσι προανελὼν
15 οὕτως τότε αὐτὸς εἶπεν. ὕστερον δὲ λέγοντα πρῶτον
τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον λόγον λεκτέον, λύοντα καὶ ἀντι-
συλλογιζόμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ἂν εὐδοκιμηκότα ᾖ·
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον προδιαβεβλημένον οὐ δέχεται
ἡ ψυχή, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ λόγον, ἐὰν ὁ ἐναντίος
εὖ δοκῇ εἰρηκέναι. δεῖ οὖν χώραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀκρο-
ατῇ τῷ μέλλοντι λόγῳ· ἔσται δέ, ἂν ἀνέλῃς. διὸ ἢ

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143 There is no difference in form between the demonstrative and refutative enthymeme, but the latter draws opposite conclusions; and opposites are always more striking when they are brought together, and a parallel drawn between them. It is then easy to see where the fallacy lies. Cf. 2.23.30.

you have no enthymemes, ethical only. In fact, it is more fitting that a virtuous man should show himself good than that his speech should be exact.

Refutative enthymemes are more popular than demonstrative, because, in all cases of refutation, it is clearer that a logical conclusion has been reached; for opposites are more noticeable when placed in juxtaposition.[143] The refutation of the opponent is not a particular kind of argument, but belongs to the proofs. In both deliberative and forensic rhetoric he who speaks first should state his own proofs and afterward meet the arguments of the opponent, refuting or pulling them to pieces beforehand. But if the opposition is varied,[144] these arguments should be dealt with first, as Callistratus did in the Messenian assembly; in fact, it was only after he had first refuted what his opponents were likely to say that he put forward his own proofs. He who replies should first state the arguments against the opponent's speech, refuting and answering it by syllogisms, especially if his arguments have met with approval. For as the mind is ill-disposed toward one against whom prejudices have been raised beforehand, it is equally so toward a speech, if the adversary is thought to have spoken well. One must therefore make room in the listener's mind for the speech one intends to make; and for this purpose you must destroy the impression made by the adversary.

[144] If the opponent's arguments are numerous and strong, by reason of the varied nature of the points dealt with.

πρὸς πάντα ἢ τὰ μέγιστα ἢ τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἢ τὰ εὐέλεγκτα μαχεσάμενον οὕτω τὰ αὑτοῦ πιστὰ ποιητέον.

ταῖς θεαῖσι πρῶτα σύμμαχος γενήσομαι.
ἐγὼ γὰρ Ἥραν . . .

ἐν τούτοις ἥψατο πρῶτον τοῦ εὐηθεστάτου.

16 Περὶ μὲν οὖν πίστεων ταῦτα. εἰς δὲ τὸ ἦθος, ἐπειδὴ ἔνια περὶ αὑτοῦ λέγειν ἢ ἐπίφθονον ἢ μακρολογίαν ἢ ἀντιλογίαν ἔχει, καὶ περὶ ἄλλου ἢ λοιδορίαν ἢ ἀγροικίαν, ἕτερον χρὴ λέγοντα ποιεῖν, ὅπερ Ἰσοκράτης ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει, καὶ ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος ψέγει· ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ

χρημάτων δ' ἄελπτον οὐθέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον,

καὶ τὸν Χάρωνα τὸν τέκτονα ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ

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145 Eur. *Tro.* 969–71. Hecuba had advised Menelaus to put Helen to death; she defends herself at length, and is answered by Hecuba in a reply of which these words form part. Her argument is that none of the three goddesses who contended in the beauty contest on Mount Ida would have been such fools as to allow Argos and Athens to become subject to Troy as the result of the contest, which was merely a prank.

146 Isoc. *Philippics* 4–7. Isocrates says that *his friends* thought very highly of one of his addresses, as likely to bring peace.

147 Isoc. *Antid.* 132–39, 141–49. Here again Isocrates puts

Wherefore it is only after having combated all the arguments, or the most important, or those which are plausible, or most easy to refute, that you should substantiate your own case:

> I will first defend the goddesses,
> for I [do not think] that Hera . . .[145]

in this passage the poet has first seized upon the most foolish argument.

So much concerning proofs. In regard to character, since sometimes, in speaking of ourselves, we render ourselves liable to envy, to the charge of prolixity, or contradiction, or, when speaking of another, we may be accused of abuse or boorishness, we must make another speak in our place, as Isocrates does in the *Philippics*[146] and in the *Antidosis*.[147] Archilochus uses the same device in censure; for in his iambics he introduces the father speaking as follows of his daughter:

> There's nothing now beyond expectation, nothing that can be sworn impossible,[148]

and of the carpenter Charon in the iambic verse beginning

compliments on his composition into the mouth of an imaginary friend.

[148] Archilochus (b. ca. 650 BC) of Paros professed himself to be engaged to Neobule, the daughter of Lycambes, and tradition has it that when her father broke off the engagement, Archilochus pursued father and daughter with scurrilous abuse. Here it is said that, instead of attacking the daughter directly, he represented her as being attacked by her father (*IEG* fr. 122.1).

οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω.

καὶ ὡς Σοφοκλῆς τὸν Λίμονα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης
17 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὡς λεγόντων ἑτέρων. δεῖ δὲ καὶ μεταβάλλειν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καὶ γνώμας ποιεῖν ἐνίοτε, οἷον "χρὴ δὲ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ποιεῖν τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας εὐτυχοῦντας· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μέγιστα πλεονεκτοῖεν." ἐνθυμηματικῶς δέ "εἰ γὰρ δεῖ, ὅταν ὠφελιμώταται ὦσι καὶ πλεονεκτικώταται αἱ καταλλαγαί, τότε καταλλάττεσθαι, εὐτυχοῦντας δεῖ καταλλάττεσθαι."

18. Περὶ δὲ ἐρωτήσεως, εὔκαιρόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι
1419 a μάλιστα | μὲν ὅταν τὸ ἕτερον εἰρηκὼς ᾖ, ὥστε ἑνὸς προσερωτηθέντος συμβαίνει τὸ ἄτοπον· οἷον Περικλῆς Λάμπωνα ἐπήρετο περὶ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν τῆς σωτείρας ἱερῶν, εἰπόντος δὲ ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀτέλεστον ἀκούειν, ἤρετο εἰ οἶδεν αὐτός, φάσκοντος δὲ "καὶ πῶς
2 ἀτέλεστος ὤν;" δεύτερον δὲ ὅταν τὸ μὲν φανερὸν ᾖ, τὸ δὲ ἐρωτήσαντι δῆλον ᾖ ὅτι δώσει· πυθόμενον γὰρ δεῖ τὴν μίαν πρότασιν μὴ προσερωτᾶν τὸ φανερόν, ἀλλὰ

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149 The line ends: *τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει*. Archilochus represents Charon the carpenter as expressing his own disapproval of the desire for wealth and of the envy caused by others possessing it (*IEG* 19.1).

150 Here again, Haemon similarly puts his own feelings as to Creon's cruel treatment of Antigone into the mouth of the people of the city, and refers to popular rumor.

151 The words *ὅταν . . . ᾖ* have been variously translated: (1)

I [care not for the wealth] of Gyges;[149]

Sophocles, also,[150] introduces Haemon, when defending Antigone against his father, as if quoting the opinion of others. One should also sometimes change enthymemes into maxims; for instance, "Sensible men should become reconciled when they are prosperous; for in this manner they will obtain the greatest advantages," which is equivalent to the enthymeme: "If men should become reconciled whenever it is most useful and advantageous, they should be reconciled in a time of prosperity."

18. In regard to interrogation, its employment is especially opportune, when the opponent has already stated the opposite, so that the addition of a question makes the result an absurdity;[151] as, for instance, when Pericles interrogated Lampon about initiation into the sacred rites of the savior goddess. On Lampon replying that it was not possible for one who was not initiated to be told about them, Pericles asked him if he himself was acquainted with the rites, and when he said yes, Pericles further asked, "How can that be, seeing that you are uninitiated?" Again, interrogation should be employed when one of the two propositions is evident, and it is obvious that the opponent will admit the other if you ask him. But the interrogator, having obtained the second premise by putting a question, should not make an additional question of what is evident, but should state the conclusion. For instance,

when one of the two alternatives has already been stated; (2) when the opponent has stated what is different from the fact; (3) when the opponent has already conceded so much, "made one admission" (Jebb).

τὸ συμπέρασμα εἰπεῖν, οἷον Σωκράτης Μελήτου οὐ φάσκοντος αὐτὸν θεοὺς νομίζειν ἤρετο εἰ οὐχ οἱ δαίμονες ἤτοι θεῶν παῖδες εἶεν ἢ θεῖόν τι, φήσαντος
3 δὲ "ἔστιν οὖν," ἔφη, "ὅστις θεῶν μὲν παῖδας οἴεται εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ οὔ;" ἔτι ὅταν μέλλῃ ἢ ἐναντία λέγοντα
4 δείξειν ἢ παράδοξον. τέταρτον δέ, ὅταν μὴ ἐνῇ ἀλλ' ἢ σοφιστικῶς ἀποκρινάμενον λῦσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποκρίνηται, ὅτι ἔστι μὲν ἔστι δ' οὔ, ἢ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὔ, ἢ πῇ μὲν πῇ δ' οὔ, θορυβοῦσιν ὡς ἀποροῦντος. ἄλλως δὲ μὴ ἐγχειρεῖν· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐνστῇ, κεκρατῆσθαι δοκεῖ· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε πολλὰ ἐρωτᾶν διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ. διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ὅτι μάλιστα συστρέφειν δεῖ.

5 Ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ δεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀμφίβολα διαιροῦντα λόγῳ καὶ μὴ συντόμως, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐναντία τὴν λύσιν φέροντα εὐθὺς τῇ ἀποκρίσει, πρὶν ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸ ἐπιὸν ἢ συλλογίσασθαι· οὐ γὰρ χαλεπὸν προορᾶν ἐν τίνι ὁ λόγος. φανερὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἔστω

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152 Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 396, where a slave, asked if Euripides was indoors, replies, "Yes and no, if you get my meaning"; and he gives the explanation, "His mind is outside, collecting scraps of poetry, while he himself is reclining, composing a tragedy." The reference in the second instance is to the adversary being reduced to such a position that he cannot answer without having recourse to sophistical divisions and distinctions, which seem to imply uncertainty. Aristotle himself is fond of such "cautiously limited judgments" (Gomperz).

Socrates, when accused by Meletus of not believing in the gods, asked if divine beings were not either children of the gods or something godlike. When Meletus again said yes, Socrates rejoined, "Is there a man, then, who can admit that the children of the gods exist without at the same time admitting that the gods exist?" Thirdly, when it is intended to show that the opponent either contradicts himself or puts forward a paradox. Further, when the opponent can do nothing else but answer the question by a sophistical solution; for if he answers, "Partly yes, and partly no," "Some are, but some are not," "In one sense it is so, in another not," the listeners cry out against him as being in a difficulty.[152] In other cases interrogation should not be attempted; for if the adversary raises an objection, the interrogator seems to be defeated; for it is impossible to ask a number of questions, owing to the listener's weakness. Wherefore also we should compress our enthymemes as much as possible.

Ambiguous questions should be answered by defining them by a regular explanation, and not too concisely; those that appear likely to make us contradict ourselves should be solved at once in the answer, before the adversary has time to ask the next question or to draw a conclusion; for it is not difficult to see the drift of his argument. Both this,

The translation is that of the reading ἀποροῦντος, a conjecture of Spengel's. The audience will be ready to express its disapproval of his shuffling answers, which are evidence of his perplexity. The ordinary reading ἀποροῦντες attributes the "perplexity" to the listeners. Or, "the listeners, thinking he is puzzled, *applaud us* [the interrogator]" (Jebb).

6 ἐκ τῶν τοπικῶν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ λύσεις. καὶ συμπεραινόμενον, ἐὰν ἐρώτημα ποιῇ τὸ συμπέρασμα, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν· οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ Πεισάνδρου εἰ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προβούλοις, καταστῆσαι τοὺς τετρακοσίους, ἔφη. "τί δέ; οὐ πονηρά σοι ταῦτα ἐδόκει εἶναι;" ἔφη. "οὐκοῦν σὺ ταῦτα ἔπραξας τὰ πονηρά;" "ναί," ἔφη· "οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα βελτίω." καὶ ὡς ὁ Λάκων εὐθυνόμενος τῆς ἐφορίας, ἐρωτώμενος εἰ δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ δικαίως ἀπολωλέναι ἄτεροι, ἔφη. ὁ δὲ "οὐκοῦν σὺ τούτοις ταὐτὰ ἔθου;" καὶ ὃς ἔφη. "οὐκοῦν δικαίως ἂν," ἔφη, "καὶ σὺ ἀπόλοιο;" "οὐ δῆτα," ἔφη· "οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρήματα λαβόντες ταῦτα ἔπραξαν, ἐγὼ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ." διὸ |
1419 b οὔτ' ἐπερωτᾶν δεῖ μετὰ τὸ συμπέρασμα, οὔτε τὸ συμπέρασμα ἐπερωτᾶν, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ πολὺ περιῇ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς.

7 Περὶ δὲ τῶν γελοίων, ἐπειδή τινα δοκεῖ χρῆσιν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, καὶ δεῖν ἔφη Γοργίας τὴν μὲν σπουδὴν διαφθείρειν τῶν ἐναντίων γέλωτι τὸν δὲ γέλωτα σπουδῇ, ὀρθῶς λέγων, εἴρηται πόσα εἴδη γελοίων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἁρμόττει ἐλευθέρῳ τὸ δ' οὔ. ὅπως οὖν τὸ ἁρμόττον αὐτῷ λήψεται. ἔστι δ' ἡ εἰρωνεία τῆς βωμολοχίας ἐλευθεριώτερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὑτοῦ ἕνεκα ποιεῖ τὸ γελοῖον, ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἑτέρου.

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153 Arist. *Top.* 8.4.

however, and the means of answering will be sufficiently clear from the *Topics*.[153] If a conclusion is put in the form of a question, we should state the reason for our answer. For instance, Sophocles.[154] being asked by Pisander whether he, like the rest of the Committee of Ten, had approved the setting up of the Four Hundred, he admitted it. "What then?" asked Pisander, "did this not appear to you to be a wicked act?" Sophocles admitted it. "So then you did what was wicked?" "Yes, for there was nothing better to be done." The Spartan, who was called to account for his service as ephor, being asked if he did not think that the rest of his colleagues had been justly put to death, answered yes. "But did not you pass the same measures as they did?" "Yes." "Would not you, then, also be justly put to death?" "No; for my colleagues did this for money; I did not, but acted according to my conscience." For this reason we should not ask any further questions after drawing the conclusion, nor put the conclusion itself as a question, unless the balance of truth is unmistakably in our favor.

As for jests, since they may sometimes be useful in debates, the advice of Gorgias was good: to confound the opponents' earnest with jest and their jest with earnest. We have stated in the *Poetics*[155] how many kinds of jests there are, some of them becoming a gentleman, others not. You should therefore choose the kind that suits you. Irony is more gentlemanly than clownishness; for the first is employed on one's own account, the second on that of another.

[154] Cf. 1.14.3 above.

[155] The chapters are lost (cf. 1.11.29 above).

19. Ὁ δ' ἐπίλογος σύγκειται ἐκ τεττάρων, ἔκ τε τοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσαι εὖ τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ τὸν ἐναντίον φαύλως, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐξῆσαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰ πάθη τὸν ἀκροατὴν καταστῆσαι, καὶ ἐξ ἀναμνήσεως. πέφυκε γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀποδεῖξαι αὐτὸν μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν δὲ ἐναντίον ψευδῆ, οὕτω τὸ ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ψέγειν καὶ ἐπιχαλκεύειν. δυοῖν δὲ θατέρου δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι, ἢ ὅτι τούτοις ἀγαθὸς ἢ ὅτι ἁπλῶς, ὁ δ' ὅτι κακὸς τούτοις ἢ ὅτι ἁπλῶς. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δὴ τοιούτους κατασκευάζειν δεῖ, εἴρηνται οἱ τόποι πόθεν σπου-
2 δαίους δεῖ κατασκευάζειν καὶ φαύλους. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο δεδειγμένων ἤδη αὔξειν ἐστὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ ταπεινοῦν· δεῖ γὰρ τὰ πεπραγμένα ὁμολογεῖσθαι, εἰ μέλλει τὸ ποσὸν ἐρεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν σωμάτων αὔξησις ἐκ προϋπαρχόντων ἐστίν. ὅθεν δὲ δεῖ αὔξειν καὶ
3 ταπεινοῦν, ἔκκεινται οἱ τόποι πρότερον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, δήλων ὄντων καὶ οἷα καὶ ἡλίκα, εἰς τὰ πάθη ἄγειν τὸν ἀκροατήν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἔλεος καὶ δείνωσις καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος καὶ φθόνος καὶ ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις. εἴρηνται δὲ
4 καὶ τούτων οἱ τόποι πρότερον. ὥστε λοιπὸν ἀναμνῆσαι τὰ προειρημένα. τοῦτο δὲ ἁρμόττει ποιεῖν οὕτως ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἵνα γὰρ εὐμαθῆ ᾖ, κελεύουσι πολλάκις εἰπεῖν. ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ περὶ οὗ ἡ κρίσις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ δι' ὧν δέδεικται κεφαλαιωδῶς.

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156 Or, "mold the listeners to one's will." 157 1.9 above.
158 2.19 above. 159 2.1–11 above.

19. The epilogue is composed of four parts: to dispose the listener favorably toward oneself and unfavorably toward the adversary; to amplify and depreciate; to excite the emotions of the listener; to recapitulate. For after you have proved that you are truthful and that the adversary is false, the natural order of things is to praise ourselves, blame him, and apply the finishing touches.[156] One of two things should be aimed at, to show that you are either relatively or absolutely good and the adversary either relatively or absolutely bad. The topics that serve to represent men as good or bad have already been stated.[157] After this, when the proof has once been established, the natural course is to amplify or depreciate; for it is necessary that the facts should be admitted, if it is intended to deal with the question of degree; just as the growth of the body is due to things previously existing. The topics of amplification and depreciation have been previously set forth.[158] Next, when the nature and importance of the facts are clear, one should rouse the listener to certain emotions—pity, indignation, anger, hate, jealousy, emulation, and quarrelsomeness. The topics of these also have been previously stated,[159] so that all that remains is to recapitulate what has been said. This may appropriately be done at this stage in the way certain rhetoricians wrongly recommend for the preamble, when they advise frequent repetition of the points, so that they may be easily learned. In the preamble we should state the subject, in order that the question to be decided may not escape notice, but in the epilogue we should give a summary statement of the proofs.

5 Ἀρχὴ δέ, διότι ἃ ὑπέσχετο ἀποδέδωκεν· ὥστε ἅ τε καὶ δι' ὃ λεκτέον. λέγεται δὲ ἐξ ἀντιπαραβολῆς τοῦ ἐναντίου. παραβάλλειν δὲ ἢ ὅσα περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄμφω εἶπον, ἢ μὴ καταντικρύ. "ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν τάδε περὶ
1420 a τούτου, ἐγὼ δὲ ταδί, | καὶ διὰ ταῦτα." ἢ ἐξ εἰρωνείας, οἷον "οὗτος γὰρ τάδ' εἶεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τάδε. καὶ τί ἂν ἐποίει, εἰ τάδε ἔδειξεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταδί;" ἢ ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως· "τί οὐ δέδεικται;" ἢ "οὗτος τί ἔδειξεν;" ἢ δὴ οὕτως ἐκ παραβολῆς, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, οὕτω τὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν βούλῃ, χωρὶς τὰ τοῦ ἐναν-
6 τίου λόγου. τελευτῇ δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἁρμόττει ἡ ἀσύνδετος, ὅπως ἐπίλογος ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγος ᾖ· "εἴρηκα, ἀκηκόατε, ἔχετε, κρίνατε."

We should begin by saying that we have kept our promise, and then state what we have said and why. Our case may also be closely compared with our opponent's; and we may either compare what both of us have said on the same point, or without direct comparison: "My opponent said so-and-so, and I said so-and-so on this point and for these reasons." Or ironically, as for instance, "He said this and I answered that; what would he have done, if he had proved this, and not simply that?" Or by interrogation: "What is there that has not been proved?" or, "What has my opponent proved?" We may, therefore, either sum up by comparison, or in the natural order of the statements, just as they were made, our own first and then again separately, if we so desire, what has been said by our opponent. To the conclusion of the speech[160] the most appropriate style is what has no connecting particles, in order that it may be a peroration, but not an oration: "I have spoken; you have heard; you know the facts; now give your decision."[161]

[160] Reading τελευτῇ, a conjecture of Victorius. With τελευτή, the sense will be: "as a conclusion, the asyndetic style is appropriate."

[161] It is generally supposed that this example of a suitable peroration is an echo of the conclusion of Lysias' speech *Against Eratosthenes* (Lys. 1).

SELECT GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL AND OTHER TERMS

As a rule, only the meanings of words in *Aristotle's Rhetoric* are noticed, without reference to later rhetoricians.

ἀγωνιστικός: (1.5.14) "in athletics"; (3.12.1) of style, "suited to debate" (ἀγών), including both deliberative and forensic speeches. It is opposed to γραφική, the style of compositions meant to be read.

ἀκρίβεια (3.12.5), ἀκριβολογία (1.5.15), ἀκριβής (3.17.12): of style, "precise," "nicely finished," "highly correct"; of statements, "exact," "closely reasoned."

ἀποπλάνησις: (3.13.5) diverting the judges' attention from what is unfavorable; unless it is taken in a neuter sense, "wandering from the subject," "digression."

ἁρμονία: (3.1.4) literally, "joining"; here, pitch or tone, accent, modulation of the voice.

ἀρχή . . . αἴτιον: (1.7.12) the latter (cause) precedes the former (first principle or beginning). In a plant, the seed is the ἀρχή, the power of vegetation the αἴτιον.

ἄτεχνοι: (1.2.2, 1.15.1) of means of persuasion, those that do not belong to the art, being already in existence and ready for use; ἔντεχνοι are those which have to be invented by the orator.

αὔξησις (1.9.39), αὐξητικά (1.9.38), αὔξειν (2.18.4): "amplification." Its object is to increase the rhetorical effect and importance of a statement by intensifying the circumstances of an object or action.

SELECT GLOSSARY

αὐτοκαβδάλως: (3.7.2) "offhand," "lightly," "at random"; *αὐτοκάβδαλος* (3.14.12) is the adjective applied to the introduction of Gorgias' encomium of the Eleans, which Aristotle considers abrupt.

ἀφελής: (3.9.5) "simple," the equivalent of *ἁπλοῦς* or *μονόκωλος* as applied to the period; that is, consisting of only one *κῶλον* (member, clause) as opposed to the complex, which allowed more than one, but was not supposed to exceed four *κῶλα*.

βλαίτωσις: (2.23.15) retortion of a dilemma upon the proposer of it: a form of enthymeme in which, from each of two contraries, some good or evil follows, each contrary to the other.

γλῶττα: (3.3.2) an obsolete, foreign, or dialectal word, in any way out of the common.

γνώμη: (2.21.2) a moral maxim or sentiment; a general (not particular) statement relating to the conduct of life.

γραφικὴ λέξις: (3.12.1) "suited for writing," "literary," opposed to *ἀγωνιστικὴ λέξις*.

δεῖγμα: (3.14.6) "sample," "pattern"; the prologue or proem in an epic poem or drama, so called from its giving a sample of what is to follow, thus making the hearer acquainted with the nature of the subject to be treated.

δεικτικὰ ἐνθυμήματα: (2.22.14) direct arguments (as opposed, e.g., to the *reductio ad absurdum*), the object of which is to demonstrate: they are opposed to *ἐλεγκτικὰ ἐνθυμήματα*, the object of which is refutation; *δεῖξις* (3.7.6), "method of proof."

δείνωσις: (2.21.10) "exaggeration," "intensification," defined by Longinus as a form of *αὔξησις*; also "indignation," or the arousing of this feeling. Cicero (*De inv.* 1.53.100) describes it as a form of speech whereby intense hatred of a person or disgust at anything is aroused.

διαίρεσις: (2.23.10) distribution or division into parts or heads, dealing with the different bearings of the case; in *Poetics* (1461a23) it is more or less equivalent to punctuation, although it includes every kind of break. *διαιρεῖν τῷ λόγῳ* (3.18.5) is used of

giving a detailed explanation, as opposed to *συντόμως*, one that is concise.

διαλεκτική: (1.1.1) dialectic is "a method that enables one to find a syllogism from plausible premises about any proposed problem, and not to contradict oneself when defending a thesis" (*Top.* 1.1, 100a18–24). In the *Topics*, Aristotle describes this as a debating technique between two speakers that was obviously practiced as an exercise in the Academy. One of the two, the answerer, chooses a thesis, the other, the questioner, then tries to refute him by offering further premises that the answerer must either accept or reject, with the aim to get the answerer to accept propositions from which the questioner can then derive the contradictory of the thesis. But of course the technique is meant to be of more general application, for example, in everyday encounters and also in philosophy (*Top.* 1.2, 101a25–102b4). Rhetoric is similar but not identical with dialectic in that it includes the skill of arguing for and against any given claim, but aims not just at establishing or refuting a thesis, but also at persuading an audience, for which one will need the further ability of appearing trustworthy (character) and of influencing the emotions of the hearers.

διάνοια: (1.13.17; 3.10.4, 5) "meaning," "intention"; (2.26.5; 3.1.7) "thought," contrasted with style and arrangement.

διαστίζειν: (3.5.6) "to punctuate." *See διαίρεσις*.

διατριβή: (3.17.10) opportunity for dwelling on a subject (*commoratio*); (3.16.9) occasion for digression.

διῃρημένη: (3.9.7) "disjointed" (of style), in which the members or clauses of a period are marked off by a connecting particle.

δύναμις: (1) power, strength, of body or authority; (2) faculty, natural capacity, cleverness; (3) potentiality, as opposed to *ἐνέργεια*, actuality or activity.

ἔθος: (1.10.15, 1.11.3) "habit," may become almost natural, making habitual states and actions feel pleasant. *See also ἕξις*.

εἶδος: (1) form, appearance; (2) particular kind, sort; (3) species, as contrasted with genus; (4) special topics.

εἰκός: (1.2.15) "probability," a proposition which is true in the greater number of cases.

εἰκών: (3.4.3) "simile," literally, an "image," a metaphor with the addition of the particle of comparison "as," "like."

εἰρομένη λέξις: (3.9.1) continuous, running style (literally, "strung together"), such as that of Herodotus, in which the only connection is that of the *συνδεσμοί*; the sentences resemble straight lines which may be produced indefinitely, keeping an uninterrupted course.

ἐνδόσιμον: (3.14.1) the keynote in music; (3.14.4) the keynote in a speech, almost the same as *προοίμιον*.

ἐνέργεια: (3.11.2) "activity" or actuality, representing things inanimate as animate.

ἐνθύμημα: (1.2.8) an enthymeme (literally, "thought," "argument") in the *Rhetoric* is a rhetorical syllogism, that is, it is drawn from probable premises and is therefore not a strictly demonstrative proof. The use of the term for a syllogism in which one of the premises is suppressed may be due to a misunderstanding of the word *ἀτελής*, "imperfect" or "incomplete," which appears in some manuscripts at *Anal. pr.* 2.27 (70a10), but is omitted by most editors as an interpolation. In the same treatise Aristotle defines an enthymeme as a syllogism from probabilities or signs (see R. C. Seaton in *Classical Review* [June, 1914]).

ἔνστασις: (2.25.1) in logic, an objection directed not against an opponent's conclusion, but to a proposition advanced by him.

ἐντεχνοι (1.2.2). *See ἄτεχνοι.*

ἕξις: (2.12.2; 3.7.7) "state of character," "disposition," a formed and permanent habit of mind that tends to the production of certain actions.

ἐπεισοδιοῦν: (3.17.11) to introduce an *ἐπεισόδιον* or accessory incident.

ἐπιεικής, ἐπιείκεια: (1.2.4) "worthiness" or "decency"; (1.13.13) "reasonable treatment," "equity."

ἐπίθετον: (3.2.14, 3.3.3) not limited to adjectives, but used for any strengthening, descriptive, or ornamental addition (e.g., Tydides).

ἐπιθυμία: (1.11.5) "desire," "appetite" for something pleasant, including but not limited to bodily or sensual desires; (2.1.4) passionate desire, opp. *ἀπαθής*. *See ὄρεξις.*

ἐπίλογος: (3.13.3) "peroration," winding-up of a speech, in which the chief points are recapitulated.

ἐπιστήμη (1.1.1), *ἐπιστητός* (2.24.10): "science," that which can be

scientifically known, opposed to τέχνη, "art" or "craft," and to ἐμπειρία, "experience" without knowledge of principles.

ἐποικοδομεῖν: (1.7.31) building up of one phrase upon another, one rising above another step by step like the rounds of a ladder. They are so arranged that the last important word of one is repeated as the first of the next, as in Romans, 5:3–4: "Tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope."

ἐρώτησις: (3.18.1) a question put to the adversary, which only requires a simple affirmative or negative answer, opposed to πεῦσις or πύσμα, which needs an explanation.

εὐήθης: (2.12.7) "good-natured," "simple," opposed to κακοήθης; (3.1.9, 12.2) of speeches and style, "foolish," "lacking force," "empty."

εὔογκος: (3.7.2) literally, "bulky"; of style, "weighty," "important," opposed to εὐτελής, "cheap," "poor," "meager."

εὐφυής: (1.6.29) naturally talented, as distinct from having skills that are the result of study.

ἦθος: originally, a man's natural bent, his habitual temper or disposition, "character"; it contributes to persuasion (1) from the character of the speaker, who wants to convince his hearers of his own virtue (1.2.3); (2) from the characters of the different forms of government (1.8.6) and the various conditions of men (2.12–17), to which different language and methods of conciliation are suitable; in style (3.7.6, 3.16.8, 3.16.9), from exhibiting a knowledge of and due regard for the characteristics of individuals.

ἰατρεύματα: (3.14.7) "correctives," "antidotes" to the listlessness and indifference of the hearer.

ἴδια ὀνόματα: (3.5.3) "proper" or specific terms, opposed to περιέχοντα, "broader" or more general terms.

κατασκευάζειν: (2.24.4) "to construct" an argument, opposed to ἀνασκευάζειν, ἀναιρεῖν, "to demolish"; (2.2.27; 3.19.1) "to put into a certain frame of mind"; κατασκευαστικός (2.26.3) "constructive."

κατεστραμμένη λέξις: (3.9.3) "close" or periodic style, in which the period, as distinguished from sentences in the εἰρομένη λέξις, resembles a circular line, which returns and ends at a certain point.

κύριος: (1.1.11, 1.8.1, 1.8.2, 1.15.9, 1.15.21) "authoritative," "decisive"; (1.3.4) "opportune," "appropriate"; (3.2.2) of words, "established," "vernacular," used in their natural sense, opposed to "foreign," figurative, or archaic words, in fact, to any that are unusual or out of the common.

κῶλον: (3.9.5) "member," "clause," a subdivision of the period.

λεκτικός: (3.8.4) belonging to the language of ordinary life and conversation.

λιτός: (3.16.2) literally, "smooth"; of style, "plain," "unadorned."

λόγος: "language," "speech," "argument"; (3.6.1) "description," "definition," opposed to *ὄνομα*, the noun or term; (3.2.7) prose; (2.20.2) "story," "fable"; (2.2.18) "account," "consideration" (*λόγῳ ἐν μηδένι εἶναι*).

μαλακός: (1.10.4) "effeminate"; (2.17.4) "mild," "unimpassioned"; (2.22.10) of reasoning, "slack," "loose."

μέγεθος: (1.5.13) "stature"; (3.1.4) of style, "grandeur."

μειοῦν: (2.18.4) "to extenuate," "depreciate," opposed to *αὔξειν*, *αὔξησις*.

μείουρος, *μύουρος*: (3.9.6) "docked," "curtailed," of a clause or period which seems to end too soon.

μειρακιώδης: (3.11.16) of style, characterized by youthful force and vehemence and therefore not becoming to the old. In other rhetorical writers, "puerile."

μείωσις: (*μειοῦν*, 2.18.4, 2.26.1) "depreciation," "extenuation," opposed to *αὔξησις*, *αὔξειν*.

μετανάστης: (2.2.6) "immigrant," "vagrant," opposed to a native. It appears to be the same as the later *μέτοικος* (resident alien): cf. *Politics* 3.5.9, where *ἀτίμητος* is explained as "having no share of office."

μεταφορά: (3.10.7) "transference," "metaphor." "Metaphor is the application to a thing of a name that belongs to something else, the transference taking place from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species, or by analogy" (*Poetics* 21.1457b6–9).

μέτρον: "meter," "measure." *See ῥυθμός*.

μονόκωλος: (3.9.5) of a period, consisting of only one clause or member.

νόμος: "law" or custom; sometimes used in the sense of "convention," as opposed to φύσις.

ὄγκος: (3.6.1) "weight," "importance," "dignity." It also has the sense of "bombast" (Longinus 3.4).
οἰκεῖος: (1.5.7) "one's own," that which one can dispose of as one wishes; (1.4.12) that which is peculiar to something, as to a form of government; (3.2.6, 3.7.4) of style and the use of words, "appropriate," much the same as κύριος.
ὁμωνυμία: (2.24.2; 3.2.7) the use of words in an equivocal sense and such words themselves, i.e., those that have the same sound but a different sense. Defined in *Cat.* 1.1.
ὄνομα: as a general term, includes nouns, adjectives, articles, and pronouns; as a special term, "noun" opposed to "verb."
ὄρεξις: (1.10.8) "desire," generic term for all kinds of desire, including appetites, passionate desire (ἐπιθυμία), wish (βούλησις), and deliberate choice (προαίρεσις). *See also* ἐπιθυμία.

πάθος, πάσχειν: (2.16.1, 2) mental condition or affection generally; (2.1.8; 3.17.8) "passion," "emotion"; (1.2.1) "quality," "property" of things; (1.9.15) "suffering"; (3.7.3) a pathetic style; so παθητικὴ λέξις and παθητικῶς λέγειν.
παραβολή: (3.19.5) "placing side by side," "comparison"; (2.20.4) "illustration."
παράδειγμα: (2.20.1, 2) "example," "instance," including both the historical (παραβολή) and the fictitious (λόγος); (1.2.8) proof from example, "rhetorical induction," contrasted with ἐνθύμημα.
παράλογος: (1.13.16) "beyond calculation," "unexpected"; παραλογίζεσθαι (1.14.1) "to cheat," "defraud"; (2.24.4) "to reason falsely," or "be led astray by false reasoning" (also in an active sense); παραλογιστικός (1.9.29) "fallacious"; παραλογισμός (3.12.4) "fallacy."
παρίσωσις: (3.9.9) "balancing" of clauses; πάρισος, of a clause, "exactly balanced."
παρομοίωσις: (3.9.9) "making like," "assimilation" of sounds at the beginning or end of clauses.
πεποιημένον ὄνομα: (3.2.5) a word coined or invented for the occasion.
περίοδος: (3.9.3) a complete sentence, composed of several clauses,

from one full stop to another; *περίοδος τῆς γῆς* (1.4.13), a traveler's description of the countries visited by him.

περιπέτεια: (1.11.24) sudden change or reversal of fortune. In tragedy, the word implies the reversal of a situation within the limits of a single scene or act.

πίστις: (1.1.11 and elsewhere) "means of persuasion"; (1.14.5) pledge of good faith, distinguished from *ὅρκος* and *δεξιά*.

πρόθεσις: (3.13.2) "setting forth," "statement of the case," like a problem (*πρόβλημα*) in geometry.

προοίμιον: (1.1.9; 3.14.1) "preamble," "introduction," compared to the *πρόλογος* in tragedy and comedy, "all that part of the play which comes before the first song of the chorus" (*Poetics* 12.4).

πρότασις: (1.3.7) "proposition," "premise" of a syllogism; (2.1.1) combined with *δόξα*, "notion," "opinion" as useful for producing persuasion.

πτῶσις: (1.7.27) used by Aristotle as a general term for the inflections, not only of a noun, but also of a verb, generally marked by a difference of form; thus, the adjective *χαλκοῦς* from *χαλκός* (3.9.9) and the adverb *ἀνδρείως* from *ἀνδρία* (1.7.27) are instances of "inflections" (Bywater on *Poetics* 20.10).

ῥῆμα: (1) generally, that which is spoken; (2) grammatically, a verb as opposed to a noun (*ὄνομα*). The term also appears to be applied to an adjective when used as a predicate.

ῥητορική. *See* *διαλεκτική*.

ῥυθμός: (3.1.4, 3.8.2) "time"; in general, any regular, harmonious movement, in sound or motion, which can be measured by number; thus, it may be applied to the tramp of a body of soldiers, the flapping of birds' wings, dance, music, and writing, in the last expressed in long and short syllables. "Rhythm consists of certain lengths of time, while meter is determined by the order in which these lengths are placed. Consequently, the one seems to be concerned with quantity, the other with quality [the syllables must be in a certain order] . . . rhythm has unlimited space over which it may range, whereas the spaces of meter are confined; . . . further, meter is concerned with words alone, while rhythm extends also to the motion of the body" (Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.45).

σαφὴς λέξις: (3.2.1) "clear," "perspicuous," defined (3.12.6) as the mean between *ἀδολεσχία* (garrulity, prolixity) and *συντομία* (excessive conciseness).

σεμνὴ λέξις: (3.2.2) "noble," "majestic," "dignified."

σημεῖον: (1.2.16) "sign," "indication": a proposition stating a fact that points to a related other fact, so that the existence of the second fact may be inferred from the first, as in "he has a fever, therefore, he is ill." When the connection is necessary (i.e., holds universally, as with fever and illness), the sign is also called *τεκμήριον*. Thus, "sign" is both a general and a special term. As a general term, it embraces the *τεκμήρια*; as a special term, the two kinds of signs, which are capable of refutation.

σόλοικος: (2.16.2) "one who offends against good taste or manners"; also one who speaks incorrectly (*σολοικίζειν*, 3.5.7).

στενός: (3.12.2) of style, "thin," "meager," "jejune."

στοιχεῖον: (2.22.13, 2.26.1) "element" of an enthymeme, identified by Aristotle with *τόπος*.

στρογγύλος: (2.21.7) "rounded"; of style, "terse," "compact."

συκοφαντία: (2.24.10) "false accusation," here used like "sophism," a specious but fallacious argument.

σύμβολον: (3.15.9, 3.16.10) "sign," "token"; not to be confused with *συμβολή* (1.4.11), "contract." *σύμβολον* itself elsewhere = mutual covenant.

συνάγειν: (1.2.13; 2.22.3, 2.22.15) "to conclude," "draw an inference"; (3.11.12) "draw together," "contract."

σύνδεσμος: (3.5.2) "connecting particle": it includes the preposition, the copulative conjunctions, and certain particles.

συνεστραμμένως: (2.24.2) "twisted up," "concise" (cf. *συστρέφειν*, 3.18.4).

σύστοιχα: (1.7.27) "conjugates," "coordinates": *λέγεται δὲ σύστοιχα μὲν τὰ τοιάδε οἷον τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὁ δίκαιος τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τὰ ἀνδρεῖα καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ* (Topics 2.9.1).

σχετλιασμός: (2.21.10) "passionate complaint" of injustice or ill-fortune: one of the parts of the peroration, in which we endeavor to secure the commiseration of the hearer, the first thing necessary being to put him into a sympathetic and pitying frame of mind (Forcellini, s.v. *conquestio*).

σχῆμα: (2.24.2; 3.8.1) "form," "figure" of a speech. It does not correspond to the modern expression "figure of speech," but is an "attitude" or "turn of meaning given to the language when it comes to be actually spoken" . . . "a difference of sense resulting from a difference of some kind in the mode of enunciation" (Bywater, *Poetics* 19.7).

τάξις: (3.13–19) the arrangement or distribution of the parts of a speech.

ταπεινὴ λέξις: (3.2.1) "low," "poor," "mean"; in a moral sense, "base," "vile" (ταπεινότης, 2.6.10).

τεκμήριον (1.2.16, 1.2.17). *See* σημεῖον.

τέχνη: (1.1.3) set of rules, "handbook" of rhetoric: elsewhere of the "tricks" of rhetoricians; τεχνολογεῖν (1.1.9), to bring under the rules of art, reduce to a system.

τόπος: (2.26.1) literally, a "place to look" for a store of something, and the store itself; a heading or department, containing a number of rhetorical arguments of the same kind (τόπος εἰς ὃ πολλὰ ἐνθυμήματα ἐμπίπτει). These are all classified and placed where they can be easily found ready for use. τόποι are of two kinds: (1) κοινοὶ τόποι (commonplaces) or simply τόποι, the topics common to the three kinds of rhetoric (1.2.21; 2.18.3–5); (2) εἴδη or ἴδια (1.2.21), specific topics, propositions of limited applicability, chiefly derived from ethics and politics.

ὑπόκρισις: (3.1.3) "delivery" of a speech, under which declamation, gesticulation, expression, and everything connected with acting are included; ὑποκριτικὴ λέξις (3.12.2), "style suited for delivery," "lending itself to acting"; [τέχνη] (3.1.7), "the art of acting."

χώρα: (3.17.15) "room" for our own arguments as well as those of the adversary in the hearer's mind, to get a footing for what we are going to say; (2.24.2) the proper place, province.

ψιλός: (3.2.3) "bare," "bald," of prose as opposed to poetry.

ψυχρός: (3.3.1) "cold," "frigid," "insipid." As a noun, τὸ ψυχρόν means generally any defect of style as opposed to ἀρετὴ λέξεως.

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character of the speaker, and the emotions of the audience. Rhetoric, he says, is "a kind of offshoot from dialectic and the study of character, which is justly called the science of politics."

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