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PLATO

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*Gorgias, Menexenus,  
Protagoras*

EDITED BY

MALCOLM SCHOFIELD

TRANSLATED BY

TOM GRIFFITH



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you if you really are a fine, upstanding person who practises virtue. And when we have practised it together, only then, if we think we should, will we turn our hands to politics. That will be the time for us to contribute whatever views we have by way of counsel, when we are better at counsel than we are now. It's a disgrace for people in the state we now appear to be in to go swaggering around as if we were somebody, when we never hold the same opinions about the same things – even about things of the greatest importance, to such a depth of uneducated ignorance have we sunk. Let us therefore take as our guide the argument which has been made clear to us. It indicates that this is the best way of life – to live and die practising justice and the rest of virtue. This argument, then, let us follow, and invite everyone else to join us, not the one which you so confidently invite me to follow, but which is of no value, Callicles.

## Menexenus

### Dramatis personae

**MENEXENUS** With his cousin Ctesippus became a member of Socrates' intimate circle, to judge from their presence in the prison on the day the hemlock was administered (*Phaedo* 59b). In the *Lysis* Menexenus (again in Ctesippus's company) and his friend Lysis are boys of twelve or thirteen. In the *Menexenus* he is evidently a few years older. Socrates suggests that he came from a prominent political family – but history has left no clues enabling us to identify the public figures Plato might have had in mind.

**SOCRATES** (469–399) Sustains throughout the dialogue the teasing pretence that he is currently a student of rhetoric, with Pericles' mistress Aspasia for his teacher. What purpose Plato had in representing him in this alien and improbable guise is discussed in the Introduction.

## Analysis

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  - 249d–e: Concluding conversation

## Menexenus

- SOCRATES: So where has Menexenus been? The agora? 234  
 MENEXENUS: Yes, Socrates, the agora. The council-chamber.<sup>1</sup>  
 SOCRATES: You, going to the council-chamber? Why, in particular? No, don't tell me, you think you've reached the end of education and philosophy, and you're planning to move on to greater things, fully equipped as you now are. Your aim is to hold high office among us (can you believe it – at your age!), despite our seniority. You don't want a time ever to come when your family is not providing someone to keep an eye b on us.<sup>2</sup>  
 MENEXENUS: That's up to you, Socrates. With your permission and guidance I shall be very glad to hold high office. Otherwise not. But that wasn't why I went to the council-chamber today. I went because I'd heard the council was going to choose somebody to make the speech in honour of those who have been killed.<sup>3</sup> You know they are planning the funeral.  
 SOCRATES: Indeed I do. Who did they choose?  
 MENEXENUS: No-one. They put it off till tomorrow. If you ask me, though, Archinus or Dion will be chosen.<sup>4</sup>  
 SOCRATES: Well, Menexenus, there are certainly plenty of reasons why c being killed in battle looks like a good move. You get a fine, imposing funeral, even if you die a pauper; you get praised, even if you're a nobody, by wise men speaking not just off the cuff, but after lengthy preparation of what they are to say. So fulsome is their praise – invariably credit- ing you both with qualities you do possess and with qualities you don't possess, and using the finest language to embellish it all – that they cast 235 a spell over our souls, heaping all manner of approval on the city, and

<sup>1</sup> See note on *Gorgias* 447a. The council chamber was in the Metróon sanctuary, on elevated ground to the south of the agora.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates' teasing here makes sense only if Menexenus is no more than a teenager. Readers of the *Gorgias* may be put in mind of Callicles' views on philosophy as apposite education for boys, but activity ridiculous and demeaning in a grown man.

<sup>3</sup> This was an Athenian tradition of long standing. The most famous example, surviving to us in Thucydides' version (2.35–46), was Pericles' speech of 431 BC, celebrating those who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>4</sup> There is no other trace in the historical record of the Dion Menexenus mentions, but Archinus was for a short while at least a leading Athenian politician, prominent in the party which helped restore democracy in 403 BC, and over the next two years one of those most active in trying to establish the security of the new regime. We are naturally led to assume that the encounter between Socrates and Menexenus is imagined as occurring at just this time.

singing the praises of those who have died in the war, of all our ancestors from times past, and of us who are still alive. The effect of their praise on me, Menexenus, is to fill me with feelings of my own nobility. I stand there entranced each time, as I listen, and feel that I have suddenly become taller, more noble, and more good-looking. I tend always to have some foreigners with me, keeping me company and listening with me, and in their eyes too I suddenly become more impressive, since the effect on them seems to me to be exactly the same, extending not only to me but to the whole city as well: carried away by the speaker, they regard the city with greater admiration than they did before. And this aura of impressiveness doesn't just last until the day after tomorrow; the speech, and the voice of the speaker, so take me over that it's not until three or four days later that I come to my senses and realise where I actually am – up to that point I have regarded myself, to all intents and purposes, as inhabiting the islands of the blessed,<sup>5</sup> such is the skill of our orators.

MENEXENUS: You're always making fun of orators, Socrates.<sup>6</sup> This time, though, if you ask me, the person chosen is not going to find it easy. It's very much on the spur of the moment, this choice, so the person speaking will probably have no option but to make it up as he goes along.

d SOCRATES: Don't you believe it! They've got speeches ready-made, every one of them<sup>7</sup> – quite apart from which, that kind of stuff is hardly a problem anyway, even if you do have to make it up as you go along. If they had to speak well of the Athenians before an audience of Peloponnesians, or the Peloponnesians before an audience of Athenians, then it would take a good orator to carry conviction and win approval. But when someone is performing in front of the same people he is praising, then making a good impression is no great achievement.

MENEXENUS: You think not, Socrates?

<sup>5</sup> On the islands of the blessed, see *Gorgias* 523c. Socrates seems here and in what precedes to echo the comically ecstatic reaction to rhetoric that Aristophanes puts in the mouth of the chorus in the *Wasps* (636–41): 'He has gone into everything and left nothing out, so that I grew bigger as I heard it, and thought myself a judge in the islands of the blessed, in my pleasure with the speaker.'

<sup>6</sup> Readers of the *Gorgias* will think primarily of that dialogue.

<sup>7</sup> An extract survives from a funeral speech by Gorgias, a rhetorical exercise prepared as though for an Athenian audience in his usual highly studied, artificial style (Fr.6). Elsewhere Plato has Socrates satirise the speechwriter Lysias's similar compositions, and the way his admirers might themselves try to learn them by heart (*Phaedrus* 227c–228e). A funeral oration attributed to Lysias survives, very likely also a rhetorical exercise. If authentic (as most scholars think), it will have been a very recent example of the genre, perhaps dating from 393 or 392, since it commemorates Athenians who had died fighting at Corinth, where the major engagement was the battle of the Nemea River in the winter of 394.

SOCRATES: No, certainly not.

MENEXENUS: Do you think *you* would be capable of making the speech, e if you had to – if the council chose you?

SOCRATES: Well, in my case, Menexenus, it's no great surprise if I am capable of making the speech, since my teacher was in fact a woman of some ability where rhetoric is concerned. She created many fine orators; and one of them in particular – Pericles the son of Xanthippus – was the finest speaker in Greece.

MENEXENUS: Who was she? No, don't tell me, you mean Aspasia?<sup>8</sup>

SOCRATES: I do. Together with Connos, son of Metrobios. Those two are my teachers – Connos in music and poetry, Aspasia in rhetoric. And 236 if a man has that kind of upbringing, it's not so very remarkable if he's a clever speaker. But even someone with a less good education than I had – taught poetry and music by Lampros, and rhetoric by Antiphon of Rhamnus – even he, if it was a question of praising the Athenians in front of the Athenians, would be able to win approval.<sup>9</sup>

MENEXENUS: So what would you find to say, if you did have to speak?

SOCRATES: Well, if you mean me, my own ideas, not very much, maybe. But I heard Aspasia, only the other day, giving a complete funeral speech b in honour of precisely these people. She'd heard the things you've been telling me – that the Athenians were going to choose someone to make the speech. So the next thing, she was going over for me the kind of speech which needed to be made, partly impromptu, and partly using stuff she had prepared in the past, when she was composing the funeral speech given by Pericles, I imagine – pasting together discarded fragments from that.

MENEXENUS: And would you be able to recall the things Aspasia said?

SOCRATES: Yes, unless I'm much mistaken, I would. I did my best to learn it off by heart from her. I was lucky not to get a beating when I c couldn't remember.

MENEXENUS: Why not recite it, then?

<sup>8</sup> Aspasia was a courtesan, and Pericles' mistress. The suggestion that she taught Socrates or anyone else oratory is all part of the elaborate fictional game Plato – following Aeschines of Sphettos – is playing in the *Menexenus*. What she was expert in, no doubt, was the giving of pleasure: a main complaint about rhetoric in the *Gorgias*.

<sup>9</sup> Whether this too is a pretence or not, Socrates mentions Connos as his teacher on the *kithara* elsewhere: *Euthydemus* 272c, 295d. As Méridier points out (*Méneuxène*, p.79), the implication that Lampros and Antiphon were inferior teachers is another joke: Lampros was Sophocles' instructor, and Thucydides rates Antiphon of Rhamnus as the finest Athenian orator of his time (Thuc. 8.68).

SOCRATES: I'm a bit worried my teacher will be annoyed with me if I make her speech public.

MENEXENUS: Nonsense, Socrates. No, make the speech, and I'll be eternally grateful. I don't care if it's Aspasia's speech you want to deliver, or whose – just make the speech.<sup>10</sup>

SOCRATES: I dare say you'll laugh at me – playing the fool at my age, you'll think.

MENEXENUS: Nonsense, Socrates. Just make the speech. I insist.

SOCRATES: Well, you're not somebody I can say no to.<sup>11</sup> If you told me to strip and dance, I'm not sure I wouldn't say yes, seeing that there's only d the two of us here. Hear it, then. She began her speech, I think I'm right in saying, by talking about the dead themselves. These were her words:

'By what we have just done we have paid these men the tribute due to them. Secure in its possession, they now travel their appointed road, conveyed in solemn procession publicly by the whole city, and privately by their own families. Words are the honour it now remains to pay them.<sup>12</sup>

e The law requires it, and we should do it. Noble deeds call for fine words well delivered, since they become the memorial and adornment, in the ears of those who hear them, of those who did the deeds. What is needed is the kind of speech which will do justice to the merits of those who have died, while gently encouraging the living: if they are children or brothers, urging them to show the same courage, and if they are fathers, mothers, or any other older relatives still living – then offering them consolation.

237 'What must a speech of this kind be like, we ask ourselves. Where should we properly begin in praising good men who in their lives gladdened the hearts of their friends by their courage, and whose death was the price they paid for the security of those yet living? Just as there was a natural order to their goodness, so I think we should observe the same order in our praise of them. Why were they good? Because they were born of good ancestry. Let us therefore pay tribute first to their noble b birth, and secondly to their upbringing and education. After that let us

<sup>10</sup> Plato makes Menexenus nudge us into scepticism about the real authorship of the speech Socrates is about to deliver.

<sup>11</sup> The vocabulary of sexual banter here (the verb *charizesthai*, literally 'gratify') recalls the erotic themes of Menexenus's conversation with Socrates in the *Lysis*. It is perhaps echoed in the repetition of *charis*, 'gratitude', at the end of the dialogue (249d–e).

<sup>12</sup> Thucydides' Pericles likewise begins his funeral oration with a contrast between words and deeds (one of the most frequent tropes of all formal Greek prose), similarly followed by reflection on what will make the speech appropriate to the occasion (2.35).

highlight the fine things they did and the way they showed themselves worthy of their ancestors.<sup>13</sup>

'Their noble birth? Let's start with the origin of their ancestors. They were not immigrants; they did not themselves come from anywhere else; they presented these their descendants to the world not as foreigners resident in this land, but as an indigenous people living and dwelling in what is truly their native country, and brought up not (as some are) by a stepmother, but by a true mother, the land in which they lived.<sup>14</sup> And now that they have died, they lie in their own familiar corners of the land c which bore them and raised them, and which has now received them. So it is above all just that we should begin by celebrating their mother in her own right, since in this way what we shall be doing is celebrating also the noble birth of these her sons.

'Our country truly merits the praise of the whole of mankind, not just of ourselves. This is for many reasons, of which the first and greatest is that she is loved by the gods. For this claim our evidence is the strife between the two gods who quarrelled over her, and the way it was resolved.<sup>15</sup> She whom the gods praised – how is she not entitled to be d praised by the whole of mankind? But praise is rightfully hers also – and this is the second reason – because at the time when the whole earth was yielding up and bringing forth all manner of living things, both wild and domestic, that was the moment for our land to show herself pure, bearing no wild beasts at all; of animals she selected for herself and bore only mankind, superior to the rest in intelligence, and the only one to acknowledge justice and the gods.

'There is strong evidence for the claim that this land of ours actually e gave birth to the ancestors they share with us: everything which gives

<sup>13</sup> The topics here listed (and throughout) are standard items in funeral orations, but 'Aspasia's' speech is unusual in announcing sequence and transitions so explicitly. This rhetorical mannerism is caricatured in Agathon's speech in the *Symposium* (194e–195a).

<sup>14</sup> The Athenians made much of this theme in drama as well as oratory. All surviving Attic examples of funeral speech refer to it (Thucydides 2.36.1, Lysias 2.17, Demosthenes 60.4, Hyperides, *Epitaphios* 8), but only this version in the *Menexenus* develops the topic at length and in such exaggeratedly literal-minded detail (compare the *Republic's* Noble Lie, received with polite disbelief by Glaucon: *Rep.* 3.414b–415b). 'Aspasia' returns to it with renewed emphasis at 245c–d, which helps her to bring the first part of her speech to a resounding conclusion.

<sup>15</sup> 'Aspasia' refers to the tale that Athena and Poseidon disputed which of them should be the city's presiding deity. The gods decided that the olive (Athena's gift) was more valuable than the salt-water spring on the Acropolis (Poseidon's).

birth has a supply of nourishment adapted to its offspring; this is how a woman is known to be the real mother or not – if she does not have a source of nourishment for the child she bears. And this land and mother of ours offers us ample evidence that she gave birth to human beings, since she alone at that time was the first to produce nourishment for  
 238 humans – the harvest of wheat and barley, from which the human race gets its finest and best nourishment; and this shows that it was she herself who truly gave birth to this creature. And when applied to the land, this kind of evidence carries greater weight than when applied to a woman, since in conception and giving birth it is not the land which imitates woman, but woman the land.

‘Nor was she grudging of this harvest. She bestowed it on everybody else, and later brought forth, for their descendants, that cure for all hardship, the olive. And when she had brought the people up, and seen them  
 b grow to adulthood, she introduced gods as their rulers and teachers. Today is not the moment for naming them; we know them already. They furnished us with our livelihood – both in our day-to-day living, giving us the first education in the arts and sciences, and also in the defence of our land, instructing us in the possession and use of weapons.

‘Thus equipped by birth and education, the ancestors of these men  
 c lived under a political system which deserves some brief mention. For human beings, a political system is their nurse: a good nurse produces people who are good; her opposite, people who are bad. I must now demonstrate, therefore, that those who went before us were raised under a good political system, which made good citizens of them, and which still today makes good citizens – among whom these who have died are to be numbered. After all, it was the same political system then as now, the system under which we live today and have lived, for the most part, ever since those days. Some call it democracy, others give it some other name,  
 d as they fancy. What it is, in truth, is aristocracy tempered by the approval of the masses.<sup>16</sup> Kings? Yes, we always have those – at one time hereditary, at another by election.<sup>17</sup> But the control of the city lies for the most part

<sup>16</sup> The subtle complexity of the Athenian political system is a major topic of Pericles’ funeral speech, and is characterised in comparable terms (Thuc. 2.37). Lysias’s (2.18–19) stresses that the Athenians only achieved democracy by expelling ruling élites (an echo here, perhaps, of its restoration after the defeat of the junta of Thirty Tyrants in 403 BC), whereas ‘Aspasia’ contrives to give the impression that it is their natural birthright, which they have exercised almost throughout.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Aspasia’ plays down the significance of Athens’ mostly legendary early period of hereditary kingship (Euripides interestingly makes Theseus – much the most famous of their kings – an eloquent advocate of democracy: *Suppliant Women* 399–441). In historical times

with the masses; it is they who give office and power to those they regard, at any particular time, as the best. No-one is disqualified by weakness or poverty or obscurity of birth, nor appointed because of their opposites. No, there is one sole criterion: he who is thought to be wise and good, he it is who holds power and rules.

‘And the reason for this political system we have? Equality of  
 e birth. Other cities have populations which are diverse and disproportionate, resulting in political systems which are correspondingly disproportionate – tyrannies and oligarchies, where some of the inhabitants regard the others as slaves, and the others look on them as masters. By contrast, we and our countrymen, brethren all, born of one mother, do not think it right to be either slaves or masters of one another. Instead  
 239 our natural equality of birth drives us to seek equality of rights in accordance with law. Only when it comes to reputation for goodness and wisdom do we acknowledge one another’s superiority.

‘Being thus raised in total freedom, and well born, the fathers of these men, and our fathers, and these men themselves, performed many fine deeds, for all the world to see, both in their private lives and in public life, in the belief that freedom was worth fighting for, whether for Greeks  
 b against Greeks or for Greece as a whole against barbarians. As for how they defended themselves when Eumolpos and the Amazons, and others before them, invaded their land, how they defended the Argives against the descendants of Cadmus, or the Heracleidae against the Argives – well, time is too short to do justice to the story; and besides, fine poets have celebrated their courage in song, making it well enough known to  
 c the whole world. If we try to embellish the same deeds using unadorned prose, I suspect we would come off a clear second-best, and so I think it best to say no more on the subject. Their deeds have the recognition they  
 d deserve. But the deeds for which no poet has yet given deserved credit to those who deserve it, and which lie still in virgin state<sup>18</sup> – these I think I *should* mention, praising them and proposing to others that they make them the subject of odes or other kinds of poetry in a style which does justice to their doers. The deeds of which I speak are chiefly these.<sup>19</sup>

the title *basileus*, ‘king’, was accorded to a high official (*archôn*) primarily concerned with religious matters; Socrates was tried and sentenced in his court.

<sup>18</sup> ‘in virgin state’ translates the reading of the best manuscripts, *mnēsteiai*, rather than *amnēstiai* (‘forgotten’), adopted by Burnet in the Oxford Classical Text.

<sup>19</sup> Having done no more than mention episodes in the legendary phase of the Athenian past, ‘Aspasia’ now proceeds to eulogise Athenian achievements in historical times. This long section of the speech continues as far as 246a. The narrative initially builds up to the

d 'When the Persians were the leading power in Asia, and starting to  
 enslave Europe, it was the descendants of this land of ours – our own  
 parents – who kept them at bay. It is right to start – in fact, it is our duty –  
 by recalling and celebrating their courage. And the way to look at their  
 courage, if you want to celebrate it properly, is to think yourself back  
 into the time when the whole of Asia was in slavery to the third of the  
 Great Kings. Cyrus, the first of them, liberated his own fellow-citizens  
 the Persians by his own sound judgment, at the same time making their  
 e masters the Medes his slaves; he made himself ruler of the whole of Asia  
 as far as Egypt. His son was the ruler of as much of Egypt and Libya as  
 is not desert; and the third, Darius, pushed the boundaries of his rule by  
 land as far as Scythia, while with his navy he was master of the sea and  
 240 the islands; no-one so much as dreamt of challenging him. The minds of  
 all mankind had been enslaved, so many, so great and so warlike were the  
 races the Persian empire had now reduced to slavery.

'Then came an accusation against us and the Eretrians from Darius,  
 who alleged that we had been implicated in the revolt against Sardis.<sup>20</sup> He  
 sent an expedition of half a million men in merchant ships and warships,  
 together with a battle-fleet of 300 ships, under the command of Datis.  
 He told Datis, if he wanted to keep his head on his shoulders, to come  
 b back with the Eretrians and Athenians. Datis sailed to Eretria, against  
 men who were among the most renowned in war of the Greeks at that  
 time, and not few in number, and in three days overwhelmed them. He  
 combed the entire land, to make sure no-one escaped, and this is how  
 he did it: his soldiers went to the borders of Eretrian territory, forming  
 a line from coast to coast, at equal intervals. Then joining hands, they  
 c swept the whole land, so that they could tell the Great King that no-  
 one had escaped them. It was with the same intention that they set sail  
 from Eretria and put in at Marathon. They thought there was nothing to  
 stop them carrying off the Athenians into slavery as well, using the same  
 coercion they had used with the Eretrians.

moment when the Athenians overcame the massive forces of the Persians at Marathon (490). Then follows the sequel at Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea, when the Persians invaded unsuccessfully a second time (480–479). Finally 'Aspasia' goes on to operations against them in subsequent decades near the river Eurymedon on the southern coast of Turkey (perhaps 469), and in Cyprus and Egypt (perhaps 459).

<sup>20</sup> A reference to the ultimately unsuccessful Ionian revolt of 497, in which many of the Greek cities under Persian rule on what is now the Turkish coast (and indeed further afield in the eastern Mediterranean) participated.

'While all this was either achieved or in the process of being attempted,  
 none of the Greeks came to the assistance of the Eretrians or the Athenians  
 apart from the Spartans – and they arrived on the day after the battle.  
 The rest all kept their heads down, scared stiff and clinging on to their  
 safety while it lasted. That is the situation you have to think yourself into  
 d if you want to grasp what kind of people they really were who met the  
 onslaught of the barbarians at Marathon, who punished the arrogance of  
 the whole of Asia, and who were the first to set up memorials commem-  
 orating victory over the barbarians. They acted as guides and teachers to  
 the rest of Greece, the lesson being that the power of the Persians was not  
 irresistible, that all the numbers in the world, and all the wealth in the  
 world, are no match for courage. For my part, therefore, I maintain that  
 those men are not merely our fathers in a physical sense, but also fathered  
 e freedom both for us and for everybody in mainland Greece. That was the  
 action to which the Greeks looked when they screwed up their courage to  
 take their chance in the later battles for their freedom. They were pupils  
 of the heroes of Marathon.

'First prize, then, to them my speech must award – and second to those  
 who fought the sea battles of Salamis and Artemisium, and were victor- 241  
 ous. Of these men there are many tales you could tell – the onslaughts  
 they had to face both by land and by sea, and how they fought them off.  
 But what strikes me as their finest achievement – this I *will* mention –  
 is that they completed the task bequeathed to them by the heroes of  
 Marathon. Those who fought at Marathon made it clear to the Greeks  
 that it was possible for them, though few against many, to fight off the  
 barbarians by land. No more than that. When it came to ships, things  
 b were still uncertain; the Persians had the reputation of being irresistible  
 by sea – alike because of their numbers, their wealth, their expertise  
 and their strength. So a good reason for praising the men who fought  
 those battles at sea is that they released the Greeks from the grip of fear,  
 stopped them being afraid of sheer numbers of ships and men. What  
 they brought about, these two groups – those who fought at Marathon  
 and those who fought the sea battle at Salamis – was the education of  
 c the other Greeks, who learnt from them the lesson of not fearing the  
 barbarians, in the one case on land, and in the other at sea, and made not  
 fearing them a habit.

'Third among actions which saved Greece, both in numerical order  
 and in terms of courage, I put the one at Plataea – a joint action this time  
 between the Spartans and the Athenians.



‘Those men, all of them, fought off the greatest and most deadly danger. For their courage they are praised by us today, and in the future d will be praised by those who come after us. But after Plataea there were still many Greek cities on the side of the barbarian, and the Great King himself, it was reported, was planning to make another attempt against the Greeks. So it is right for us also to remember those who crowned the work of their predecessors, and made our security complete by sweeping the seas clean and removing all trace of the barbarian. These were the e ones who fought the sea battle at the Eurymedon, who carried out the expedition to Cyprus, who sailed to Egypt and many other places. We should remember them and be grateful to them. They made the Great King fear for his own safety, forcing him to concentrate on that and stop planning the destruction of Greece.

‘That war was fought from start to finish by the entire city, fighting 242 for themselves and those who shared their language, against the barbarians. In the peace which followed our city was highly regarded, but then encountered the usual human response to those who are successful – first rivalry, and after rivalry, resentment.<sup>21</sup> This involved our city, against its will, in a war against Greeks. And what happened then, when war started, was that they met the Spartans at Tanagra, and fought for the liberation of Boeotia. The battle was indecisive, but what followed b was not. The Spartans withdrew and went home, abandoning the people they had come to help, while our side won a victory at Oenophyta two days later, and with justice on their side restored those who had been unjustly sent into exile.<sup>22</sup> These people were the first since the Persian war – though this time coming to the help of Greeks against Greeks, in c the cause of freedom – to show themselves brave men, liberating the people they had come to help, and the first the city honoured with burial in this tomb.

‘After this war became general, and the whole of Greece marched against us and laid waste our land – a poor way of showing their gratitude to our city. Our people defeated them in a sea-battle, and took their

<sup>21</sup> Lysias too makes the origin of ‘Greek war’ envy and resentment against Athens (2.48).

<sup>22</sup> According to Thucydides (1.108.1), the Spartans were victorious at the battle of Tanagra in Boeotia (457), but with huge loss of life on both sides. Rather more believably than ‘Aspasia’, he puts the decisive Athenian victory at Oenophyta sixty two (not two) days later (Thuc. 1.108.2–3). In ‘Aspasia’s’ telling, this episode marks the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, or rather of war not now against the barbarians, but against other Greeks.

leaders the Spartans prisoner at Sphagia. They could have killed them, but instead they spared them, returned them, and made peace, in the d belief that against their own race they should make war only up to the point of victory, and not destroy the unity of the Greeks in the pursuit of one single city’s vendetta, whereas against barbarians the aim should be to destroy them.<sup>23</sup>

‘Such are the men who fought that war and now lie here. It is right for us to praise them. What they showed was that if anyone after all that claimed that in the earlier war against the barbarians there was anybody better than the Athenians, his claim was false. They showed this at that time by their military success when Greece was at war with itself, when e they got the better of the leaders of the rest of Greece, and all on their own defeated the people with whom they had once jointly defeated the barbarians.

‘Following this period of peace there was a third war, appalling and unexpected, in which many brave men died.<sup>24</sup> They are buried here. Many of them set up victory memorials all over Sicily, fighting for the liberation of Icontini; they had sailed to that region to help them, fulfill- 243 ing pledges of alliance, but the length of the voyage put Athens at a disadvantage, and without the capacity to keep them adequately supplied. So they had to give up, and came to grief. Yet for their discipline and courage they receive more praise from their enemies and those who fought against them than most people receive from their friends. And then there were all

<sup>23</sup> ‘Aspasia’ compresses the entire first phase of what Thucydides takes to be the Peloponnesian War (431–421) into little more than a brief account of perhaps its most famous military episode, the blockade and eventual capture by the Athenians of a Spartan garrison on Sphacteria (or Sphagia, as it is called here), an island protecting the harbour at Pylos in the south western Peloponnese. Although she portrays the Athenians as plucky victims of aggression deserted by all the other Greeks, Athens in fact controlled a huge empire throughout the period, which it taxed heavily and governed (as the Thucydidean Pericles puts it) as a ‘tyranny’ (2.63.2). It is true, however, that Athenian territory was invaded and devastated each summer by Spartan land forces. The war was in truth inconclusive overall, with victories and defeats and above all exhaustion on both sides.

<sup>24</sup> For the second and final phase of the Peloponnesian War ‘Aspasia’ develops the plucky victim theme, and emphasises again that the Athenian agenda was liberation of the oppressed. She refers in turn to the Sicilian expedition of 415–413 (putting the best gloss she can on what was in truth an entirely miscalculated imperialistic adventure ending in disaster); to naval battles at Cynossema (411), and at Cyzicus (410), when the Peloponnesian fleet was annihilated; and to the successful relief of Mytilene at the battle of Arginusae (406), where, however, failure to pick up the Athenian wounded and dead caused outrage back in the city.

b those who fought the sea battles in the Hellespont, when they captured  
 an entire enemy fleet in one day, and won many other victories besides.

‘When I speak of the appalling and unexpected character of this war, what I am referring to is the antagonism of the rest of Greece towards our city, which reached a level where they could bring themselves to make overtures to their worst enemy, and invite the Great King, whom they and we had jointly driven out of Greece, back into Greece – a barbarian attacking Greeks – for their own selfish reasons, assembling the entire Greek and barbarian world against our city.<sup>25</sup> That was when the strength and courage of our city truly shone forth. She had been fought c to a standstill, it was thought; her ships were cut off at Mytilene; yet the Athenians came to their relief with sixty ships, manning the ships themselves, and by defeating their enemies and bringing deliverance to those who were friendly to them, showed themselves, beyond dispute, men of the highest courage. But they were not rewarded with the fortune they deserved. They were not picked up from the water, and they do not lie here.

d ‘We should remember them and praise them for evermore, since it was their courage that carried the day for us not only in that sea battle but in the rest of the war as well. It was they who gave the city its reputation for invincibility, though the whole world should come against it. And a justified reputation too: we were not destroyed by others, but were rather the agents of our own destruction. Defeat we ourselves have inflicted on ourselves, and have been that way overcome. Where our enemies are concerned, we remain undefeated to this day.<sup>26</sup>

e ‘After that there was a lull, and peace with everybody, and we had our own war here. But the way it was fought – well, if people were fated to have a civil war, anyone would pray for his city to be afflicted in the way ours was. Look how willingly and closely the citizens – those from the Piraeus and those from the city – combined with one another and (surprisingly) with the other Greeks! See what restraint they showed in their  
 244 handling of the war against the party at Eleusis! And the reason for all

<sup>25</sup> In 412 the Spartans and their allies made a treaty with the Great King which marked the beginning of a period of increasing intervention in Greek affairs on the part of the Persians.

<sup>26</sup> Thucydides (2.65.12) had already judged that what brought about eventual Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian War was internal dissension. This is trumped by ‘Aspasia’s’ claim here.

this? Simply the true kinship which produces, not just in theory but in actual practice, a firm friendship based on shared nationality.<sup>27</sup>

‘These people, too, those who died at one another’s hands in this war, deserve mention. We have to reconcile them in whatever way we can in such a situation, using prayer and sacrifice, praying to those who have power over them, now that we ourselves have been reconciled. It was bad luck which set them against one another – not wickedness or malice. We who are still living are ourselves the evidence for this. We are of the same b race as they, and we have forgiven one another for the things we did and the things we had done to us.

‘After this we were completely at peace, and the city had a period of inactivity. She forgave the barbarians their strong retaliation for the harm she did them, but she was angry with the Greeks when she remembered the good she had done them, and how they showed their gratitude – making common cause with the barbarians, stripping us of those ships c which had once been their salvation, and destroying our walls as a way of thanking us for saving theirs from being pulled down. Deciding in future not to defend Greeks who were being enslaved – either by one another or by the barbarians – our city lived accordingly.<sup>28</sup> And profiting by this decision of ours the Spartans decided that the champions of liberty had been brought low – meaning us – and that it was now their job to enslave everybody else. Which is what they then started to do. d

‘Why prolong the story? It’s not a long time ago, what happened next, not the story of people a long time ago, if I were to tell you about it.<sup>29</sup> We have seen with our own eyes the leaders of the Greek world – the Argives, the Boeotians, the Corinthians – coming to our city in fear of their lives

<sup>27</sup> ‘Aspasia’ refers first to the amnesty of 403 that followed the civil war in which the Thirty Tyrants were defeated. The democratic party had been based in Piraeus, with those who sympathised with the regime or had decided to put up with it remaining in the city. The terms of the settlement provided that Eleusis (less than ten miles west of Athens) should function as an independent city accommodating the remnant of the oligarchic party. But after a couple of years – as Plato fails to mention but doubtless wants us to remember – the Athenians attacked (apparently with allies), and reincorporated it into their own territory, torturing and executing the Eleusinian commanders.

<sup>28</sup> In 404 the Spartan king Lysander caused the long walls (see note on *Gorgias* 455e) to be dismantled and the boat sheds that housed the Athenian war triremes destroyed. The vast majority of the ships themselves had to be handed over to him. Any Athenian ‘decision’ not to pursue its previous ‘liberation’ agenda was in truth necessitated by the city’s reduced circumstances as in effect a demilitarised Spartan vassal state.

<sup>29</sup> Socrates died in 399. The part of the narrative that follows relates to the years after that. The flagrant anachronism suggests that Plato wanted to highlight continuing delusion about Athens’ motives, role and standing as an actor on the international stage.

to ask for help; and most astonishing of all, the Great King reduced to such helplessness that his only remaining hope of survival lay with the city he had been so keen to destroy. Indeed, if you wanted to accuse our city and have justice on your side, the only thing you could properly say in accusation would be that she is always too inclined to compassion, too caring where the weak are concerned.

‘On this occasion too she was unable to go through with it and stick to her decision, if any of those who had treated her unjustly was being enslaved, to refuse them help. She buckled, and did help them: in the case of the Greeks, she acted herself, helping them and releasing them from slavery – with the result that they were free until they themselves once again enslaved one another. As for the Great King, she could not bring herself to assist him herself; she had too much respect for the memorials commemorating the victories of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea. But merely by allowing exiles and volunteers to help him, she saved him, as is generally agreed. Then she fortified the city, built a fleet, undertook the war which had been forced upon her, and made war on the Spartans in defence of the people of Paros.<sup>30</sup>

‘Once he saw the Spartans giving up on the war at sea, the Great King started to fear our city. He wanted to withdraw from the alliance, and so he asked for the Greeks on the mainland of Asia – whom the Spartans had previously handed over to him – as the price for his continued alliance with us and his other allies. He thought we would refuse, and that this would give him an excuse to withdraw from it. He was wrong about his other allies: the Corinthians, the Argives, the Boeotians and the rest of the allies were quite happy to hand them over to him; they came to an agreement, and swore oaths, that they would hand over the Greeks on the mainland to him if he was prepared to pay them a cash sum. We were the only ones who could not bring ourselves to hand them over or swear the

<sup>30</sup> The events recounted here belong to the years 395–393. Since the end of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta had become by far the major Greek power, increasingly feared by her allies in that war, and had been engaging in effective operations of various kinds against the Persians. Athens – whether as a major or minor partner – joined with the Argives, Boeotians, and Corinthians in resisting Spartan aggression on the Greek mainland. At the same time (summer of 394) the Athenian admiral Conon, commanding a large fleet of Persian warships in the eastern Aegean, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spartan fleet at the battle of Cnidus. Following further naval operations the following year against Spartan territory itself, Conon persuaded the Persians to transfer a substantial part of the fleet to Athenian control, chased the Spartans from the Cyclades (this may explain the reference to Paros), and with Persian financial assistance put completion of the rebuilding of the long walls and the Piraeus in hand.

oaths.<sup>31</sup> So firm and robust was our city’s attachment to nobility and freedom, so instinctively anti-barbarian – the result of our being pure Greeks with no barbarian admixture. We have none of those Pelopses, Cadmuses, Aegyptuses or Danauses dwelling among us – none of those others whom convention calls Greeks, but who are really barbarians. We live as out-and-out Greeks – not a drop of barbarian blood in us – which is why our city has this pure, ingrained hatred of anything essentially foreign.

‘Despite everything, therefore, we were once again left on our own, thanks to our refusal to perform the disgraceful and unholy act of handing Greeks over to barbarians. This put us in the same position we had been in before, when we were overwhelmed, only this time, with god’s help, we brought hostilities to a more satisfactory conclusion. We finished the war still in possession of our ships, our walls and our colonies,<sup>32</sup> so eager were our enemies to finish it. All the same, we lost brave men in that war too – those who found themselves fighting on impossible ground at Corinth, or those who were betrayed at Lechaeum.<sup>33</sup> Brave, too, were those who liberated the Great King, and drove the Spartans from the seas. With men such as these, it is my task to bring them to your attention. What you have to do is help me praise them and celebrate them.

‘So much for the actions of the men who are buried here, and of the others who have died for the city.<sup>34</sup> There are the many fine deeds I have

<sup>31</sup> Were the negotiations ‘Aspasia’ refers to here those that took place in 392–391 (on Spartan rather than Persian initiative), or those of 387–386 that resulted in what is nowadays called the King’s Peace? Certainly the late 390s was a time when for the Spartans the war at sea was lost, whereas by the time of the King’s Peace a naval victory over the Athenians in the north eastern Aegean was to leave the Spartan admiral Antalcidas ‘master of the sea’ and the Athenians desperate for peace (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.1.13–29). On the other hand an admittedly confused fragment of the historian Philochorus (*FGH* 328 F149a) connects the Athenian position of refusal to accede to Persian rule over the Greeks in Asia with the King’s Peace (or as the Greeks called it, the peace of Antalcidas) of 387–386. For further historical details consult P.J. Rhodes, *A History of the Classical Greek World 478–323 BC*, pp.192–3.

<sup>32</sup> In the terms of settlement debated in 392–391 the Persians made no objection to Athens’ retention of the north Aegean islands of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros. The same was to be true of the subsequent King’s Peace.

<sup>33</sup> The probability is that ‘Aspasia’ is referring to Athenian losses at the battle between the Spartans and the allied forces at the Nemea River (394; see *Hellenica* 4.2.14–23, although no mention is made there of ‘impossible ground’), and to fighting involving the anti-Spartan coalition (including Athenian mercenaries under Iphicrates) at or near the Corinthian port of Lechaeum (392), where there was what an Athenian patriot might regard as ‘betrayal’ of the allied fortified position by Corinthian dissidents (*Hellenica* 4.4.1–12). ‘Aspasia’ then refers once more to Conon’s naval exploits against the Spartans (397–394).

<sup>34</sup> ‘Aspasia’ now concludes the oration in something approximating the traditional manner, with words of encouragement and consolation to those still living (as does Thucydides’

described, but many more and finer are those I have omitted. It would  
 b take me many days and nights if I was going to list them all, and even then  
 it would not be enough. Let us remember them, therefore, and let each  
 man among us urge their descendants, as we would in time of war, not to  
 break ranks with their forefathers, not to give way to cowardice and turn  
 c tail. For my part I urge you now, you children of brave men, and no mat-  
 ter where I come across you in the future I will remind and instruct you  
 to set your hearts on being as brave as you possibly can. Today, however,  
 it is right for me to give you the message which your fathers, when they  
 were about to risk their lives, ordered us to give to those who were left  
 behind, should anything happen to them. What I am going to say to you  
 will be what I actually heard from their own lips, and also the kind of  
 thing they would want to say to you now if they could, judging by what  
 they did say then. You must regard the message you hear from me as  
 being spoken by them in person. What they said was this.<sup>35</sup>  
 d “Children, that you are born of brave fathers, the present occasion  
 of itself makes clear. We could have gone on living, without honour, but  
 instead we have chosen to die with honour. We do not want to bring  
 reproach upon you and upon those who come after you; we do not want  
 to shame our own fathers and all our kin who went before us. For the per-  
 son who brings shame on his own family, we think, life is not worth liv-  
 ing; such a person has no friend – neither among mankind nor among the  
 gods, neither on earth nor under the earth when he is dead. Remember  
 our words, therefore, and whatever occupation you pursue, be sure to  
 e pursue it with courage, in the knowledge that without that all possessions  
 and activities are shameful and evil. Wealth with cowardice adds no lustre  
 to him who has it – the wealth of someone like that benefits another, not  
 himself – and physical strength and good looks are clearly not becoming,  
 are in fact positively unbecoming, when found in one who is cowardly

Pericles: Thuc. 2.42–5; see also Lysias 2.67–81). The language employed in the opening section (246a–c) is reminiscent of that used by Socrates in his speech to the jurors in the *Apology*, when describing his attitude to death (28d–29a) and the imperative about living the good life he feels obliged to impress on everyone he meets (29d–30a; ‘no matter where I come across you’, 246b6–c1, almost exactly echoes a similar phrase at *Apol.* 29d6).

<sup>35</sup> Plato likes writing hypothetical speeches of this kind. Parallels are (again) the harangue the Socrates of the *Apology* imagines himself delivering to whatever Athenians he runs into (29d–30c), and the address by the laws of Athens in the *Crito* (50a–54d). ‘Aspasia’ speaks first and at some length to the children of the departed, something left to the very end by Thucydides’ Pericles, and then given just two short sentences (Thuc. 2.45.1; in Lysias only half a sentence: Lys. 2.72).

and base. They draw attention to their possessor, and advertise his cow-  
 ardice – just as all knowledge, when divorced from justice and the rest of  
 moral goodness, is clearly not wisdom but unscrupulous opportunism.<sup>36</sup> 247

“For these reasons your aim must be to devote your energy – first,  
 last, and at all times and in all ways your entire energy – ideally to out-  
 doing us and those before us in glory; failing that, then be aware that if  
 we are victorious in our contest of courage with you, victory brings with  
 it disgrace, whereas defeat, if we are defeated, brings happiness. And  
 the best way for us to be defeated and you to be victorious is for you  
 not to treat the reputation of your ancestors as something you can draw  
 upon for day-to-day spending. You must realise that to a man who has  
 b any opinion of himself at all nothing is more shameful than presenting  
 himself to the world as an object of distinction not because of anything  
 he has done, but because of the fame of his ancestors. For children, the  
 distinction of their parents is a fine and imposing treasure. But to use up  
 a treasure – be it in money or distinction – and not leave it to your chil-  
 dren, because you have no personal wealth or reputation of your own, is  
 shameful and unmanly.

“Do as we say, and when your own fate brings you here, you will arrive  
 among us as friends among friends. Disregard our advice – play the cow-  
 c ard – and you will not be welcome at all. To our children, then, let that  
 be all we have to say.

“Some of us have fathers and mothers still living.<sup>37</sup> You must encour-  
 age them always to bear their misfortune, if that is indeed what it is, as  
 lightly as they can, and not join in a general outpouring of grief. They  
 have no need of something which will upset them further – what has hap-  
 d pened already will be quite capable of doing that. No, you must heal and  
 soften their hurt by reminding them that the gods have listened to the  
 most important of their prayers. They did not pray for children who were  
 immortal, but children who were courageous and of great renown. And  
 that is what they have got – no small blessing. And for all in his life to turn  
 out in accordance with his wishes is, for a mortal man, no easy matter.

<sup>36</sup> Cicero appropriates this sentiment (which could be construed as a version of the doctrine of the unity of the virtues), acknowledging its Platonic provenance, in his *On Duties* (1.63).

<sup>37</sup> Now ‘Aspasia’ turns to comfort for the parents of the departed. Both the Thucydidean Pericles (Thuc. 2.44) and Lysias (who waxes eloquent at this point: Lys. 2.72–8) see the parents’ situation as intrinsically miserable, though Lysias takes a starker and more fatalistic line than Pericles. ‘Aspasia’s’ tone is much more positive, perhaps at root because her advice incorporates the Socratic idea that our happiness depends on ourselves and our virtues, not on others and their fortunes (247c–248a; compare for example *Apol.* 41c–d: no harm can come to a good man).

e “Also, if they bear their misfortunes bravely, they will be recognised as the true fathers of brave sons, who possess the same quality themselves.  
 e If they give way to their misfortunes, they will arouse the suspicion either that they are not our fathers, or that the people singing our praises are liars. They should not let either of those things happen; instead they should be the ones who most praise us – by their actions – thus showing themselves to be, clearly and in truth, men and the fathers of men. We think the old saying ‘Nothing in excess’ was well said, and in truth it *is* a good saying. A man whose prospects of happiness depend in their entirety just on him,  
 248 give or take a little, not on other people whose success or failure necessarily brings a fluctuation in his fortunes as well – this is the person who is best equipped for life; he is the one with self-control, brave and wise. And if first he comes by money or children and then loses them, he more than anyone will give ear to that maxim. He will not make a great parade either of his joy or his grief, because he puts his trust in himself.

b “That is how we think our families should be, how we would like them to be and what we say of them, just as we ourselves show the same qualities in not being unduly upset or frightened if this is the time for us to die. We appeal to our fathers and mothers to adopt the same resolve as they live out the rest of their lives. Let them be aware that it will give us no great pleasure if they mourn us and grieve for us. Indeed, if the  
 c dead have any perception of the living, then that is what would give us least pleasure. It would be bad for them, and make it hard for them to bear their misfortunes, whereas bearing them easily and with restraint would please us most. For us, after all, things are about to come to what is, for mankind, the finest of conclusions – a reason for celebrating, not mourning. The best way for them to forget their misfortunes, and live a life which is finer, truer and more pleasing to us, is to turn their attention to the care and upbringing of our wives and children.

d “That is all the message our families need from us. To the city we would urge that they take care of our fathers and sons for us. Educate our sons properly, and look after our fathers in their old age, as they deserve – though we are well aware that it will take good care of them even without our urging.”

e “To you, children and parents of those who have died, that is the message which they have commanded us to convey.<sup>38</sup> And I for my part am

<sup>38</sup> For the rest of her speech ‘Aspasia’ reflects on the responsibilities of the city itself to the dead, their children, and their parents, modulating from the fictive voice of the fallen

conveying it with all the seriousness I can command. Here in person, speaking for them, I ask their families to follow their example, if they are sons, and to feel no anxiety on their own behalf, if they are parents, since we, individually and collectively, will take care of you in your old age and look after you, wherever any single one of us comes across any single one from their families. As for the city, you are yourselves no doubt well aware of the provisions she makes. She has provided by law for the children and parents of those killed in war, and has instructed  
 249 those who hold the highest office to watch over them above all the other citizens, to make sure the fathers and mothers of these people are not treated unjustly.

“When it comes to the children, the city herself takes a hand in their upbringing: in her determination that they should have as little awareness as possible of being fatherless, she herself fills the position of father to them for as long as they remain children; and when they reach manhood, she fits them out with full military equipment and sends them to claim what is theirs; in this way she highlights and recalls the achievements of the fathers by giving the sons the tools of the fathers’ noble occupation, while at the same time ensuring that the possession of weapons gives  
 b them an auspicious start on their journey to their ancestral hearth, where they will need strength to rule.<sup>39</sup>

“As for the dead themselves, the city never stops honouring them: each year she herself pays all of them publicly the same observance as is paid to each individual privately; on top of that, she holds competitions in athletics and riding, and in every branch of music and poetry. Quite simply, to those who have died she acts as son and heir; to their sons, as father;  
 c and to parents and other relatives, as protector. In this way she takes every possible care of every one of them, every day of their lives. You must keep these things in mind, and that will help you bear your misfortune more lightly; in that way you will best show your affection both to those who have died and to those who yet live; and you will most easily care and be cared for.

soldiers to her own. Lysias has nothing comparable, although Pericles has a great deal to say of a rather different kind about the way of life fostered by the city, and ends by remarking on the responsibilities towards the children that it recognises (Thuc. 2.46.1).

<sup>39</sup> Before the performance of tragedies at the Great Dionysia festival, sons of citizens killed in war were on reaching adulthood presented to the people and clothed in hoplite armour. This marked their formal entry into the duties of head of household.

'And now, since you – along with everyone else here – have completed the public mourning for the dead in accordance with the law, go your ways.'<sup>40</sup>

d There you are, Menexenus – the speech of Aspasia of Miletus.

MENEXENUS: Heavens, Socrates, how gifted you make Aspasia out to be. Fancy a woman being able to compose a speech as good as that.

SOCRATES: If you don't believe me, come with me now. You can hear her speaking for herself.

MENEXENUS: No, I've met Aspasia, Socrates. Lots of times. I know what she is capable of.

SOCRATES: Don't you think she is wonderful? Aren't you now grateful to her for her speech?

e MENEXENUS: Yes, Socrates. I am extremely grateful for the speech – and to the woman or man who recited it.<sup>41</sup> And I'm grateful to the speaker for many other things as well.

SOCRATES: I'm glad to hear it. But mind you don't betray me, so that I can bring you many more of the fine speeches she writes for political purposes.

MENEXENUS: Don't worry, I won't betray you. Just keep bringing them.

SOCRATES: You can count on it.

<sup>40</sup> 'Aspasia's' final words echo Pericles' at the end of his funeral speech in Thucydides (2.46.2). Both may be using the same traditional concluding formula.

<sup>41</sup> Menexenus implies that he takes Socrates, not Aspasia, to be the real author.

## Protagoras

### Dramatis personae

*Dates of birth and death given below are conjectural, except for Socrates and for the deaths of Alcibiades and Critias.*

ALCIBIADES (451–404) Flamboyant Athenian aristocratic politician, brought up in Pericles' household as his ward. An associate of Socrates from an early age: Socrates' erotic interest in him is explored in the *Symposium*, and alluded to in both the *Gorgias* and the *Protagoras*. He was the main advocate and initially commander of the Sicilian expedition (415–413), but was indicted in connection with religious scandals and recalled from his command. After intriguing first with the Spartans and then the Persians, he subsequently led the Athenian fleet to victory over the Spartans at Cyzicus in the Bosphorus (410). After further personal vicissitudes, he was murdered by Persian agents in Phrygia (modern Asiatic Turkey).

CALLIAS (450–365) His father Hipponicus was an Athenian aristocrat reputed to be the richest man in Greece and still active in the 420s (he served as general in 426/5). The family were connected to Pericles' family by marriage. Following the precedent of Eupolis's comedy *Sycophants* (421), Plato here imagines Callias as a mature man who has recently inherited the principal family house (315d) and is lavishing his wealth on sophists (see further *Apology* 20d). We hear of Callias as a public figure in his later years (general, 391; diplomatic envoy, 371). The money (derived largely from the Laurium