

School of Theology at Claremont



1001 1342232

PSEUDO-PLATO, *AXIOCHUS*

by

Jackson P. Hershbell

B

391

A85

H47



The Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT

WEST FOOTHILL AT COLLEGE AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

PSEUDO-PLATO, *AXIOCHUS*

Society of Biblical Literature



TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS
GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGION SERIES

edited by
Hans Dieter Betz
Edward N. O'Neil

Texts and Translations 21
Graeco-Roman Religion Series 6

PSEUDO-PLATO,
AXIOCHUS

by
Jackson P. Hershbell

B

391

A85

H47

**PSEUDO-PLATO,
*AXIOCHUS***

by Jackson P. Hershbell

Scholars Press

Distributed by
Scholars Press
101 Salem Street
Chico, California 95926

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

PSEUDO-PLATO, *AXIOCHUS*

by

Jackson P. Hershbell

Copyright © 1981
The Society of Biblical Literature

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Hershbell, Jackson P 1935-
Pseudo-Plato, Axiochus.

(Graeco-Roman religion series ; 6 ISSN 0145-3211)

(Texts and translations ; 21 ISSN 0145-3203)

Bibliography: p.

Includes indexes.

1. Plato. Spurious and doubtful works. Axiochus.
2. Death—Early works to 1800. I. Plato. Spurious
and doubtful works. Axiochus. English. 1980.

II. Title. III. Series. IV. Series: Society of
Biblical Literature. Texts and translations ; 21.

B391. A85H47 128'.5 79-20127

ISBN 0-89130-354-5 pbk.

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 6

Edwards Brothers, Inc.
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
I. The Dialogue and the Understanding of Greek Religion and Philosophy	1
II. The Structure of the Work	8
III. The Origin of the Work	10
A. Linguistic Evidence	12
B. Historical Evidence	13
C. Philosophical Evidence	14
IV. Literary Genre	19
V. Date and Authorship of the <i>Axiochus</i>	20
NOTES TO PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION	23
TEXT AND TRANSLATION	27
NOTES TO TRANSLATION	53
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	71
INDEX I: NAMES, ANCIENT AND MODERN	75
INDEX II: ANCIENT PASSAGES	79
INDEX III: GREEK TERMS	87

PREFACE

Until the present, only three English translations of the *Axiochus* have appeared: one attributed to Edmund Spenser, a "lost work" of his, first published in 1592, and in facsimile in 1934; an English translation in 1607 of Philippe de Mornay's French version of 1581; and that of E. H. Blakeney in 1937.¹ Spenser's interest in the work is no surprise since it was a favorite in the Renaissance, and prior to 1592 had been translated many times into French, Italian, Latin, and Spanish.² By most scholars then, the *Axiochus* was attributed to Plato, although its authenticity was being questioned. Marsilio Ficino, for example, as early as 1477, assigned the dialogue to Xenocrates.³ But until the nineteenth century, there seems to have been little extensive or serious scholarship on the work, especially in English. Even Blakeney's "little book" of 1937 was undertaken "not for the learned but for learners,"⁴ providing with its notes a useful but general introduction to the dialogue. Blakeney failed, however, to consult studies not in English, e.g. those of Chevalier, Feddersen, Immisch, Souilhé, and he showed little understanding of the problems posed by the dialogue.

The following introduction, text, translation, and commentary have been undertaken with the hope of bringing the *Axiochus* into focus with previous scholarship and helping the reader to understand the difficulties of this small work. Standard abbreviations of ancient authors are given in accordance with Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon (LSJ)*; Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*; and Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*. The text used is that of J. Souilhé, which is basically the same as that of J. Burnet, but with a more extensive critical apparatus.

Indices of ancient and modern names, ancient passages, and Greek terms were composed by Professor Edward O'Neil.

Special thanks are due to Hans Dieter Betz, Roy Kotansky, and Professor O'Neil. I am especially indebted to Professor Betz for making useful criticisms on the introduction and commentary, and to Professor O'Neil for his critique of my translation, as well as for the indices. Both colleagues saved me from many errors and oversights. Whatever faults remain are entirely my own.

Since much of the preliminary work was done at the University of Munich, I would like to thank the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung for making possible a year of study from the fall of 1977 to that of 1978.

Jackson P. Hershbell
Minneapolis, Minnesota

April 1981

INTRODUCTION

I. The Dialogue and the Understanding of Greek Religion and Philosophy

Scholars have often criticized the *Axiochus* for its lack of originality and consistency, but the work should not be measured by these standards.⁵ It can more properly be viewed as a good summary of Greek religious-philosophical thought about death as probably held in the second or first century B.C., thus as an important example of the syncretism which became common in late antiquity, before and during the advent of Christianity. In particular, it is a curious blending of Epicurean and Platonic views on the soul and afterlife. Cynic and Stoic influences are also discernible in the dialogue, and it may also, as many scholars have thought, reflect Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs.

Without doubt, the *Axiochus* is one of numerous works, known as "consolations," composed in antiquity under the initial inspiration of Plato's *Phaedo*. The Platonic influence on the *Axiochus* is manifest not only in the Athenian setting and personae of the dialogue, especially the figure of Socrates, but also in some of its main conceptions such as the immortality of the soul with the concomitant belief that the body is a prison or tomb for the soul (*Ax.* 366A, 370D; cf. *Phd.* 62B, 82F and *Grg.* 493A); when the soul is released from the body, it will lead a fairer and purer kind of life (*Ax.* 370C-D; cf. *Phd.* 114B-C). Also the myth which concludes the *Axiochus* (371A-372), with its description of the soul's wanderings after death, the judgment of Minos and Rhadamanthys, the fates of the wicked and virtuous, has probably been modeled, in part, after the eschatological myths of Plato's *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, and *Republic* (Bk. 10). Much of this material, however, is also Orphic-Pythagorean. Certainly the body-tomb (*sōma-sēma*) doctrine is found in

Orphism, and both Orphics and Pythagoreans believed in the soul's immortality.⁶ Their influence on Plato has often been claimed,⁷ and thus, although he remains the main authority for the author of the *Axiochus*, Orphic-Pythagorean elements in the dialogue cannot be easily dismissed.

But in addition to teachings of Plato, the *Axiochus* also contains doctrines of Epicurus, all of which may be considered variations on the theme that "death is nothing to us" (*Sent.* 2, apud D. L. 10.139). For as a lapse into total and permanent unconsciousness, death concerns neither the living--for they are--nor the dead--for they no longer are (369C). Death is thus not to be feared, and is, in fact, a release from the ills and pains of this life. *Axiochus* rejects, however, the view of death as complete annihilation as "the current chatter of the times" (369D), and Immisch may be right in concluding that the *Axiochus* is an anti-Epicurean polemic, intended to contrast Platonic with Epicurean answers to the perennial problem of what may be hoped for after life.⁸

Since the *Axiochus* seems intended for a popular audience, however, no mention is made in it of the basic metaphysical premises on which these competing views of death were based: for the Epicureans, atoms and the void, and for the Platonists, the world of Ideas or Forms. On the whole, it appears that the author of the *Axiochus* was not very interested in complicated or sophisticated philosophical theories. Without discussion of their original theoretical frameworks, he took two by then popular but incompatible views of death and fashioned his consolation in such a way that belief in an afterlife prevails over that in total extinction. Certainly the dialogue's concluding myth confirms the author's interest in maintaining the soul's immortality, and with it the importance of leading a good (moral) life in this world. Diverse as the sources of the myth may be, it is well within the tradition of Platonic eschatological myths, both Plato's own and those of later Platonists such

as Plutarch, e.g. his *De genio Socr.* 590-592F or *De seranum. vind.* 563B-568. Like these myths, that of the *Axiochus* stresses the view that whether above or below (ἢ κάτω ἢ ἄνω), you must be in a state of well-being if you have lived piously (εὐδαιμονεῖν σε δεῖ...βεβιωκότα εὐσεβῶς, 372).

The immortality of the soul expounded by Socrates in the latter part of the *Axiochus* is, however, not strictly an ethical or philosophical notion. It is also bound up with religious beliefs. According to Socrates, the soul's immortality is proved by human achievements in the ascent from brutish existence to civilization, especially by the creation of astronomy, the science which reveals the *magnalia Dei*. For humanity could not have done these things unless there were a "divine spirit in the soul" by which we have so much intelligence and knowledge (370C). Common as this idea of an immanent divine spirit was among authors of the Greco-Roman period, e.g. Posidonius, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, it is given concise treatment in connection with the soul's immortality in the *Axiochus*.⁹

The concluding myth of the *Axiochus*, with its description of the underworld, also offers a wealth of material for a student of ancient Greek religion. The sources for the myth are no doubt many and varied. For example, the depiction of the life of the pious in the underworld can be traced back to the Homeric poems, e.g. *Odyssey* 4.563-69 with its brief description of the Elysian Plain, or to Pindar (*Frag.* 129 and 130, ed. Christ, quoted in Plutarch *Cons. ad Apoll.* 120C, cf. *Ax.* 371C-E).

On them is lit the strength of the sun beneath
the darkness we know here,
and the space before the city of them lies in
bright-flowering meadows,
shadowy with incense-trees and heavy with golden
fruits.
And some with horses and exercise, some with
draught-games,
some with lyres take their pleasure, and a whole
life of bliss breaks into flower upon them.

A lovely fragrance is scattered across the place as they join all manner of sacrifices to bright fire on the gods' altars. (R. Lattimore's trans.)

Still other elements of the *Axiochus* myth can be found in Greek literature. The punishment of the wicked, especially Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus, can be traced back to *Odyssey* 11.575-600. And notions similar to the "well arranged drinking parties and self-furnished banquets" (συμπόσιά τε εὐμελῆ καὶ εἴλαπίναί αὐτοχορηγῆται, 371D) appear in Plutarch (*De sera num. vind.* 565F) and in Lucian (*VH* 2.5 and 14), where the blessed enjoy feasts and drinking in the afterlife. Perhaps the ultimate source for this conception is Orphic, for Plato writes in the *Republic*:¹⁰

And Musaeus and his son have a more excellent song than these of the blessings that the gods bestow on the righteous. For they conduct them to the house of Hades in their tale and arrange a symposium of the saints, where, reclined on couches and crowned with wreaths, they entertain the time henceforth with wine, as if the fairest meed of virtue were an everlasting drunk. (363C)

Also important for understanding the *Axiochus* myth are its allusions to the Eleusinian mysteries. In the afterlife, there is a "place of honor for those who are initiated" (τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἐστὶ τις προεδρία), and before beginning their descent to Hades, Dionysus and Heracles were initiated and encouraged by the goddess of Eleusis (371D-E).¹¹ Now one of the essential features of the Eleusinian mysteries was the confidence they gave to the initiates for the hereafter, not so much because their souls would survive, but because of the kind of survival promised: the souls of the initiated would have a blessed existence, those of the uninitiated a miserable one. Thus Isocrates (*Paneg.* 28) writes that one of the benefits of the mysteries was that those who shared in its rites "had sweeter expectations for all eternity" (...τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδέιους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι); cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 480-82: "happy is he among men upon earth who has

seen these mysteries; but he who is uninitiate...never has lot of like good things once he is dead, down in darkness and gloom." In Diogenes Laertius' life of Diogenes of Sinope (6.39), it is reported that the Athenians urged him to be initiated, for those in the other world would obtain a special place of honor (...έν ᾄδου προεδρίας οἱ μεμνημένοι τυγχάνουσι. And the connections of Dionysus and Heracles with the Eleusinian mysteries are known from both literary sources and vase-paintings.¹²

In sum, the *Axiochus*, especially its myth, contains an unusual synthesis of religious beliefs of the ancient world, many of which can be traced back to Homer, Pindar, Plato, the Orphic-Pythagorean tradition, and to the Eleusinian mysteries. And Nilsson is probably right in remarking that the myth shows that "old ideas about the underworld have not lost their force."¹³

Besides the traditional or popular Greek religious conceptions of the *Axiochus*, some mention should be made of the dialogue's occasional similarities to early Christian thought. Chevalier noted that the earliest reference to the work is in Diogenes Laertius (ca. second-third century A.D.), and that several expressions or beliefs are curiously like those found in early Christian literature.¹⁴ Among the more striking cited by Chevalier are: (1) the term σκήνος (366A) applied to the human body--it appears already in Democritus (e.g. B37 and B187), and then rather frequently in the early Christian period: in 2 Cor 5:4 (cf. σκήνωμα in 2 Pet 1:13f.); *Dg.* 6:8; *Corp. Herm.* XIII.12,15; *Papyri Graecae Magicae*; *Ach. Tat.* II.36.3; and the LXX. (2) γέγονα καινός (370E)--"I have become a new man"; this sense of καινός seems unknown to the pre-Christian world. Plutarch used the expression (*Cat. Ma.* 1), but to refer to a *homo novus* in a social context; only in the NT is it found in the sense of "renewed within" (on καινός, 2 Cor 5:17, Gal 6:15, Eph 4:24; on καινότης, Rom 6:4, έν καινότητι πνεύματος (cf. Rom 7:6). (3) εἰ μή τι θεῖον ὄντως ένῆν πνεῦμα

τῆ ψυχῆ (370C), where *pneuma* is used to designate neither the soul itself, nor a superior part of the soul (as used by Xenocrates and the Stoics), but something divine in us, indeed the effect of divine action on the soul. A similar idea is found in early Christian thought, e.g. Paul's conviction that the Christian has the divine *pneuma* and is thus different from others leads him to use this word to characterize the believer's inner being, e.g. Rom 8:16, "the spirit itself (of God) witnesses together with our spirit..." (αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν...); and in 1 Thess 5:23 and Heb 4:12, a distinction similar to that of the *Axiochus* between soul (*psychē*) and spirit (*pneuma*) is made. Although Chevalier himself considered these and other resemblances between the *Axiochus* and early Christian writings more exterior than profound, they nonetheless suggest some affinity between the texts, an affinity arising probably from the mystery cults and from related "philosophical" and "religious" language.¹⁵

The *Axiochus* has, despite sometimes negative assessments, continued throughout the centuries to attract attention. It was especially valued by Byzantine scholars such as Stobaeus who in his *Περὶ τοῦ βίου* (98, 75. Mein. III. 236: cf. *Ax.* 366 f.), *Ἐπαινος θανάτου* (120, 34-35. Mein. IV. 121: cf. *Ax.* 365B, 369B), and *Σύγκρισις ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου* (121, 38. Mein. IV. 121; cf. *Ax.* 365E), quoted long passages from it. In the twelfth century, Theodorus Prodromus or Hilarion also spoke of the dialogue with praise. But it was in the Renaissance that the *Axiochus* was read, translated, and commented on with great enthusiasm. The reasons for this phenomenon have been briefly but well explained by Chevalier, who observed that the Renaissance humanists' desire for form and their love of rhetoric were well satisfied by the *Axiochus*. Some, such as Marsilio Ficino, also saw in the dialogue an anticipation of Christianity and the moral life.¹⁶

In the sixteenth century, however, doubts about the value of the *Axiochus* began to be raised, and Montaigne, for example, wrote in his *Essais*:

When I find myself disliking Plato's *Axiochus*, as a work without power considering who the author was, my judgment does not trust itself; it is not so foolish as to oppose itself to the authority of so many other famous judgments of antiquity, which it considers as its mentors and masters and with whom it is rather content to err. It blames and condemns itself either for stopping at the outer bark, not being able to penetrate to the heart, or for looking at it by some false light. It is content with only securing itself from confusion and disorder; as to its own weakness, it frankly acknowledges and confesses it. It thinks it gives a just interpretation to the appearances that its apprehension presents to it; but they are weak and imperfect. (*Of Books*, trans. C. Cotton-W. Hazlitt)

Although Montaigne's opinion was generally accepted, subsequent judgments on the *Axiochus* have varied. Scholars such as Fabricius, Boeckh, Welcker, considered it in a favorable light, Fabricius remarking, for example,

whatever the case may be, the author is most ancient and eloquent, and the dialogue, as Fischer believes, is excellent among its kind and elegantly composed, so that the vestiges of its ancient refinement and teaching as well as its Greek eloquence are everywhere clearly discerned.

But later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars such as Susemihl, Heinze, Rohde, Immisch, Wilamowitz, all shared something of Meiners' opinion who believed that a "work of this kind could have only been written by a barbarian or semi-barbarian."¹⁷

In historical retrospect, the *Axiochus* cannot be excessively admired or condemned. Each age has its own literary tastes, and despite negative judgments such as that of Meiners, the *Axiochus* remains, with its oddities and peculiar charm, an interesting and important document stemming probably from the age of anxiety in which Christianity

made its appearance. Platonic, Epicurean, Stoic, Cynic, and other philosophical and religious beliefs were then in circulation, all competing to offer solutions to life's difficulties. Yet, however satisfactory their solutions may have been, death remained for Axiochus and his contemporaries a problem. So it remains for us today, and a twentieth-century consolation would probably not offer better alternatives than those of Socrates. The *Axiochus*' attempt to deal with death may sometimes seem awkward or even amusing, but its subject remains a perennial and perplexing one.

II. The Structure of the Work

At the beginning of the *Axiochus*, Socrates narrates a past event in which he has been both observer and participant. Then, with an almost imperceptible transition from narrative to dramatic form, the work continues as if several persons were present, presumably Cleinias, Damon, and Charmides, but the last two say nothing. Even Cleinias, who summons Socrates to his father's bed, becomes a silent onlooker. The main part of the dialogue consists of exchanges between Socrates and Axiochus, the latter mostly reacting to Socrates' arguments which try to show that one should not fear death, but rather desire it. A reasonable division of the dialogue, in accord with those made by Chevalier and Souilhé,¹⁸ is as follows.

Part I:

- A. *Introduction* (364-365A): summoned by Cleinias, Socrates goes to the dying Axiochus and attempts to console him.
- B. *The Initial Consolation* (365A-B): Socrates attempts to persuade Axiochus to accept his fate without complaint, and to realize that life is only a sojourn in a foreign land. Several "proofs" follow in which Socrates tries to show Axiochus that it is not necessary to fear the loss of life and its benefits.

1. *First Argument* (365D-366B): Axiochus laments his impending loss of consciousness with his awareness of joys and pleasures, and fears the decay of his body. But, replies Socrates, is his attitude not inconsistent? For if Axiochus will lapse into complete insensibility, what evil can befall him? Since we are a soul, the destruction of the body-soul composite can only herald a transition to a better state in which Axiochus is freed from bodily miseries.
2. *Second Argument* (366D-369B): Socrates recalls a lecture of Prodicus in which the Sophist presented the miseries of life's changes. From infancy to old age, life is full of pain, and the gods quickly release those whom they love. There is thus no reason to cling passionately to life.
3. *Third Argument* (369B-D): Socrates also borrows this argument from Prodicus: death can neither affect the living because they exist, nor the dead since they no longer are and thus cannot be troubled. Axiochus replies that these are sophistic arguments, the fashionable talk of the times, and do not provide genuine consolation (369D).

Part II:

Socrates abandons his previous arguments, and attempts to demonstrate the soul's well-being after death.

4. *Fourth Argument* (370B-371): Socrates believes the soul's immortality is revealed by the great undertakings of the human race, e.g. the conquest of nature, the establishment of cities and governments, especially the contemplation and study of the heavens. Unless a divine spirit (*pneuma*) were really present in the soul, mankind could not know and understand the workings of the universe. When the soul is finally released from its prison, the body, Axiochus will experience a life of joy and peace.

Axiochus confesses that he no longer fears death, but longs for it: "I have become a new person."

Confirmation by a Myth (371A-end): The discourse of Gobryas supports some of Socrates' preceding remarks. So Socrates reports what Gobryas, a Persian wise man, has learned from bronze tablets on Delos: the souls of the just or righteous have a

life of joy and true pleasure; those of the unjust or corrupt pay for their misdeeds in a life of eternal torment. Socrates, however, will not affirm the truth of the myth's details, even though he is convinced that all souls are immortal and that when removed from this corporeal existence, they will have unending bliss if they have lived piously.

Axiochus is now fully persuaded about the soul's immortality, and the consolation is complete: no longer does he fear death, but rather desires it.

III. The Origin of the Work

Neglect of the *Axiochus* among nonspecialists is perhaps understandable. Certainly its style, "adorned with poetic words, odd expressions, bizarre turns of phrasing," seems unworthy of Plato, not to mention various philosophical inconsistencies, and anachronisms.¹⁹ Twentieth-century criticism, supported by Diogenes Laertius (3.62), who lists the dialogue among those acknowledged to be spurious (νοθεύονται...ὁμολογουμένως), is unanimous in considering the work pseudo-Platonic. The reasons for rejecting Plato's authorship are numerous, but P. Shorey succinctly summarized them by remarking:²⁰

The spuriousness of the *Axiochus* is sufficiently proved by its vocabulary and its use of commonplace Stoic and Epicurean topics of the post-Platonic literature of consolations.

But if the dialogue is not by Plato, who was its author, and when was it written? For what reasons? Answers to these questions are hardly unanimous.

At 2.61 of his *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, for example, Diogenes Laertius attributed an *Axiochus* to Aeschines, a disciple of Socrates, and on the basis of this report, some scholars, notably Buresch, argued for Aeschines' authorship of the present dialogue. His views, however, have not found acceptance, and evidence against Aeschines' authorship is considerable. First, the ancients

regarded Aeschines' dialogues as models of Attic prose, and they were known to be long and sophisticated (ὁ τοῦς μακροῦς καὶ ἀστείους διαλόγους γράψας, Lucian, *Par.* 32), properties hardly attributable to the present *Axiochus*. Second, aside from style, if the work is by Aeschines, how are allusions or references to Epicurus' doctrines explained? Buresch claimed that the fragments of Epicurus are citations or imitations of the *Axiochus*, but as Chevalier showed, the reverse seems to be the case.²¹

On the whole, a brief survey of previous opinions about the dialogue's authorship shows how uncertain conclusions on this matter are. Marsilio Ficino, for example, attributed it to Xenocrates, noting that Diogenes Laertius listed a *Περὶ θανάτου* α among the latter's works (4.12). Yet the name of Xenocrates appears on no manuscript of the *Axiochus*, and he apparently did not compose dialogues but rather treatises in the manner of Aristotle. Meister thought that the style and content were derived from Posidonius. Taylor and Immisch believed the dialogue was composed by a member of the Academy against Epicurus near the end of the fourth century B.C. Chevalier found the work's language late, and written under neo-Pythagorean influence not before the first century B.C., an opinion shared to some extent by Souilhé. Blakeney, accepting some of Taylor's views, thought it unnecessary to assign the *Axiochus* composition to "so late a date as the first century B.C."²²

The previous survey of scholarly opinion strongly suggests that the question of specific authorship is unanswerable. Reasons for not assigning the work to Plato (aside from Diogenes Laertius' report), however, seem decisive. Evidence for non-Platonic and probably late authorship is basically of three kinds: linguistic, historical, and philosophical. To be sure, these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, a term not documented before the second century B.C. may be "historical evidence" for late

composition, but in itself is not final proof. The categories must be taken in conjunction, and they are introduced only for easier comprehension of an often complex and extensive collection of data.

A. Linguistic Evidence

The language of the *Axiochus*, especially vocabulary and syntax, was extensively studied by Chevalier, and on the basis of his research it seems clear that the dialogue belongs neither to the fourth nor to the third century B.C.²³ Neologisms or terms apparently unknown to Plato abound, and Chevalier lists a number found in the opening sections of the work: 364B, αἰφνιδίου, διαχλευάζων; 364C, ἐπιτωθάζων, παρηγόρησον, ἀστενακτί, ἐς τὸ χρεῶν ἴη, ἀτυχήσεις μου; 364D, ἀνασφῆλαι; 365A, the plural τὰς ἀφάς, ῥωμαλέον.

Some of these and other terms are found only in later authors, e.g.: ἐπιτωθάζων (364C, and App., BC 2.67 and 5.125; Ath. XIII.604E; Philostr., VS 38.21); παρεπιδημία (365B and e.g. Polybius, 4.4,2, etc.; Plutarch *Tim.* 38, *Eum.* 1; Ath. V.196A; XII.538C; XIII.579A; Ael., VH 90.29 [Hercher]); the prose usage of πληθύς (366B and not before Plutarch and Lucian); δῖμοιρον (366C and only in Plutarch, *C.G.* 17); and συνερανίζω (369A and also in Plutarch, *De sollert. an.* 963B). Other terms appear quite often in later writers, e.g.: ῥωμαλέος (365A and in Galen, Aristides Rhetor, Aelian); πρὸς κακοῦ (366A and Philodemus, Galen, Clement of Alexandria); κριτικὸς (366E and Polybius 32.4,5; Galen, Aristides Rhetor [*Or.* XII.136 Dindorf]), and ἀψίκορος (369A and Polybius, Plutarch, and Lucian). A number of hapax legomena also appear in the dialogue, e.g. ἀμυχαῖος (366A), ἀπηχήματα (366C), περιψυγμόν (366D), and αὐτοχορήγητος (371D). To be sure, hapax legomena as such do not prove late authorship, but taken together with the previous linguistic data and the fact that the *Axiochus* abounds in strange terms, expressions, and constructions,

sometimes "hardly Greek" and "for the most part, of a late date," Chevalier and others seem justified in assigning it to a period later than Plato.²⁴

B. Historical Evidence

The historical material is also important for dating the work. Although the author refers to Socrates' Athens from the dialogue's very beginning, e.g. the Cynosarges, Ilisus, Callirrhoe (364A ff.), the battle of Arginusae (368D-F), or the discourse of Prodicus (366E-367A), anachronisms exist. The section, for example, dealing with the education of young boys and ephebes (366D-367B) has aroused much suspicion about Platonic or fourth-century authorship. No text, except the *Axiochus*, mentions the παιδοτρίβης ("physical trainer") among the instructors of young boys, circa the age of seven; all other extant sources place him among those who educate ephebes (young men of about eighteen, one of whose main tasks was garrison duty). In itself, this is not a conclusive reason against assigning the work to Plato, but taken together with Socrates' description of the ephebes' training, it forms part of the evidence for late authorship. For example, the expression ἐγγράφεσθαι εἰς ἐφήβους (367A), is not found among authors of the fifth and fourth centuries, and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42) mentions only an ἐγγράφεσθαι εἰς τοὺς δήμους. Moreover, when the *Axiochus*' author mentions the Council of the Areopagus' superintendence over the young (also 367A), he describes a situation which ceased to exist in the fourth century. In the *Athenian Constitution* (chap. 42) dealing with the instruction of the ephebes, there is no mention of the Areopagus' surveillance. Only later, under Roman domination, does the Areopagus gain its former importance.²⁵

C. Philosophical Evidence

Further evidence against Platonic authorship and in favor of a date after Epicurus is found in the "borrowings" of the *Axiochus* from the works of both philosophers. First, Feddersen followed by Chevalier noted a number of phrases or expressions apparently taken from Plato.²⁶ Some are, of course, more obviously "borrowings" than others, e.g. *Axiochus* 372A (ψυχὴ ἅπασα ἀθάνατος) is almost identical with *Phdr.* 245C (ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος), whereas, e.g. *Ax.* 365B (οὐκ ἐπιλογιῆ τὴν φύσιν... ὅτι... παρεπιδημία τίς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος) expresses, but in different language, much the same idea as *Ap.* 40E (εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημῆσαι ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον...). Chevalier's judgment, however, that the author of the *Axiochus* not only imitated Plato, but also plagiarized and plundered his work, is much too strong, for it rests on the assumption that the *Axiochus* is, indeed, posterior, thus perhaps begging the question of its date and authorship.²⁷

Second and perhaps more significant for dating the *Axiochus* are the "borrowings" from Epicurus. If, for example, the *Letter to Menoeceus* (D.L. 10.139; cf. *Sent.* 2 apud D.L. 10.139) is compared with *Ax.* 365D and 369B-C, it is hard to believe that there is only chance resemblance. In these passages, both Epicurus and Socrates develop the same theme; "death is nothing to us" (ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς). Since death is a lapse into total insensibility, it is foolish to fear it. Death is only painful in prospect, not when it happens. As regards the living, death exists not, while the dead no longer exist.

But is the borrower of these beliefs Epicurus, or the author of the *Axiochus*? Now Sextus Empiricus (*P.* 3.229, and *M.* 1.285) strongly implies that Epicurus first promulgated or demonstrated (ἀποδέδεικται) the proposition, "death is nothing to us." Moreover, the Epicurean conception of death as complete annihilation is not really in harmony with Socrates' conviction that the soul is immortal. It is, as

Souilhé rightly remarked, "an awkward addition" to the prevailing thought of the dialogue.²⁸

In general, the *Axiochus* seems only a "mosaic of diverse and inconsistent elements,"²⁹ and its teachings sometimes agree neither with those of Plato nor with those of Epicurus. Several examples can be found.³⁰ One is at 365E, where Socrates refers to the human being (ἄνθρωπος) as a union of body *and* soul (σύνγκρισις) which is dissolved by death. The soul then goes to its proper or rightful place, but the body, being earthy and irrational, is not the human being, for "we are soul," locked in a mortal prison. The doctrine is, of course, not Epicurus', although Sextus Empiricus refers a similar notion to the Epicureans who say that "we are compounded of soul and body, and death is a dissolution of soul and body." Yet the composition is such that "when we exist, death does not exist (for we are being dissolved), but when death exists we do not exist. For when the compound (σύνστασις) of soul and body no longer exists, we too cease to exist" (P. 3.229). But neither does Socrates' belief expressed at 365E agree wholly with that of Plato. For although Plato thought of the soul as a sort of mixture (see *R.* 10.611B; *Phdr.* 246B, and *Ti.* 32C), he never apparently considered the human person a mixture (σύνγκρισις) of body *and* soul. For him, the human person *is* the soul (*Phd.* 66B), and death is only the separation of two basically different things, i.e. soul and body.

There are still other passages of the *Axiochus* not in keeping either with doctrines of Plato or of Epicurus. One is at 370C, where the distinction is made between the *psychē* and *pneuma*, and the latter term is used to designate something in the soul, such that it would not have been possible for the soul (*psychē*) to undertake great endeavors, e.g. the taming of beasts, sea faring, constructing houses, studying the heavens, "unless a divine *pneuma* were really present in the soul" (εἰ μὴ τι θεῖον ὄντως ἐνῆν πνεῦμα τῇ ψυχῇ). Such a notion of *pneuma* seems to have been unknown to Plato, and

also certainly not part of Epicurean belief. Another non-Platonic and non-Epicurean concept is at 371C where the expression ἀγαθὸς δαίμων is used, implying a distinction between good and bad *daimones*. Plato had, of course, a daimonology, but he nowhere expressed an explicit belief in bad *daimones*. That is first found in the teaching of his successor Xenocrates, who postulated two species of *daimones* corresponding to two distinct natures in us: νοῦς and ψυχή. Εὐδαίμων is he whose *daimon* is good; κακοδαίμων is he whose *daimon* is bad.³¹ And daimonology certainly was not a part of Epicurean doctrine.³² To be sure, beliefs about the gods are as valuable to the wise as false beliefs are harmful to the foolish, but the gods remain passive and uninvolved observers of the human scene.

In general, the *Axiochus* is a syncretistic work, and doctrines inconsistent with those of Plato and of Epicurus, not to mention with one another, are probably explained by the author's apparent knowledge and use of the teachings of other philosophical schools, especially those of Cynicism and Stoicism.

Cynic Elements. Many scholars have noticed great similarity between certain passages of the *Axiochus* and several fragments of the Cynic moralists of the third century.³³ By comparison of vocabulary and themes, likely borrowings from Crates and from Bion can be shown. First, the passage on the miseries of life and especially those of the young (366D,E), seems only a reworking of Teles' resumé of Crates on human suffering.

If it is necessary to measure the happy life from an excess of pleasure, no one, says Crates, can really be happy. Indeed, if anyone wants to add up all the stages in his whole life, he will find that troubles are far more numerous....

If he escapes the nurse, there to grab him in turn are the tutor, the physical education teacher, the grammar teacher, the music teacher.... Here comes the teacher of mathematics, of geometry.... (By all of these he is beaten)....

Now he is a youth: Again he fears the magistrate in charge of youths, the physical education teacher, the teacher of weaponry, the master of the gymnasium....

He's become a man and is in his prime: he serves in the army, goes on embassies for the state, serves as a politician....He considers the life he lived as a boy to be happy....

He's past his prime and approaching old age: again he submits to being waited on like a child and longs for his youth.... (O'Neil's translation, *Teles*, V.1 ff. [49H-51H])

Second, the description of declining old age (367B) is similar to one given by Bion of Borysthenes as reported by Teles.

"Just as we are ejected from our house," says Bion, "when the landlord, because he has not received his rent, takes away the door, takes away the pottery, stops up the well, in the same way," he says, "am I being ejected from this poor body when Nature, the landlady, takes away my ears, my hands, my feet...." (O'Neil's translation, *Teles*, II.149 [15H-16H])

Stoic Elements. Stoic beliefs and expressions can also be found in the *Axiochus*. For example, the expression εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἰέναι (364C, 365B) seems to refer to an idea common among the Stoics, e.g. Seneca (*Cons. Polyb.* 29), namely, that human life is ruled by fate (εἰμαρμένη) which is identical with nature (φύσις). The words addressed by Socrates to Axiochus (365A: "where are your former boasts, and those perpetual praises of manly virtues, and that unbreakable courage...") also remind one of the dying Seneca's farewell in Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.62).

At the same time, now by persuasion and now by rebuke, he led them from tears to fortitude, asking them repeatedly, "where are those philosophical precepts, where the logic you have so long studied for just such an event...."

Still other passages, e.g. 366A where the soul, spread throughout the pores of the body (ἄτε παρεσπαρμένη τοῖς πόροις), suffers greatly and thus longs for the heavenly

aether to which it is akin (σύμφυλον αἰθέρα), or 370B-E, where man's possession of a divine *pneuma* and its gifts are described, recall beliefs current among the Stoics since Posidonius, and which were often expressed by authors of the Roman period, e.g. Cicero, Philo of Alexandria, Seneca.

Conclusion

The previous discussion of the philosophical evidence for the origin of the *Axiochus* has shown that its author was familiar with Platonic, Epicurean, Cynic, and Stoic doctrines, and incorporates them into his work. Such a melange seems strange at first glance. Yet if one keeps in mind that a similar appropriation of doctrines was typical of the Middle Platonists who, for example, drew from the Peripatetics and Stoics in an attempt "to express better what Plato had really meant to say,"³⁴ it is not unlikely that the author of the *Axiochus* belonged to this period or school of philosophy. Moreover, the Alexandrian Platonists had abandoned the ideal of happiness as "life in accord with nature" and turned to a more spiritual ideal of "likeness to God" (ὁμοίωσις θεῶν). Certainly such a theme is found in the *Axiochus* with its notion that there is a "divine spirit" in us (370) and that we are the offspring of the gods (371D). Our soul longs for its native heavenly place (366), and this world in which we live is a place of change, decay, and pain. To be sure, these were commonplace in the ancient world, but the syncretism of the dialogue combined with its notion of "likeness to God" is consistent with the Middle Platonists. Even the Epicurean elements in the dialogue can be understood in light of Middle Platonism. Since for a Platonist "it is always open season for Epicureans,"³⁵ something of their position seems presented only to be ultimately rejected in the latter part of the *Axiochus*, especially in its concluding myth.

IV. Literary Genre

A number of treatises in antiquity were concerned with the same topic as the *Axiochus*, and had such titles as *Περὶ θανάτου* or *Περὶ πένθους*, e.g. Xenocrates' *Περὶ θανάτου* (D.L. 4.12) or Theophrastus' *Καλλισθένης ἢ περὶ πένθους* (D.L. 5.44).³⁶ Most of them no longer exist, but thanks to borrowings from them by Cicero (*Tusc.*) and Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.*), it is possible to know the usual themes which perhaps go back to Plato's *Apology* (40C) where Socrates claims that death is a good since it is one of two things: (1) either it is a state of nothingness, like the deepest sleep imaginable; or (2) it is a departure from this life, a passage of the soul from Here to There. These two notions, either separately, or sometimes in unison, seem to have been developed by authors of consolations.

The most celebrated author of consolations in antiquity was Crantor, a member of the Academy, who lived from the end of the fourth to the middle of the third century B.C. He may, in fact, have created this literary genre. Without doubt, his *Περὶ πένθους* ("On Grief") became the model for all consolations. Although the work no longer exists, the use made of it by Cicero in his *Tusculanae Disputationes* and Plutarch in his *Consolatio ad Apollonium* permits a partial reconstruction.³⁷ It was written for Hippocles to console him on the death of his children, and in his work Crantor seems to have presented two opposed beliefs, namely, the total annihilation of the soul with the loss of all sensation, and the immortality of the soul with the joys of a future life. Crantor also discussed other topics, e.g. the ills of human existence, the benefits of death which release one from these ills, the necessity of doing away with the passions, and submitting oneself to destiny. It was, according to Cicero (*Acad.* II. 44,135) a "best seller."

We have all read the Old Academician Crantor's *On Grief*, for it is not a large but a golden little volume, and one to be thoroughly studied word for word, as Panaetius enjoins upon Tubero. (H. Rackham, trans.)

On the whole, the content of Crantor's *Περὶ πένθους* seems to have been similar to that of the *Axiochus*, and a number of scholars have argued for Crantor's influence on the pseudo-Plato. For example, it is very possible that the two stories of Agamedes and Trophonius, and the sons of the Argive priestess (367C-D) reported also by Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 108E,F, 109A) and Cicero (*Tusc.* I.47,113-114) all come from the same source, namely, Crantor's work. Again, the notion that the insensibility brought about by death is no different from that before birth is found in *Axiochus* 365 (cf. 396C) which is similar to Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 365, 109F) who maintains that as nothing was either good or evil for us before birth, even so it will be for us after death; or to Cicero (*Tusc.* I.37-38) with his claim that as nothing affected us before birth, so nothing will affect us after death. Because of the similarity between these passages, it is likely that the common source is Crantor. Aside, however, from the probable influence of Crantor on the *Axiochus*, it is clear that the dialogue is an example of the many literary consolations composed in antiquity.

V. Date and Authorship of the *Axiochus*

In view of the various evidence discussed previously, it seems fairly certain that the *Axiochus* was written after the rise of major philosophies of the Hellenistic period: Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Cynicism. Moreover, if it is true that Crantor's famous consolation influenced the author, a date after the middle of the third century B.C. seems quite likely. The *Axiochus'* language, vocabulary and syntax also points to the second-first centuries B.C., and

there seem to be no good reasons to reject the views of Chevalier and Souilhé. In general, the dialogue is characteristic of the syncretism which preceded and continued into the Christian era.

The author was certainly not Plato. But how did the dialogue come to be attributed to him? Immisch and Souilhé have helped to answer this question. With perhaps some exaggeration, Immisch argued that the *Axiochus* was directed against Epicureanism, and provides evidence of a polemic between the Academy and the Garden. And as Souilhé noticed, the arguments that death is only the loss of all sensibility (Epicurean), and that the soul is immortal (Platonic), do not have the same importance or value for the dialogue's author.³⁸ The belief that death results in total unawareness makes no impression on Axiochus who considers it only the current chatter of the times, indeed, nonsense (φλυαρολογία) concocted for the young (369D). The belief that the soul is immortal, however, almost immediately comforts Axiochus. Now the soul's immortality and the prospects of a future life are views most commonly associated with Plato, and thus Souilhé concluded that the *Axiochus'* author was an Academician of the first century B.C., "more rhetorician than philosopher, as seen by his predilection for unusual, affected words, and his concern for literary style at the expense of a natural and genuine psychology."³⁹ Moreover, pseudo-Plato seems to have drawn much from Crantor's work, and Crantor was one of the principal scholars of the Academy. In view of these considerations, the *Axiochus'* assignmant to the *corpus platonicum* is explained.

NOTES

PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

¹For the possible influence of de Mornay on Spenser, and English interest in the former's *Discours de la vie et de la mort*, including the *Axiochus*, see F. M. Padelford's introduction to the facsimile edition of Spenser's translation of the *Axiochus: The Axiochus of Plato Translated by Edmund Spenser* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1934). Spenser's lost work was discovered in 1931 at a sale by W. Heffer and Sons. Despite his knowledge of Spenser's work, Blakeney remarks "the present edition of the *Axiochus* is (I believe) the first to be published in this country."

²For an annotated bibliography of editions and translations of the *Axiochus*, see Chevalier (*Etude critique du dialogue pseudo-platonicien l'Axiochos* [Paris: F. Alcan, 1915] 2-8).

³Ficino's Latin translation of the *Axiochus*, following his treatise, *De religione christiana et fidei pietate*, was entitled *Xenocrates, de morte contemnenda*.

⁴See Blakeney's preface to his translation of the *Axiochus: The Axiochus: On Death and Immortality* (London: F. Muller, 1937).

⁵See, for example, Chevalier (*Etude critique*, 131) who paradoxically maintains that the principal interest of the *Axiochus* resides in its absence of originality, both in form and content. See also the disparaging remarks of Taylor (*Plato: The Man and his Work* [New York: Meridian, 1956] 550-52) or of Heidel (*Pseudo-Platonica* [Baltimore, 1896; reprint, New York: Arno, 1976] 18) who finds the dialogue "uncritically eclectic." The very recent opinion of W. K. C. Guthrie is not much different. He remarks that Socrates offers Axiochus a consolation which is a "scarcely reconcilable mixture of Platonic with what sounds like Epicurean teaching." Nonetheless he believes that if the work "does not much concern the student of Plato as such, it it has some interest for the historian of religion." What this may be, he does not state (see Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* [5 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1962-1978] 5.395).

⁶On *sōma-sēma*, see Guthrie (*The Greeks and their Gods* [Boston: Beacon, 1954] 311 n. 3). For somewhat extensive discussion on the relationship of the Orphics to the Pythagoreans, see Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* ([trans. E. L. Minar, Jr.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1972] 125ff.) and especially his *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (= *Die Religionen der Menschheit* XV [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1977] 440-47) on

Orpheus and Pythagoras and the difficulties of distinguishing doctrines of their followers. See also Guthrie, *History*, 1.150 and 198f.

⁷On Plato's relationship to Orphism, see Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* ([2nd ed.; London: Methuen, 1952] 238-44) and Burkert, *Griechische Religion* (444).

⁸Immisch, *Philologische Studien zu Plato*, Vol. 1: *Axiochus* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1896) 31ff. His view is shared by Taylor among others.

⁹E. Schweizer (*TDNT*, s.v. πνεῦμα) has an excellent survey of the various meanings and uses of the term in natural science and philosophy (352-57). The concept was especially important in Stoic thought (cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 66.12) where the divine spirit has its seat in human reason: "reason (*ratio*) is nothing other than a part of the divine spirit (*divini spiritus*) thrust in the human body." Schweizer refers to the concept of the *divine pneuma* in the *Axiochus* on page 338 citing καθαρὸν δίκαιον...πνεῦμα θεοῦ σωτήρος (*Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* IV.2 [1916] 1062) or the πνεῦμα θεοῦ which may even conceive in a human woman (Plutarch, *Num.* 4.6). The Stoic parallels seem much closer; on the *pneuma* in the human soul, see also Plutarch (*De def. or.* 432D) and note 57 to my translation.

¹⁰Shorey's translation, *Loeb Classical Library*; cf. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* ([Berlin: Weidmann, 1922; reprint, 1963] iv, 83). Shorey suggests the son is "possibly Eumolpus."

¹¹See Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1961) pages 213 and 316 for the initiation of Dionysus, and 205-208 and passim for the initiation of Heracles.

¹²For discussion of the vase-paintings, see *ibid.*, 211-13.

¹³Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Vol. 2: *Die hellenistische und römische Zeit* (= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* V.2.2) (2nd ed.; Munich: Beck, 1961) 2.242. Nilsson makes this remark in connection with the "wissenschaftliche Deutung" of the underworld, primarily the reference to the spherical universe at *Ax.* 371A.

¹⁴Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 111-13.

¹⁵Chevalier, assuming the dialogue antedates the first century A.D., explained the similarities as the result of the interaction between Hellenism and Judaism near the end of the Alexandrian period (*ibid.*, 114).

¹⁶Ibid., 117ff. Chevalier also provides useful bibliographical references in his notes.

¹⁷The passages from Montaigne, Fabricius, and Meiners are quoted by Chevalier (ibid., 129-30).

¹⁸Ibid., 11-13, and Souilh e, *Axiochus*, 118-19.

¹⁹Souilh e, *Axiochus*, 125.

²⁰Shorey, *What Plato Said* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968) 437.

²¹For criticisms and summaries of Buresch's views, see Chevalier (*Etude critique*, 25-29) and Souilh e (*Axiochus*, 124-25).

²²The views of these scholars are found in their works listed in the bibliography.

²³See Chevalier's study of the vocabulary (*Etude critique*, 43-66); see also Souilh e's observations on style (*Axiochus*, 125-26).

²⁴Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 63.

²⁵For this discussion of the historical evidence of the ephebes and Areopagus, I am indebted to Chevalier (*Etude critique*, 31-35) and to Souilh e (*Axiochus*, 126-27).

²⁶H. Feddersen, *Über den pseudoplatonischen Dialog Axiochus* (Programm Cuxhaven: G. Rauschenplat, 1895) 22-29, and Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 67-70.

²⁷Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 70.

²⁸Souilh e, *Axiochus*, 129.

²⁹Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 21.

³⁰Examples are given by Chevalier (ibid., 17-20) and Souilh e (*Axiochus*, 129-30).

³¹See Chevalier (*Etude critique*, 19-20) and the recent treatment of Xenocrates in J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* ([London: G. Duckworth, 1977] 22-39, esp. 30-32).

³²If one has false beliefs about the gods, evils can arise from them, since they could not occur if mortals did not know that the gods existed. On Epicurus' religious beliefs, see A. J. Festugière, *Epicurus and his Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1956) and J. M. Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* ([Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1972] 140-63).

³³For example, Feddersen, *Über den pseudoplatonischen Dialog Axiochus*, 13-15; Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 82-83; Souilhé, 132.

³⁴The remark is by J. Dillon (*The Middle Platonists*, xiv) to whose work I am indebted for the concluding observations. On the importance of "likeness to God," see 44 and 192.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 242.

³⁶The major study on consolations in antiquity is that of C. Buresch. For a brief summary of the literary genre, see J. Hani, *Plutarque. Consolation à Apollonios* (= *Etudes et Commentaires* 78) ([Paris: Klincksieck, 1972] 11).

³⁷See, for example, Souilhé, *Axiochus*, 122-23, 130-31.

³⁸Souilhé, *Axiochus*, 135.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 135-36. Souilhé's judgment is not novel. It goes back to Susemihl and others; see Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 106 n. 1.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ΑΞΙΟΧΟΣ

[ἢ περὶ θανάτου.]

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΑΞΙΟΧΟΣ

ΣΩ. Ἐξιόντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ 364a
μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισθὸν διήξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του,
"Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες". Ὡς δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς περιεσκό-
πουν ὀπόθεν εἶη, Κλεινίαν ὀρῶ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ
Καλλιρρόην μετὰ Δάμωνος τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ Χαρμίδου τοῦ
Γλαύκωνος· ἦστην δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν διδάσκαλος τῶν κατὰ
μουσικῆν, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐταιρείας ἐραστῆς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος.
Ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς εὐθὺ ὁδοῦ ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς, b
ὅπως ῥᾶστα ὁμοῦ γενοίμεθα. Δεδακρυμένος δὲ ὁ Κλεινίας,
"Σώκρατες," ἔφη, "νῦν ὁ καιρὸς ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν αἰεὶ
θυρουμένην πρὸς σοῦ σοφίαν· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἔκ τινος ὥρας
αἰφνιδίου ἀδυνάτως ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου
ἐστίν, ἀνιαρῶς τε φέρει τὴν τελευτήν, καίτοι γε τὸν
πρόσθεν χρόνον διαχλευάζων τοὺς μορμολυττομένους τὸν
θάνατον καὶ πρᾶως ἐπιτωθάζων. Ἀφικόμενος οὖν c
παρηγόρησον αὐτὸν ὡς εἶωθας, ὅπως ἀστενακτὶ ἐς τὸ
χρεῶν ἔη, καὶ μοι σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο
εὐσεβηθῇ". "Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις μου, ὦ Κλεινία,
οὐδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' ὅσια παρακαλῶν.
Ἐπειγώμεθα δ' οὖν· εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ὠκύτητος δεῖ".

ΚΛ. Ὀφθέντος σου μόνον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ραῖσει·
καὶ γὰρ ἤδη πολλάκις αὐτῷ γέγονε συμπτώματος ἀνασφῆ-
λαι.

AXIOCHUS

(or concerning death)

SOCRATES CLEINIAS AXIOCHUS

SOCRATES: While I was going to the Cynosarges 364A
 and nearing the Ilisus, the voice of someone shouting
 "Socrates, Socrates" reached me.¹ And when I turned
 around and tried to find its source, I saw Cleinias,
 Axiochus' son, running toward the Callirrhoe together
 with Damon, the musician, and Charmides, the son of
 Glaucon:² of these, Damon was Cleinias' music teacher,
 and the other on terms of intimate friendship, at
 once lover and beloved. I then decided to turn from B
 the road right away to meet them so that we might get
 together as quickly as possible. And Cleinias with
 tears in his eyes said, "Socrates, now is the chance
 to show your much talked about wisdom;³ for my father
 is incapacitated by a sudden illness,⁴ and is at the
 end of his life. And wretchedly he endures his end,
 even though in times past he simply scoffed at those
 who were scared of death, and gently poked fun at
 them.⁵ So come and console him in your usual way, C
 that he may meet his fate without complaint,⁶ and so
 that this can be dealt with in a reverent way by me
 and the others as well."⁷ "Well, you will not find
 me, Cleinias, refusing so reasonable a request,
 especially as these matters to which you summon me
 pertain to religion. Let us go then; for if the
 situation is like this, speed is essential."

CLEINIAS: The very sight of you, Socrates, will
 strengthen him. For often before he has managed to
 recover from such an attack.

ΣΩ. Ὡς δὲ θᾶπτον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἤειμεν 364d
 ταῖς Ἰτωνίαις--πλησίον γὰρ ᾤκει τῶν πυλῶν πρὸς τῆ 365a
 Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ--καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτὸν ἤδη μὲν συνει-
 λεγμένον τὰς ἀφὰς καὶ τῷ σώματι ῥωμαλέον, ἀσθενῆ δὲ
 τὴν ψυχὴν, πάνυ ἐνδεᾶ παραμυθίας, πολλάκις δὲ ἀνα-
 φερόμενον καὶ στεναγμούς ἰέντα σὺν δακρύοις καὶ
 κροτήσεσι χειρῶν. Κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτόν, "Ἄξιоче, τί
 ταῦτα"; ἔφην· "ποῦ τὰ πρόσθεν αὐχήματα καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς
 εὐλογίαι τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ τὸ ἄρρατον ἐν σοὶ θάρσος; ὡς
 γὰρ ἀγωνιστῆς δειλός, ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις γενναῖος
 φαινόμενος, ὑπολέλοιπας ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοις. Οὐκ ἐπιλογιῆ b
 τὴν φύσιν περιεσκεμμένως, ἀνὴρ τοσόσδε τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ
 κατήκοος λόγων, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, Ἀθηναῖος, ὅτι,
 τὸ κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων θρυλούμενον, παρε-
 πιδημία τίς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ἐπιεικῶς διαγα-
 γόντας εὐθύμως μόνον οὐχὶ παιανίζοντας εἰς τὸ χρεῶν
 ἀπιέναι; τὸ δὲ οὕτως μαλακῶς καὶ δυσάποσπαστως ἔχειν
 νηπίου δίκην οὐ περὶ φρονοῦσαν ἡλικίαν ἔχειν;"

ΑΞ. Ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι c
 φαίνῃ λέγων· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως παρ' αὐτό μοι τὸ
 δεινὸν γενομένῳ οἱ μὲν καρτεροὶ καὶ περιττοὶ λόγοι
 ὑπεικνέουσι λεληθότως καὶ ἀτιμάζονται, ἀντίσχει δὲ
 δέος τι, ποικίλως περιαμύττον τὸν νοῦν, εἰ στερήσομαι
 τοῦδε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, αἰδῆς δὲ καὶ ἄπυστος
 ὁποῖποτε κείσομαι σηπόμενος, εἰς εὐλὰς καὶ κνώδαλα
 μεταβάλλων.

ΣΩ. Συνάπτεις γάρ, ὦ Ἄξιоче, παρὰ τὴν ἀνεπιστα- d
 σίαν ἀνεπιλογίστως τῆ ἀναισθησίᾳ αἴσθησιν, καὶ σεαυτῷ
 ὑπεναντία καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ λέγεις, οὐκ ἐπιλογιζόμενος

SOCRATES: After hurrying along the wall to the 364D
 Itonian gates--for he lived near the gates by the 365A
 Amazon column--we found that Axiochus had already
 recovered from his ailments, and was strong in body,
 though weak in spirit.⁸ He was really in need of
 consolation, often sighing deeply and emitting loud
 groans together with tears and beating of hands.⁹
 Looking down at him, I said, "Axiochus, what is all
 this? Where are your former boasts, and those per-
 petual praises of manly virtues, and that unbreakable
 courage of yours? For like a timid athlete, though
 seeming brave in school exercises, you have failed in
 the actual contests. Won't you take nature into
 serious consideration, you a man so advanced in age, B
 one who listens to rational arguments,¹⁰ and if noth-
 ing else, an Athenian? Indeed it's a commonplace,
 everybody's talk, that life is a brief stay in a
 foreign land,¹¹ and that it's necessary for those
 who spent it reasonably well to meet their destiny
 cheerfully, all but singing a paean of praise? A
 behavior, however, that is so faint-hearted and so
 unwilling to be torn from life,¹² is proper for a
 child, but not for one of mature age."

AXIOCHUS: True enough, Socrates, I think you C
 are right. Still I don't know why it happens that
 as I get close to the grim reality, all the forceful
 and extravagant arguments just blow away and become
 worthless. But a kind of fear persists. It stings
 my mind in various ways that I am to lose this light
 of day and these goods,¹³ that unseen and forgotten
 I will lie somewhere rotting, becoming food for
 worms and beasts.

SOCRATES: But, Axiochus, because of your D
 thoughtlessness, you uncritically connect sensation
 with absence of sensation; and you are doing and

ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ὀδύρη τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἅμα δὲ ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ σήψεσι καὶ στερήσει τῶν ἡδέων, ὥσπερ εἰς ἕτερον ζῆν ἀποθανούμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς παντελῆ μεταβαλὼν ἀναισθησίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως. Ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς Δράκοντος ἢ Κλεισθένους πολιτείας οὐδὲν περὶ σέ κακὸν ἦν--ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐκ ἦς, περὶ ὃν ἂν ἦν--οὕτως οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν γενήσεται· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἔση περὶ ὃν 365e ἔσται. Πάντα τοιγαροῦν τὸν τοιόνδε φλύαρον ἀποσκέδασαι, τοῦτο ἐννοήσας, ὅτι τῆς συγκρίσεως ἅπαξ διαλυθείσης καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὸν οἰκειῖον ἰδρυθείσης τόπον, τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν σῶμα, γεῶδες ὃν καὶ ἄλογον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐσμεν ψυχὴ, ζῆνον ἀθάνατον ἐν θνητῷ καθειργμένον φρουρίῳ· τὸ δὲ σκῆνος τουτὶ 366a πρὸς κακοῦ περιήρμοσεν ἡ φύσις, ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἡδοντα ἀμυχιαῖα καὶ πτηνὰ καὶ εἰς πλείους ὀδύνας ἀνακειραμένα, τὰ δὲ ἀλγεινὰ ἀκραιφνή καὶ πολυχρόνια καὶ τῶν ἡδόντων ἄμοιρα· νόσους δὲ καὶ φλεγμονὰς τῶν αἰσθητηρίων, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐντὸς κακότητας, οἷς ἀναγκαστῶς, ἅτε παρεσπαρμένη τοῖς πόροις, ἡ ψυχὴ συναλγοῦσα τὸν οὐράνιον ποθεῖ καὶ σύμφυλον αἰθέρα, καὶ διψᾷ, τῆς ἐκεῖσε διαίτης καὶ χορείας ὀριγνωμένη. Ὡστε ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγὴ 366b κακοῦ τινὸς ἔστιν εἰς ἀγαθὸν μεταβολή.

ΑΞ. Κακὸν οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡγούμενος τὸ ζῆν πῶς ἐν αὐτῷ μένεις; καὶ ταῦτα φροντιστῆς ὢν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πολλοὺς τῷ νῷ διαφέρων;

saying things contrary to yourself, not realizing that at one and the same time you lament the absence of sensation and are pained at decay and loss of pleasures, just as if by dying you entered into another life instead of having lapsed into complete insensibility such as you had before birth.¹⁴ So, for example, just as in the administration of Draco and Cleisthenes¹⁵ there was nothing evil that concerned you--for it is elementary that you, whom the evil could have concerned, did not exist--so not even after death will there be any evil. For you, whom 365E it would concern, will not exist. Away, then, with all this nonsense, and realize this: that once the union of body and soul is dissolved and the soul has been established in its proper place, the corpse which remains, being earthly and irrational, is not the human person. For we are soul,¹⁶ an immortal living being, locked up in a mortal prison.¹⁷ But 366A Nature has fashioned this tent¹⁸ for suffering of evil; its pleasures are superficial and fleeting, mixed with many pains, but its sufferings are undiluted, long lasting, without a share of pleasure. Moreover, since the soul is spread throughout the pores of the body,¹⁹ it necessarily suffers, along with the organs of sense, diseases, inflammations, and still other internal ills. Yet all the while the souls yearns after and is athirst for its native heavenly aither,²⁰ always striving for the life there and the divine choral dance. Thus the release from this life is a change from a kind of evil to a good.²¹ B

AXIOCHUS: Well then, Socrates, since you consider this life an evil, how can you remain in it? Especially as you are a thinker about these issues,²² and surpass many of us in intelligence.

ΣΩ. Ἀξίοχε, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔτυμά μοι μαρτυρεῖς, οἷε δὲ καθάπερ Ἀθηναίων ἢ πληθὺς, ἐπειδὴ ζητητικός εἶμι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπιστήμονά του εἶναί με. Ἐγὼ δὲ εὐξαίμην ἂν τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι· τοσοῦτον ἀποδέω τῶν περιττῶν. Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἃ λέγω, Προδίκου 366c ἐστὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ ἀπηγήματα, τὰ μὲν διμοίρου ἑωνημένα, τὰ δὲ δυοῖν δραχμαῖν, τὰ δὲ τετραδράχμου. Προῖνα γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος οὐδένα διδάσκει, διὰ παντὸς δὲ ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ φωνεῖν τὸ Ἐπιχάρμειον, "ἅ δὲ χεῖρ τὰν χεῖρα νίξει"· δός τι, καὶ λάβε τι. Καὶ πρόην γοῦν παρὰ Καλλίᾳ τῷ Ἰππονίκου ποιούμενος ἐπίδειξιν τοσάδε τοῦ ζῆν κατεῖπεν, ὥστε ἔγωγε μὲν παρὰ ἀκαρῆ διέγραψα τὸν βίον, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου θανατᾶ μου ἡ ψυχὴ, Ἀξίοχε.

ΑΞ. Τίνα δὲ ἦν τὰ λεχθέντα;

ΣΩ. Φράσαιμι ἂν σοι ταῦτα ἃ μνημονεύσω. Ἔφη 367a d γάρ, Τί μέρος τῆς ἡλικίας ἄμοιρον τῶν ἀνιαρῶν; οὐ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν τὸ νήπιον κλάει, τοῦ ζῆν ἀπὸ λύπης ἀρχόμενον; οὐ λείπεται γοῦν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλγηδόνης, ἀλλ' ἢ δι' ἔνδειαν ἢ περιψυγμὸν ἢ θάλπος ἢ πληγὴν ὀδυνᾶται, λαλῆσαι μὲν οὕτω δυνάμενον ἃ πάσχει, κλαυθμουριζόμενον δὲ καὶ ταύτην τῆς δυσारेστήσεως μίαν ἔχον φωνήν. Ὅποταν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑπταετίαν ἀφίκηται πολλοὺς πόνους διαντλήσαν, ἐπέστησαν παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ 367a e γραμματισταὶ καὶ παιδοτρίβαι τυραννοῦντες· αὐξανομένου δὲ κριτικοί, γεωμέτραι, τακτικοί, πολὺ πλῆθος δεσποτῶν. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφή, κοσμητῆς καὶ φόβος χειρῶν, ἔπειτα Λύκειον καὶ Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ 367a γυμνασίαρχοι καὶ ῥάβδοι καὶ κλαυθμῶν ἀμετρίαι·

SOCRATES: Axiochus, in my opinion you are not a reliable witness, but like the Athenian people, you think that because I'm devoted to looking into human affairs, I have some expertise. But I often wish that I knew these ordinary matters, so far am I from the extraordinary.²³ My remarks are but echoes of the wise Prodicus, "some purchased for a half drachma, others for two, and still others for four."²⁴ For this man instructs no one free of charge, and it is his habit to repeat constantly the saying of Epicurus, "one hand washes the other: give something and take something."²⁵ In any case, he recently gave a grand speech at the house of Callias, son of Hipponicus,²⁶ and said so much against "living," that I came within a hair's breadth of writing off life altogether. And ever since, Axiochus, my soul has longed for death.²⁷ 366C

AXIOCHUS: What did he say?

SOCRATES: I can tell you what I remember. For he said, What part of a lifetime is without its portion of griefs?²⁸ Doesn't the infant cry out at the first moment of birth, beginning his life with distress? Certainly he lacks no suffering, but because of need, cold or heat, or a beating, he is distressed: he cannot yet tell what he is suffering, but only by the sound of his crying can he express his displeasure. When he reaches the age of seven, having endured many troubles, tyrannizing tutors, elementary school teachers, and physical trainers set upon him;²⁹ and as he grows, there are language teachers, geometry teachers, military instructors,³⁰ all a great crowd of despots. When he is enrolled among the Ephebes, there comes the director, and fear of beatings;³¹ then the Lyceum and the Academy,³² superintendants of the Gymnasium with their sticks and miseries without measure. 367A

καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ μεираκίσκου χρόνος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σωφρονισ-
 τὰς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους αἵρεσιν τῆς ἐξ Ἄρειου
 πάγου βουλῆς. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπολυθῆ τούτων, φροντίδες
 ἄντικρυς ὑπέδυσαν καὶ διαλογισμοὶ τίνα τις τοῦ βίου
 ὁδὸν ἐνστήσεται, καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον χαλεποῖς ἐφάνη τὰ
 πρῶτα παιδιὰ καὶ νηπίων ὡς ἀληθῶς φόβητρα· στρατεῖαι
 τε γὰρ καὶ τραύματα καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀγῶνες. Ἔττα λαθὼν 367b
 ὑπῆλθε τὸ γῆρας, εἰς ὃ πᾶν συρρεῖ τὸ τῆς φύσεως
 ἐπίκηρον καὶ δυσαλθές. Κἂν μὴ τις θᾶπτον ὡς χρέος
 ἀποδιδῶ τὸ ζῆν, ὡς ὀβολοστάτις ἢ φύσις ἐπιστᾶσα
 ἐνεχυράζει τοῦ μὲν ὄψιν, τοῦ δὲ ἀκοήν, πολλάκις δὲ
 ἄμφω. Κἂν ἐπιμείνη τις, παρέλυσεν, ἐλωβήσατο,
 παρήρθρωσεν. Ἄλλοι πολυγῆρως ἀκμάζουσι, καὶ τῷ νῷ
 δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες γίνονται. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ
 θεοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἐπιστήμονες, οὓς ἂν περὶ πλείστου c
 ποιῶνται, θᾶπτον ἀπαλλάττουσι τοῦ ζῆν. Ἄγαμήδης
 γοῦν καὶ Τροφώνιος οἱ δειμάμενοι τὸ Πυθοῖ τοῦ θεοῦ
 τέμενος, εὐξάμενοι τὸ κράτιστον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι,
 κοιμηθέντες οὐκέτ' ἀνέστησαν· οἳ τε τῆς Ἀργείας
 [Ἡρας] ἱερείας ὑεῖς, ὁμοίως εὐξαμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς
 μητρὸς γενέσθαι τι τῆς εὐσεβείας παρὰ τῆς Ἡρας γέρας,
 ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ζεύγους ὕστερήσαντος ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ
 διήνεγκαν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν νεών, μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν νυκτὶ
 μετήλλαξαν. Μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, d
 οἳ στόμασι θειοτέροις τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον θεσπιωδοῦσιν,
 ὡς κατοδύρονται τὸ ζῆν· ἐνὸς δὲ μόνου μνησθήσομαι
 τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου, λέγοντος--

So his entire youth is spent under superintendents and the committee chosen by the council of the Areopagus to deal with the young.³³ When freed from these matters, worries immediately creep upon him and deliberations about the career one is to pursue. But compared with the later troubles, those of earlier years appeared trivial--only the nightmares of children--I mean, for example, military campaigns, wounds, and continual contests.

Then old age creeps upon him unawares, into which flows all in nature that is mortal and perishable.³⁴ And unless one quickly pays back living, like a debt, nature stands by like a money lender,³⁵ taking security, sight from one, from another hearing, and often both. And if someone resists, nature paralyzes, mutilates, or dislocates limbs. Others remain physically vigorous in old age, but in mind those old people undergo a second childhood.³⁶ That is why the gods, who understand human affairs, quickly release from life those whom they consider of greatest worth.³⁷ For example, Agamedes and Trophonius, who built the sacred precinct of the god at Pytho,³⁸ after praying that the best might happen to them, fell asleep and never awakened again. There are also the sons of the Argive priestess whose mother prayed for them in the same way that they might receive from Hera some reward for their filial piety,³⁹ for when the team of mules was late, the sons yoked themselves to the cart and took her to the temple. And that night after their mother's prayer they passed away. It would take too long to go through the works of poets who, with voices of higher divinity, chant in prophetic tones the affairs of life, while deploring living itself. I shall quote only one of them, the most worthy who said:

ὡς γὰρ ἐπειλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
ζῶειν ἀχθυμένοις,

καὶ--

οὐ μὲν γὰρ τί ποτ' ἐστὶν οἰζυρώτερον ἀνδρὸς
πάντων ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἐπιπνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει. 367e

τὸν δ' Ἀμφιάραον τί φησι; -- 368a

τὸν πέρι κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων
παντοίῃ φιλότητι· οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδόν.

ὁ δὲ κελεύων--

τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,

τί σοι φαίνεται; ἀλλὰ παύομαι, μὴ ποτε παρὰ τὴν ὑπό-
σχασιν μηκύνω καὶ ἐτέρων μιμνησικόμενος. Ποίαν δέ τις
ἐλόμενος ἐπιτήδευσιν ἢ τέχνην οὐ μέμφεται καὶ τοῖς
παροῦσι χαλεπαίνει; τὰς χειρωνακτικὰς ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ b
βαναύσους, πονουμένων ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰς νύκτα, καὶ μόλις
ποριζομένων τάπιτήδεια, κατοδυρομένων τε αὐτῶν καὶ
πᾶσαν ἀγρυπνίαν ἀναπιμπλάντων ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων;
ἀλλὰ τὸν πλωτικὸν καταλεξώμεθα, περαιούμενον διὰ
τοσῶνδε κινδύνων καὶ μήτε, ὡς ἀπεφήνατο Βίας, ἐν τοῖς
τεθνηκόσιν ὄντα μήτε ἐν τοῖς βιοῦσιν; ὁ γὰρ ἐπίγειος
ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀμφίβιος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἔρριψεν,
ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ γενόμενος πᾶς. Ἀλλ' ἢ γεωργία γλυκὴ; c
δῆλον· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅλον, ὡς φασιν, ἔλκος, αἰεὶ λύπης
πρόφασιν εὐρισκόμενον; κλάον νυνὶ μὲν αὐχμόν, νυνὶ
δὲ ἐπομβρίας, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπίκαυσιν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐρυσίβην,
νυνὶ δὲ θάλπος ἄκαιρον ἢ κρύος; ἀλλ' ἢ πολυτίμητος
πολιτεία--πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπερβαίνω--

Such is the way the gods spun life for unfortunate
 mortals,
 that we live in unhappiness,⁴⁰

and--

Since among all creatures, that breathe on earth
 and crawl on it
 there is not anywhere a thing more dismal than 367E
 man is.

And what does he say of Amphiaraus?⁴¹ 368A

Whom Zeus of the aegis loved in his heart,
 as did Apollo,
 with every favor, but he never came to the
 doorsill of old age.

And he who bids us--

Weep for the newly born; he meets so many ills--⁴²

what do you think of him?

But I stop now so that I do not break my promise
 and lengthen the list by remembering other examples.
 But what pursuit or skill has anyone chosen and not
 found fault with and distress at its conditions? Are B
 we to approach the skills of handicraftsmen and arti-
 sans laboring from dawn to dusk scarcely able to pro-
 vide their needs, deploring themselves and filling
 all their waking hours with lamentations and fears?⁴³
 Well, are we to consider the merchant who sails
 through so many perils and is, as Bias has shown,⁴⁴
 neither among the dead nor among the living? For
 terrestrial man throws himself onto the sea as if he C
 were amphibious, and is entirely at the mercy of
 chance. Well, is farming a pleasant occupation?
 Obviously!⁴⁵ Yet isn't it just one complete
 blister, as they say, which always finds an excuse
 for pain? For now the farmer weeps at drought, now
 at too much rain, now at blight, now at excessive heat
 or frost. Well, how about highly-prized politics--
 for I skip over many things--through how many fearful

διὰ πόσων ἐλαύνεται δεινῶν, τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἔχουσα
 φλεγμονῆς δίκην παλλομένην καὶ σφυγματώδη, τὴν δὲ
 ἀπότευξιν ἀλγεινὴν καὶ θανάτων μυρίων χείρω; τίς 368d
 γὰρ ἂν εὐδαιμονήσειε πρὸς ὄχλον ζῶν, εἰ ποπυσθεΐη
 καὶ κροτηθεΐη δήμου παίγνιον ἐμβαλλόμενον, συριττό-
 μενον, ζημιούμενον, θνησκον, ἐλεούμενον; ἐπεὶ τοί γε,
 Ἄξιόχε πολιτικέ, ποῦ τέθνηκε Μιλτιάδης; ποῦ δὲ
 Θεμιστοκλῆς; ποῦ δ' Ἐφιάλτης; ποῦ δὲ πρόην οἱ δέκα
 στρατηγοί, ὅτ' ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐπηρόμην τὴν γνώμην;
 --οὐ γὰρ ἐφαίνετό μοι σεμνὸν μαινομένῳ δήμῳ συνεξάρ-
 χειν· οἱ δὲ περὶ θηραμένην καὶ Καλλίξενον τῆ
 ὑστεραία προέδρους ἐγκαθέτους ὑφέντες κατεχειρο-
 τόνησαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄκριτον θάνατον. Καίτοι γε σὺ 369a
 μόνος αὐτοῖς ἤμυνες καὶ Εὐρυπτόλεμος, τρισμυρίων
 ἐκκλησιαζόντων.

ΑΕ. Ἔστι ταῦτα, ὦ Σώκρατες· καὶ ἔγωγε ἐξ
 ἐκείνου ἄλις ἔσχον τοῦ βήματος καὶ χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲν
 ἐφάνη μοι πολιτείας. Δῆλον δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενο-
 μένοις. Σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὕτω λαλεῖς ὡς ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεώ-
 μενος, ἡμεῖς δ' ἴσμεν ἀκριβέστερον οἱ διὰ πείρας
 ἰόντες. Δῆμος γάρ, ὦ φίλε Σώκρατες, ἀχάριστον,
 ἀψίκορον, ὠμόν, βάσκανον, ἀπαίδευτον, ὡς ἂν συνηρανισ-
 μένον ἐκ σύγκλυδος ὄχλου καὶ βιαίων φλυάρων. Ὁ δὲ 369b
 τούτῳ προσεταιριζόμενος ἀθλιώτερος μακρῷ.

ΣΩ. Ὅποτε οὖν, ὦ Ἄξιόχε, τὴν ἐλευθεριωτάτην
 ἐπιστήμην τίθεσαι τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπευκταιοτάτην, τί τὰς
 λοιπὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἐννοήσομεν; οὐ φευκτάς; ἤκουσα
 δέ ποτε καὶ τοῦ Προδίκου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θάνατος οὔτε
 περὶ τοὺς ζῶντάς ἐστιν οὔτε περὶ τοὺς μετηλλαχότας.

ΑΕ. Πῶς φῆς, ὦ Σώκρατες;

situations is it driven; now with joy quivering and throbbing like fever, now with painful failure that is worse than even a thousand deaths. For who could be happy living for a mob if, as a plaything of the people, he were called (like a horse) and slapped, being driven out and hissed at, punished, killed, pitied?⁴⁶ Tell me, then, my political friend Axiochus, how did Miltiades die, how Themistocles, how Ephialtes?⁴⁷ How the ten commanders of recent times when I refused to ask the advice of the people? For it did not seem honorable for me to be in command of a mad mob.⁴⁸ Yet on the next day Theramenes and Callixenus,⁴⁹ having suborned the presidents of the meeting, secured a death sentence against the ten without a trial. Only you and Euryptolemus defended them,⁵⁰ though there were 30,000 citizens at the trial. 368D 369A

AXIOCHUS: That's the way it is, Socrates, and since then I have had enough of the speaker's platform-- and nothing has appeared more difficult to me than politics. This is obvious to those who are involved in this business. You speak, of course, as a distant observer, but those of us who are going through the experience know it more accurately. For the common folk, Socrates, is ungrateful, fickle, cruel, envious, uneducated, a truly promiscuous mob come from everywhere, violent and garrulous. And the one who plays up to this rabble is the more miserable by far. B

SOCRATES: Since, then, Axiochus, you consider the freest profession of all is to be deprecated most of all, what shall we think of life's other pursuits? Are they not to be avoided?⁵¹ I once heard even Prodicus say that death concerns neither the living nor those who have passed away.

AXIOCHUS: What do you mean, Socrates?

ΣΩ. Ὅτι περὶ μὲν τοὺς ζῶντας οὐκ ἔστιν, οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες οὐκ εἰσὶν. Ὡστε οὔτε περὶ σέ νῦν ἐστίν --οὐ γὰρ τέθνηκας--οὔτε εἴ τι πάθοις, ἔσται περὶ σέ. 369c
 σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἔση. Μάταιος οὖν ἡ λύπη, περὶ τοῦ μήτε ὄντος μήτε ἐσομένου περὶ Ἀξίοχον Ἀξίοχον ὀδύρεσθαι, καὶ ὅμοιον ὡς εἰ περὶ τῆς Σκύλλης ἢ τοῦ Κενταύρου τις ὀδύροιτο, τῶν μήτε ὄντων περὶ σέ μήτε ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην ἐσομένων. Τὸ γὰρ φοβερὸν τοῖς οὐσίην ἐστι· τοῖς δ' οὐκ οὔσι πῶς ἂν εἴη;

ΑΞ. Σὺ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης τὰ νῦν λεσχη- d
 νείας τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα προήρηκας· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἐστίν ἡδε ἡ φλυαρολογία πρὸς τὰ μειράκια διακεκοσμημένη· ἐμέ δὲ ἡ στέρησις τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ ζῆν λυπεῖ, καὶ πιθανωτέρους τούτων λόγους ἀρτικροτήσης, ὧς Σώκρατες. Οὐκ ἐπαίει γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀποπλανώμενος εἰς εὐεπείας λόγων, οὐδὲ ἄπτεται ταῦτα τῆς ὁμοχροίας, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν πομπὴν καὶ ῥημάτων ἀγλαΐσμον ἀνύτει, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας ἀποδεῖ. Τὰ δὲ παθήματα σοφισμάτων οὐκ e
 ἀνέχεται, μόνοις δὲ ἀρκεῖται τοῖς δυναμένοις καθικέσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς.

ΣΩ. Συνάπτεις γὰρ, ὦ Ἀξίοχε, ἀνεπιλογίστως, τῇ στέρησει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀντεισάγων κακῶν αἴσθησιν, ἐκλαθόμενος ὅτι τέθνηκας. Λυπεῖ γὰρ τὸ στερόμενον 370a
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ ἀντιπάθεια τῶν κακῶν, ὃ δ' οὐκ ὦν οὐδὲ τῆς στέρησεως ἀντιλαμβάνεται. Πῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παρέξοντι γνῶσιν τῶν λυπησόντων γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ λύπη; ἀρχὴν γὰρ, ὦ Ἀξίοχε, μὴ συνυποτιθέμενος ἀμῶς γέ πως μίαν αἴσθησιν, κατὰ τὸ ἀνεπιστῆμον, οὐκ ἂν ποτε πτυρεΐης τὸν θάνατον.

SOCRATES: That death is of no concern for the living--as for the dead, they no longer are. Consequently, neither does it concern you now--for you are not dead--nor, if you should experience something, will it concern you, for you will not exist. Futile is the grief to lament for Axiochus over what neither concerns now will concern Axiochus, and it is just as if someone were to grieve for Scylla or for the Centaur which,⁵² so far as you're concerned, neither exist now nor will exist after your death. For what is fearful exists only for those who are; how could it exist for those who are not? 369C

AXIOCHUS: These fine sayings of yours are part of the current chatter of the times.⁵³ They are the source of all the nonsense devised for the young. For me, the loss of goods for living is painful, even though you, Socrates, were to marshal more persuasive arguments than these. For my mind pays no attention and is not seduced by the eloquence of your words. Such reasonings do not even touch the surface; rather they result in a pompous parade and verbal splendor, and fall short of the truth. Sufferings are not content with clever arguments, but are satisfied only with those things able to touch the soul. D E

SOCRATES: Yes, Axiochus, for you thoughtlessly make a connection with deprivation of the goods by introducing the awareness of evils, forgetting that you are dead. What distresses him who is deprived of the goods is suffering of the evils in its place. But someone who doesn't exist is unaware even of deprivation. How, then, could there be pain for what will provide no knowledge of the things that will cause pain? For if at the beginning, Axiochus, you had not unintelligently assumed in some fashion a certain sensation for the dead,⁵⁴ you would not be 370A

Νῦν δὲ περιτρέπεις σεαυτόν, δειματούμενος στερήσεσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ δὲ στερήσει περιτιθεῖς ψυχὴν, καὶ ταρβεῖς μὲν τὸ μὴ αἰσθήσεσθαι, καταλήψεσθαι δὲ οἷει τὴν οὐκ ἔσομένην αἴσθησιν αἰσθήσει.

Πρὸς τῷ πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς εἶναι λόγους περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ γὰρ δὴ θνητὴ γε φύσις τοσόνδε ἂν ἦρατο μεγεθουργίας, ὥστε καταφρονῆσαι μὲν ὑπερβαλλόντων θηρίων βίας, διαπεραιώσασθαι δὲ πελάγη, δείμασθαι δὲ ἄσπρη, καταστήσασθαι δὲ πολιτείας, ἀναβλέψαι δὲ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἰδεῖν περιφορὰς ἄστρον καὶ δρόμους ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης, ἀνατολάς τε καὶ δύσεις, ἐκλείψεις τε καὶ ταχείας ἀποκαταστάσεις, ἰσημερίας τε καὶ τροπὰς διττάς, καὶ Πλειάδων χειμῶνας, καὶ θέρους ἀνέμους τε καὶ καταφορὰς ὄμβρων, καὶ πρηστήρων ἐξαισίους συρμούς, καὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου παθήματα παραπήξασθαι πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα, εἰ μὴ τι θεῖον ὄντως ἐνῆν πνεῦμα τῇ ψυχῇ, δι' οὗ τὴν τῶν τηλικῶνδε περίνοιαν καὶ γνῶσιν ἔσχεν. Ὡστε οὐκ εἰς θάνατον ἀλλ' εἰς ἀθανασίαν μεταβάλλεις, ὦ Ἀξίοχε, οὐδὲ ἀφαίρεσιν ἔξεις τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλ' εἰλικρινεστέραν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, οὐδὲ μεμειγμένας θνητῷ σώματι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀλλ' ἀκράτους ἀπασῶν ἀλγηδόνων. Κεῖσε γὰρ ἀφίξη μονωθείς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς εἰρικτῆς, ἔνθα ἄπονα πάντα καὶ ἀστένακτα καὶ ἀγήρατα, γαληνὸς δέ τις καὶ κακῶν ἄπονος βίος, ἀσαλεύτῳ ἡσυχίᾳ εὐδιαζόμενος, καὶ περιαιθρῶν τὴν φύσιν, φιλοσοφῶν οὐ πρὸς ὄχλον καὶ θέατρον ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀμφιθαλῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

ΑΞ. Εἰς τούναντίον με τῷ λόγῳ περιέστακας· οὐκέτι γὰρ μοι θανάτου δέος ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πόθος--ἵνα τι κἀγὼ μιμησάμενος τοὺς ῥήτορας περιπτὸν εἴπω--

alarmed at death. But now you upset yourself; fearing to be deprived of the soul, you confer on this deprivation a soul of its own. And you dread the absence of sensation, but you think that you will comprehend the future absence of sensation with sensation.

In addition to the many and beautiful discourses 370B
on the immortality of the soul,⁵⁵ a mortal nature
would certainly not have arisen to such lofty at-
tempts that it disdains the physical superiority of
wild beasts, to cross seas, to build cities, to
establish governments, to look up at the heavens and
to see the revolutions of the stars, the courses of
sun and moon, their risings and settings, their
eclipses, their swift periodic returns, the equinoxes
and the double tropics, the storms of the Pleiades,⁵⁶
the summer winds and falls of rains and the sudden C
fury of hurricanes, and to chart for eternity the
conditions of the universe unless there were really
some divine spirit in the soul by which it has com-
prehension and knowledge of such important matters.⁵⁷
Thus, Axiochus, you change not into death, but into
immortality; neither will you have removal of the
goods, but a purer enjoyment of them, nor pleasures
mixed with the body, but undiluted by all pains.
For, released from this prison, you will come to that D
place where all stress, mourning, and old age are
missing, and where there is a kind of life that is
tranquil and without the stress of ills. There,
enjoying an untroubled peace and contemplating nature,
you may be a philosopher, not before a crowd and
audience, but before Truth flourishing on every side.

AXIOCHUS: With your speech you have brought me
to the opposite point of view. For no longer do I
have a fear of death, but now I even have a longing
for it--if I may imitate the rhetoricians and utter E

καὶ πάλαι μετεωρολογῶ καὶ δίδειμι τὸν αἶδιον καὶ θεῖον δρόμον, ἔκ τε τῆς ἀσθενείας ἑμαυτὸν συνείλεγμαί καὶ γέγονα καινός.

ΣΩ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον βούλει λόγον, ὃν ἐμοὶ 371a
ἤγγειλε Γωβρύης, ἀνὴρ μάγος· ἔφη κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου
διάβασιν τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον, πεμφθέντα
εἰς Δῆλον, ὅπως τηρήσειε τὴν νῆσον ἄσυλον ἐν ἧ οἱ
δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἔκ τινων χαλιέων δέλτων, ἃς ἐξ
Ἑπερβορέων ἐκόμισαν Ὠπίς τε καὶ Ἐκαέργη, ἐκμεμαθη-
κέναι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν
ἄδηλον χωρεῖν τόπον, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον οἴκησιν, ἐν
ἧ βασιλεία Πλούτωνος οὐχ ἤττω τῆς τοῦ Διὸς αὐλῆς,
ἅτε τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐχούσης τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ δὲ b
πόλου ὄντος σφαιροειδοῦς, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαί-
ριον θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένε-
ρθεν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες.
Τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τῆς εἰς Πλούτωνος ὁδοῦ σιδηροῖς
κλείθροις καὶ κλεισὶν ὠχύρωται. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀνοίξαντα
ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων ἐκδέχεται, μεθ' ὃν Κωκυτός, οὗς χρῆ
πορθμεύσαντας ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν, ὃ
κλήζεται πεδίον ἀληθείας. Ἐνταυθοῖ καθέζονται c
δικασταὶ ἀνακρίνοντες τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἕκαστον,
τίνα βίον βεβίωκε καὶ τίσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐνφκίσθη
τῷ σώματι. Ψεύσασθαι δὲ ἀμήχανον. Ὅσοις μὲν οὖν
ἐν τῷ ζῆν δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἐπέπνευσεν, εἰς τὸν τῶν
εὐσεβῶν χῶρον οἰκίζονται, ἐνθα ἄφθονοι μὲν ὦραι
παγκάρπου γονῆς βρύουσι, πηγαὶ δὲ ὑδάτων καθαρῶν
ρέουσι, παντοῖοι δὲ λειμῶνες ἀνθεσι ποικίλοις ἐαριζό-
μενοι, διατριβαὶ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ θέατρα ποιητῶν καὶ
κύκλιοι χοροὶ καὶ μουσικὰ ἀκρούσματα, d

a hyperbole--and I have long talked of lofty things and gone through the eternal and divine course,⁵⁸ and from my weakness I have recovered, and I have become a new person.

SOCRATES: But if you want another speech, here 371A
 is what Gobryas,⁵⁹ a Persian wiseman, told me. He
 said that when Xerxes made his crossing, his grand-
 father (who had the same name as himself) was sent to
 Delos to keep safe as a sanctuary the island on which
 two deities were born.⁶⁰ From some bronze tablets
 which Opis and Hecaerge brought from the Hyperboreans,⁶¹
 he learned that after its release from the body, the
 soul went to the place unseen,⁶² a dwelling beneath
 the earth where Pluto's palace is not inferior to
 Zeus' court, since the earth occupies the center of the B
 universe, and heaven is spherical.⁶³ Of this sphere,
 the celestial gods obtained by lot one half, and the
 other half was acquired by gods under the earth, some
 of them brothers, others children of brothers.⁶⁴ The
 entrance of the way to Pluto's palace is protected
 with iron bolts and keys. When the gates are opened,
 the river Acheron, and then Cocytus,⁶⁵ receive those
 who must be ferried across in order to be brought to
 Minos and Rhadamanthys.⁶⁶ This place is called the
 Plain of Truth.⁶⁷ There sit the judges interrogating C
 each of those who arrive, concerning what kind of
 life he has lived and amid what pursuits while he
 dwelled in his body. It is impossible to lie. So,
 then, all whom a good daimon⁶⁸ inspired in life go to
 reside in a place of the pious,⁶⁹ where the ungrudg-
 ing seasons teem with fruits of every kind, where
 fountains of pure water flow,⁷⁰ and where all kinds of
 meadows bloom with flowers of many colors.⁷¹ Here are
 the discourses of philosophers, and performances of D
 poets, cyclic dances,⁷² and concerts, well arranged

συμπόσιά τε εὐμελῆ καὶ εἰλαπίναι αὐτοχορήγητοι, καὶ
 ἀκήρατος ἀλυπία καὶ ἡδεῖα δίαιτα· οὔτε γὰρ χεῖμα
 σφοδρὸν οὔτε θάλπος ἐγγίγνεται, ἀλλ' εὐκρατος ἀῆρ
 χεῖται ἀπαλαῖς ἡλίου ἀκτῖσιν ἀνακιρνάμενος. Ἐνταῦθα
 τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἐστὶ τις προεδρία· καὶ τὰς ὀσίους
 ἀγιστείας κάκειῖσε συντελοῦσι. Πῶς οὖν οὐ σοὶ πρώτῳ
 μέτεστι τῆς τιμῆς, ὄντι γεννήτῃ τῶν θεῶν; καὶ τοὺς 371e
 περὶ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον κατιόντας εἰς Ἄιδου
 πρότερον λόγος ἐνθάδε μνηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ θάρσος τῆς
 ἐκεῖσε πορείας παρὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας ἐναύσασθαι.
 Ὅσοις δὲ τὸ ζῆν διὰ κακουργημάτων ἠλάθη, ἄγονται
 πρὸς Ἐρινύων ἐπ' ἔρεβος καὶ χάος διὰ Ταρτάρου,
 ἔνθα χῶρος ἀσεβῶν καὶ Δαναΐων ὑδρεῖαι ἀτελεῖς καὶ
 Ταντάλου δίψος καὶ Τιτυοῦ σπλάγχνα αἰωνίως ἐσθιόμενα
 καὶ γεννώμενα καὶ Σισύφου πέτρος ἀνήνυτος, οὗ τὰ
 τέρματα αὔθις ἄρχει πόνων. Ἐνθα θηρσί περιλιχμώμενοι 372
 καὶ λαμπάσιν ἐπιμόνως πυρούμενοι Ποινῶν καὶ πᾶσαν
 αἰκίαν αἰκίζόμενοι αἰδίοις τιμωρίαις τρύχονται.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐγὼ ἤκουσα παρὰ Γωβρύου, σὺ δ' ἂν
 ἐπικρίνεις, Ἀξίοχε. Ἐγὼ γὰρ λόγῳ ἀνθελκόμενος
 τοῦτο μόνον ἐμπέδως οἶδα, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἅπασα ἀθάνατος,
 ἢ δὲ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου μετασταθεῖσα καὶ ἄλυπος.
 Ὡστε ἢ κάτω ἢ ἄνω εὐδαιμονεῖν σε δεῖ, Ἀξίοχε,
 βεβιωκότα εὐσεβῶς.

ΑΞ. Αἰσχύνομαί σοί τι εἶπεῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες·
 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀποδέω τοῦ δεδοικέναι τὸν θάνατον, ὥστε
 ἤδη καὶ ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ ἔχειν. Οὕτως με καὶ οὗτος ὁ
 λόγος, ὡς καὶ ὁ οὐράνιος, πέπεικε, καὶ ἤδη περιφρονῶ

drinking-parties, and self-furnished feasts,⁷³ undiluted freedom from pain and a life of pleasure. No fierce cold or heat is found there, but a mild climate tempered by the sun's gentle rays is spread about.⁷⁴ There is a certain place of honor for those who are initiated,⁷⁵ and there they celebrate their holy rites. How is it, then, that you do not share first in the honor, you who are akin to the gods?⁷⁶

371E

And the story is that Heracles and Dionysus, in their descent to Hades' realm, were first initiated here and obtained courage for the journey there from the Eleusinian goddess.⁷⁷ Those, however, who have spent their life in crime are led by the Furies to Erebus and Chaos through Tartarus,⁷⁸ where there is a region of the impious, the ceaseless fetching of water by the Danaids,⁷⁹ the thirst of Tantalus, the entrails of Tityus eternally devoured and regenerated, the never-resting stone of Sisyphus, whose end of toil is again the beginning.⁸⁰ There are those who are being licked clean by wild beasts, set persistently on fire by the torches of the Avengers,⁸¹ and who, tortured with every kind of torture, are consumed by everlasting punishments.

372

These things I heard from Gobyras; but you must decide for yourself, Axiochus. For I, drawn by reason, know only this for a certainty: that every soul is immortal, and that when removed from this place, it is also free from pain. Consequently, either below or above, you must be happy, Axiochus, if you have lived piously.⁸²

AXIOCHUS: I am ashamed to say anything to you, Socrates. For I am so far from fearing death that I now feel love toward it.⁸³ In such a way has this discourse, as well as the one about the heavens, convinced me. Now I despise life, since I'm ready

τοῦ ζῆν, ἄτε εἰς ἀμείνω οἶκον μεταστησόμενος. Νυνὶ δὲ ἡρέμα κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀναριθμήσομαι τὰ λεχθέντα.

Ἐκ μεσημβρίας δὲ παρέση μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες.

ΣΩ. Ποιήσω ὡς λέγεις, καὶ γὰρ ἐπάνειμι ἐς Κυνόσαργες, ἐς περίπατον, ὁπόθεν δεῦρο μετεκλήθην.

to move to a better home. And now quietly, by myself, I'll go over what has been said. But after midday, be with me, Socrates.

SOCRATES: I will do as you ask; and I'll now return to the Cynosarges, to my walk, from which I was summoned here.

NOTES

TRANSLATION

¹The dialogue's beginning and the mention of hurrying along the wall (364D) is similar to the beginnings of the *Lysis* 203A: "I was going from the Academy straight to the Lyceum, by the road outside the wall..."; and of the *Smp.* 172A: "Lately I happened to be going to town from my house in Phalerum, when one of my acquaintances caught sight of me from behind and called me from some way off...."

The geographical setting of the *Axiochus* is southeast Athens in the area of the Olympeion (on which see R. E. Wyncherley, *The Stones of Athens* [Princeton: Princeton University, 1978] 155-74). Socrates has presumably left the city through the Diomeian gates for the Cynosarges which lay somewhere before them (W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* [2nd ed.; Munich: Beck, 1931] 141 n. 2). Located near the Ilisus, the famous river bordering southern Athens, the Cynosarges was one of the famous gymnasias of the city. It was sacred to Heracles, and used by young men of doubtful citizenship. Antisthenes the Cynic taught there in the fourth century B.C. (D.L. 6.1,13), and later in the third century, Ariston of Chios, who founded a sect, a branch of Stoicism returning to Cynic views (see Wyncherley, *Stones of Athens*, 229-31 and Judeich, *Topographie*, 422-24).

Near the Ilisus, Socrates is shouted after by Cleinias and his friends who are running to the Callirrhoe, a spring in the bed of the river (on the confusion about this spring and the Enneacrounos near the Odeion, see Judeich, *Topographie*, 193-202, and Wyncherley, *Stones of Athens*, 248-50). They all meet, and go to the Itonian gates (365A; which led southward and were probably named after Athena Itonia; see Judeich, *Topographie*, 141 n. 2) near which Axiochus lived within the city close to the monument (*stēlē*) of Antiope the Amazon (see Judeich, *Topographie*, 386).

²Axiochus, an Athenian, was son of Alcibiades the elder, and uncle of the famous Alcibiades (*Euthyphr.* 275A). Together with his nephew, he was charged with impiety and went into exile (Andoc. I.16). Cleinias, son of Axiochus, was the lover of Charmides and of Critobulus (see Xen. *Smp.* 4.12ff. 25; *Mem.* 1.3,8,10; cf. *Euthyphr.* 271B, 273A, 274B). Charmides was the nephew of the oligarch Critias, uncle of Plato, and a very handsome youth (*Chm.* 154 and 155A). He belonged to Socrates' circle and is often mentioned as a loyal follower (*Prt.* 315A; *Thg.* 128D, *Smp.* 222B). Socrates encouraged him to pursue a political life (Xen. *Mem.* 3.7), and together with Critias, he was leader of the oligarchic revolution of 404. In 403 he fell with Critias against the democrats led by Thrasybulus (Xen. *HG*

2.4,19). Damon, tutor of Pericles, was famous for his metrical and musical skills; see Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Vol. 1 (8th ed.; Berlin, 1956) 381-84. For a recent assessment of his musical doctrines and importance in Greek education, see C. Lord ("On Damon and Music Education," *Hermes* 106 [1978] 33-43).

³A strange construction which does not mean "the wisdom of which you boast," for Socrates himself made no claim to wisdom, and always professed to be an inquirer (see 366B-C). The phrase means something like the "wisdom attributed to you" or your "much talked-about (by others) wisdom." A. Brinkmann ("Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs *Axiochos*," *Rheinisches Museum* 51 [1896] 453) noted that a peculiarity of the *Axiochus* is the use of πρός with the genitive after a passive instead of ὑπό (cf. 365B, 371E).

⁴"By a sudden illness": the expression is unusual. I have followed Souilhé who agrees with Fischer (cited by him, *Axiochos*, 137f.) that ὥρα refers not so much to a period of time, but to an event or happening such that someone is suddenly and unexpectedly (αἰφνίδιος) overcome by it, and thus deprived of his powers. Souilhé translates ἐκ τινος ὥρας simply as "...frappé subitement d'une faiblesse" ("...struck suddenly by a weakness"). There is, however, merit to Hermann's emendation ὥρακίας which he derived from ὥρακιᾶν ("to faint") and took to mean "a swoon" or "fainting spell." Hence, Feddersen's "infolge einer plötzlichen Ohnmacht." Without αἰφνιδίου, the sense would be "for some time," and E. O'Neil suggested to me in a letter the possibility that some scribe became confused and wrote a gloss which crept into the text. This is possible. So also is Hermann's emendation, though the word ὥρακία is nowhere attested.

⁵"Scared of death": the verb μορμολύπτομαι seldom seems to mean "fear" or "be afraid of." Often found in the middle voice, it has the sense "to frighten or scare in the manner of the bugbear (Mormo)." "Afraid of death, Axiochus' contemporaries perhaps made fun of it by comparing it to the Mormo, a figure of folktale and a bogey used to frighten children (also in an exclamatory sense, "boo, (Mormo) the horse bites," Theoc. 15.40); see *LSJ*, s.v. See also J. Tambornino, *PW* 16 (1935) cols. 309-11, and E. Rohde, *Psyche* (trans. W. B. Hillis; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950) note on 592. Chevalier (*Etude critique*, 45) noted that ἐκφοβεῖν, which the Scholiast gives as a synonym of μορμολύπτειν or μορμολυξάσθαι, is used in the passive with the accusative of the person one fears, Soph. *El.* 276.

There seems to be a slight inconsistency in Cleinias' remarks because of "gently." Hermann bracketed πρόως; I have retained it.

⁶Cf. εἰς τὸ χρεῶν ἀπιέναι, 365B. A similar use of τὸ χρεῶν (lit. "what is necessary" or "fate") in the sense of death occurs often in the Cynic-Stoic tradition (see Lucian *Herm.* 6, *D. Mort.* 27.9) where one should meet it without blame of reproach (ἀμέμπτως, without μεμψιμοιρία, vel sim.). ἄστενακτί, lit. "without groaning" (cf. 370D, ἀστενάκτα): both adverb and adjective are found in Plutarch, *Cons. ad. Apoll.* 107A: ὁ [χρέος] εὐκόλως καταβλητέον ἀστενάκτως or 305D, *Paral. Graec.*: ...ἀστενάκτως ὑπομείνας τὴν ἀνάγκην.

⁷"That this can be dealt with in a reverent way": a somewhat strange construction in which ἵνα is displaced. Chevalier (*Etude critique*, 45) remarked that it is an "infrequent inversion, rather poetic, and which appears to be a latinism," cf. Cic. *Div.* I.40: *deus ut haberetur*. Εὐσεβεῖν in the passive sense of "to be accomplished piously" presumably refers to Axiochus' impending death which his son wants accomplished or handled in a reverent way without complaint not only on Axiochus' part, but also on his own part and that of the rest of the family and friends.

⁸"...recovered from his ailments": in a critique of my initial translation, R. Kotansky noted that ἀφή can mean "infection" or "disease" (see *LSJ*, s.v. [8]). And at 370E Axiochus says "I have recovered (συνείλεγμαi, the same verb as here) from my weakness." Often ἀφή refers to the sense of touch or the grip in wrestling (*LSJ*, s.v. [2] and [4]), but such a meaning seems doubtful here. Souilhé argued (*Axiochus*, 138f.) that τὰς ἀφάς can be given a broader meaning, a part for the whole, and so touch for all the senses. But "recovered his senses" would suggest Axiochus is now strong in spirit, a notion contradicted by the further description of Axiochus as strong in body, but "weak in spirit." Another possibility is that Axiochus has regained use of his limbs or joints (on the derivation of ἀφή from ἄπτω, see H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1960] s.v.).

⁹"Beating of hands": an interesting cultural phenomenon as a sign of despair (cf. the Latin phrase *complo-sis manibus*). The expression "to beat the hands" is found in Attic authors (see *LSJ*, s.v. κροτέω; cf. 368D), but κρότησις is rare, and the plural use, as here, is extraordinary (Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 47).

¹⁰"One who listens to rational arguments": in *LSJ* the expression is rendered "student of philosophy," and by Souilhé as "one who receives good lessons." Another possibility suggested by Edward O'Neil in a critique of my translation is "one who listens to reason" or "rational arguments"). *Logos* has a number of meanings in Greek, and in the present context where the plural is used, Socrates clearly appeals to Axiochus' rational side.

¹¹The notion of life as a brief stay in a foreign land is common in antiquity: cf. M. Ant. 2.17, "life is... a sojourning (ἐπιδημία) in a foreign country"; but παρεπιδημία is rarely used in its present metaphorical sense (cf. Hipparch., ap. Stob. 4.44.81), and appears to be late (see Chevalier, *Etude critique*, 47); cf. biblical usage: Gen 23:4; Ps 39:12; Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 1:1, 2:11. The idea that life is a sojourn may be Orphic in origin (A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* [3rd ed.; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1969] 88).

¹²"So unwilling to be torn from life": it is a commonplace that one should follow death voluntarily, but the expression δυσάποσπαστως ἔχειν is found only here and in Aesop, *Fab.* 84, Diod. Sic. 20.51; Iamb. *Vita Pyth.* 58; John Chrysostom, 7.408 (*P.G.*, vol. 57,414).

¹³Here and later (369D, 370A, 370C) there are references to τὰ ἀγαθὰ, that is, not "good" as opposed to evil, but "the goods." See E. O'Neil's *Teles (The Cynic Teacher)* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) (I.17ff [3H-4H] and n. 3, p. 73, and III.9-36 [22H-23H]), where Teles quotes Stilpon, and the "goods" are divided into three categories: "goods" of the soul, "goods" of the body, and external "goods."

¹⁴"Because of your thoughtlessness, you uncritically connect sensation with absence of sensation...such as you had before birth": Immisch (*Philologische Studien*, 26) followed Winckelmann in considering "because of your thoughtlessness" a gloss; cf. 369E where the same introductory phrase, "you uncritically connect..." (συνάπτεις...ἀνεπιλογίστως), occurs without "because of your thoughtlessness." Nonetheless, the passage is probably Epicurean in sentiment, including some vocabulary: ἀνεπιστασία ("thoughtlessness") is in Phld., *Ir.* p. 33 Wilke; ἀνεπιλόγιστος ("uncritically") is a hapax, but see Epicur. *Sent. Vat.* 63 and Diogenian. Epicur. 3.25; on ἀναισθησία and death as a lack of sensation, see Epicurus, ap. D.L. 10.81. The belief that death is a state or condition like that before birth was a fairly common one (e.g. *C.I.L.* [IX. 4840]: "once we were not--then we were born--and now we rest..." (*olim non fuimus, nati sumus unde quieti nunc sumus...*)) and is also found in the Epicurean Lucretius 3.830f. (cf. this and the *Axiochus* passage with Epicurus, D.L. 10.124-127, and Cicero, *Tusc.* I.38,91).

¹⁵Draco was a famous Athenian legislator of the seventh century B.C. noted for the severity of his code--hence, our word "draconian." Cleisthenes was an early sixth-century reformer of Athens' political constitution.

¹⁶"The corpse...is not the human person. For we are soul...": the thought is like that of *Alc.* I.130C: "since neither the body nor the combination of the two is a human person, it follows either that the human person is nothing at all, or if something, the human person is nothing other than soul" (...μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸν ἄνθρωπον...ἢ ψυχὴν); cf. the conclusion "the soul is the human person" (ἡ ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος). On the *Alcibiades* passage, see H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ in Hermetic Interpretation," *HTR* 63 (1970) 465-84, esp. 471ff., and Guthrie, *History* 3/2. 150ff., and 5.394. A turning point is here reached in the *Axiochus* as Socrates shifts his argument from popular Epicureanism to serious Platonism. For contrasting Epicurean views on the soul, see Rist, *Epicurus*, 74ff. See also A. Dihle, *ψυχὴ*, *TDNT* 9.904ff.

¹⁷The view of the body as a prison is Platonic (see *Cra.* 400C, *Phd.* 62B, 82E, and *Grg.* 493), and probably Orphic in origin; see Guthrie, *History*, 4.339 nn. 1 and 2, and 5.395 n. 1.

¹⁸On the "tent" (σκήνος) as a metaphor for the human body, a famous notion in antiquity, see W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 9, s.v. σκήνος. Cf. Plato, *Phd.* 81C; Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* 1.28; *PGM* I.319; 4.448, 1951, 1970, 2141; *Corp. Herm.* V; Clem. Al. *Strom.* V.94,3 (see also Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.).

¹⁹The idea that the soul is spread throughout the body's pores, and that sensation occurs through these, is Epicurean; see Rist, *Epicurus*, 80ff. On "pores" in Epicurus, see Index in Arrighetti, *Epicuro: Opere* (= *Classici della Filosofia*, IV) (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1960) 651 s.v. πόρος.

²⁰The belief that the aither, the pure, fiery substance above the earth's air and originally home of the gods, is the place of the souls of the dead appears in the fifth century, e.g. *C.I.A.* 1.442, an epigram on fallen of Potidaea (432 B.C.): "the aither has received their souls"; cf. Eur. *El.* 59; *Hel.* 1014-16. The notion became important among the Stoics and the Romans. See J. H. Waszink, "Aether," *RAC* 1 (1950) 150-58, esp. 154-55. See also Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 49, 169, 170, 286, 315, and Guthrie, *Socrates*, 156f. Traces of the idea are found in Plato *R.* 10.616B-C, but it is in the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis* that the doctrine of aither is prominent. Reading doctrines into the *Timaeus*, the author introduced five simple bodies of which aither was one. The other four are earth, air, fire, and water. The *daimones* are placed in the region of aither. On this conception in the *Epinomis*,

see L. Tarán, *Academica: Plato Philip of Opus and the Pseudo-Platonic Epinomis* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975) 36ff. and Guthrie, *History*, 5.386 and 395 n. 1.

²¹"The release from this life is a change...to a good": cf. Socrates' closing remarks in the *Ap.* 40C-D; death "is, according to things said, a change (μεταβολή) and migration (μετοίκησις) of the soul from this to another place," and "if this is true, what greater good could there be...?" See also Guthrie, *Socrates* (147ff., esp. 158ff.) for an assessment of Socrates' views on the soul as found in Plato.

²²"You are a thinker": Socrates is derisively called a φροντιστής by *Ar. Nu.* 266; cf. Plato *Ap.* 18B; see *LSJ*, s.v.

²³"I often wish I knew...": Socrates' famous statement of his ignorance (see Guthrie, *Socrates*, 122ff.); τοσοῦτον is a late and unusual construction for τοσόσδε (cf. 372B): "so far am I from (knowing)...." The contrast between "ordinary matters" (τὰ κοινά) and "extraordinary matters" (τὰ περιττά, cf. Souilhé's "idées sublimes") is not wholly clear. Τὰ κοινά perhaps refers to civic, "common" affairs of mortals (cf. *Hp. Ma.* 282B, τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν), for according to Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.1,10), Socrates frequented public places, talked with anyone about human affairs, but avoided speculation on abstruse subjects such as the nature of the cosmos. Human affairs should not be neglected at the expense of the divine. The περιττά would thus seem to be subtle, refined matters, perhaps pertaining to metaphysical speculation.

²⁴Prodicus of Ceos, a famous Sophist, is mentioned several times in Plato as Socrates' teacher or friend (see Guthrie, *History* 3/1. 222-23 and 275f.). That Prodicus charged a fee for his instruction on the "correctness" of names is attested at *Cra.* 384B, and there seems to have been a joke about the difference between his one-drachma lecture and his fifty-drachma lecture (*ibid.*, 275 and 42 n. 1). His works are lost except possibly for an *epideixis* or speech before a popular audience on Heracles and virtue (*Xen. Mem.* 2.1,21-34; see Guthrie, *History* 3/1. 277f.). It is a question how much, if any, of the *epideixis* in the *Axiochus* can be attributed to him. Chevalier remarks with some justice (*Etude critique*, 72-73) that Prodicus is only a figurehead ("prête-nom") whom the author of the *Axiochus* has used to express ideas that could not be attributed to Socrates. In a letter to me, Edward O'Neil pointed out that what Chevalier says about Prodicus is also in keeping with the rule for χρεῖα as set forth in the Greek

grammarians, e.g. Hermogenes. In fact, the use of some appropriate character in such *χρῆται* is what sets them apart from *γνώμαι* which are anonymous. Thus, there is possibly a Cynic influence on pseudo-Plato.

²⁵Epicharmus: a comic poet of the sixth century, known for expressing contemporary philosophical ideas in his works. The saying in the *Axiochus* is in Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, B 30 (1.203); cf. Sen. *Apocol.* 9 and Petr. *Sat.*, 45: *manus manum lavat* ("a hand washes a hand").

²⁶Callias was a wealthy Athenian and patron of the Sophists. His house is the setting for Xenophon's *Symposium* and Plato's *Protagoras*. See Guthrie, *Sophists*, 41 and 306.

²⁷The soul's longing for death is a famous Socratic notion; see Guthrie, *Socrates*, 164.

²⁸The great similarity between 366D-367B and *Teles* V ("On Pleasure Not Being the Goal of Life") was noted on pp. 16f. of my introduction. See also O'Neil's notes to the fragment in his *Teles* (p. 91). There are also similarities between the *Axiochus* passage, and the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis* (973D-974A): "from the beginning existence is difficult for every live creature...being born and further, being reared and educated...swiftly old age is upon us." Tarán thus speculates that in writing a "Platonic" dialogue, the author of the *Axiochus* would have looked for a source and found one in the *Epinomis* passage (*Academica*, 156 n. 669, and 210). Whether the *Axiochus* passage is influenced by *Teles* or by the *Epinomis*, there is evidence for a date after the fourth-third centuries B.C.

²⁹Though the ensuing account of an Athenian youth's education is loosely given, the report that he began formal study at the age of seven is supported by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1336a 41ff.) who writes that the young received instruction at home until seven years of age (see W. L. Newman, *Politics of Aristotle* [Oxford, 1902] 3.488-89; cf. Plato, *Lg.* 794C). On the tutors (*παιδαγωγοί*) and elementary school teachers (*γραμματισταί*), see H. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1948) 202f. See also E. Schuppe, *PW* 18.1 (1942) s.v. "paidagogos," cols. 2375-85; on the physical trainers (*παιδοτρίβαι*), see J. Jüthner, *PW* 18.1 (1942) s.v. "paidotribes," cols. 2389-96, esp. 2394. There Jüthner, in reference to the *Axiochus*, notes that the physical trainers often treated their charges harshly (see also Marrou, *Histoire*, 221f. on education and chastisement).

³⁰On "language teachers" (κριτικοί), see Gudeman (*PW* 11 (1922) s.v. κριτικός, cols. 1912-15), who notes that, although the terms κριτικός and γραμματικός were synonymous in the post-Alexandrian period (κριτικός appears to have been an earlier technical term), the latter term became prevalent (col. 1913). On geometry instruction, see H. Marrou, *Histoire*, 245ff. On the military instruction, see E. Lammert and F. Lammert, *PW* 11 (1922) s.v. "Kriegskunst," cols. 1827-58; presumably the τακτικοί gave instruction in the movements and use of weapons of the hoplites.

³¹The director (κοσμητής) of the Ephebes was an official title at Athens. He is mentioned only twice in literary sources, here and in Stob. *Flor.* III.235, 72, but the term appears often in inscriptions from the fourth century B.C. until the third century A.D. See F. Preisigke, *PW* 11 (1922) s.v. "κοσμητής," cols. 1490-95. On the ephebes, see Marrou, *Histoire*, 152ff., and M. P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich, 1955) 17ff. Among the duties of the director was to provide the ephebes with oil for rubdowns and to teach them practice in arms and horseback riding.

³²The Lyceum was the shrine of Apollo Lyceus ("wolf-god") where Aristotle set up his school, on which see J. P. Lynch (*Aristotle's School* [Berkeley, 1972]); the Academy was a shrine sacred to Academus or Hecademus, but the word was also used of the gymnasium there, Plato's school, and of the district. On both gymnasia and schools, see Wyncherley, *Stones of Athens*, 219-29.

³³On the Areopagus (a famous hill west of the Acropolis) on which met the oldest council in Athens having special jurisdiction in homicide cases, see T. Thalheim, *PW* 2 (1896) s.v. "Areios pagos," cols. 627-33. On its later importance, see Plu. *Cic.* 24 and Acts 17:19.

³⁴"Perishable" (δυσαλθές) seems almost a synonym for "mortal" (ἐπίκηρον). Literally the phrase might be rendered "subject to death and deadly"; cf. Phld. *Mort.* 38, τὸ θνητὸν καὶ ἐπίκηρον.

³⁵Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I.39, 93: Nature "has granted life like a loan, without fixing any day for repayment" (...*dedit usuram vitae tamquam pecuniae nulla prestituta die*).

³⁶On this phrase, lit. "a second time the aged become children," the Scholiast quotes a line of the *Delians* by the comic poet Cratinus: "the saying then was true: that a second time the old man is a child: (δὶς παῖς...ὁ γέρων); cf. Plato, *Lg.* 646A: "Not only then, so it seems, does the

old man become a child a second time (ὁ γέρων δὲς παῖς γίνεται), but even the drunk"; Ar. *Nu.* 1417; and see also *Teles* V.32-33 where the aged person "submits to being waited on like a child," and *Epin.* 974A 7 (and Tarán's comment, *Academica*, 212). The saying was obviously a commonplace in antiquity.

³⁷ Perhaps a reworking of Menander, Frag. 125: "he whom the gods love dies young" (ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος). Quoted also by Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 119E. If the sentence is a reworking of Menander, it is still another indication that the *Axiochus* is late; see notes 38 and 39 following.

³⁸ The brothers or half-brothers Agamedes and Trophonius were legendary heroes of architecture; see O. Kern, *PW* 1 (1894) s.v. "Agamedes," cols. 719-21, and H. G. Radke, *PW* 7.1, 2nd series (1939) s.v. "Trophonios," cols. 678-95, esp. 694. A very similar story about their easeful death is found in Cic. *Tusc.* I.47,114, and Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 109A-B (cf. Pindar, Frag. 2).

³⁹ The sons were Biton and Cleobis, and their mother Cydippe. The earliest version of the famous sons is in Herodotus I,31; see K. K. Müller, *PW* 3 (1899) s.v. "Biton," cols. 544-46. In Plutarch's *Cons. ad Apoll.* 108F, the story of Biton and Cleobis appears *before* that of Agamedes and Trophonius. The author of the *Axiochus* has thus reversed them, but the occurrence of both stories in the *Cons. ad Apoll.* and in the *Axiochus* is an indication that the latter work belongs to the "consolation" tradition. Indeed, the stories as well as the catena of quotations following from 367D-368A is reminiscent of Plutarch's *Cons. ad Apoll.*, a work often criticized for excessive quotation. But this seems to be a regular feature of consolations.

⁴⁰ This and the following quotation are from Homer, *Il.* 24.525-26 and *Il.* 17.446-47 respectively. R. Lattimore's translations are used for these verses.

⁴¹ Amphiaraus was one of the Seven against Thebes, swallowed alive by a cleft in the earth made by Zeus' thunderbolt as he was driven off from the city (see H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* [New York, 1959] 190ff.). The quotation following is from *Od.* 15.245-46 (R. Lattimore's translation) on which a Scholiast aptly quotes Menander: "he whom the gods love, dies young."

⁴² This line is from Euripides' lost *Cresphontes*, Frag. 452 (Dindorf). Cicero quotes the fragment in Latin at *Tusc.* I.48,115, adding that a similar thought is in Crantor's *Consolation*.

⁴³The passage seems a bit odd because of the genitive plural participles. They are probably best understood as dependent ("subjective") genitives (on which see, for example, H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* [Cambridge, MA, 1972] 319). They follow χειρωνακτικῶς...καὶ βαναύσους (a two-termination adjective) which modify τέχνας understood. Thus, χειρωνακτικῶς...καὶ βαναύσους (sc. τέχνας) of those laboring etc. Cf. τέχνας τινός, Pi. O. 9.52, "by his arts" (or by his agency). By the exercise of their skills, craftsmen labor from night to night...deplore themselves (αὐτῶν, or "their lives," cf. 367D, κατοδύρονται τὸ ζῆν) etc. Except for Stobaeus, the mss. have accusative plurals πονομένους instead of πονουμένων, ποριζομένους instead of ποριζομένων which would be attractive to adopt if χειρωνακτικῶς...βαναύσους were not substantival adjectives but rather independent nouns.

⁴⁴Bias was always included among the seven sages of Greece; see B. Snell, *Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weisen* [4th ed.; Munich, 1971]). Some sayings attributed to him were probably by Bion the Cynic; see Souilhé, *Axiochus*, 143 n. 3, and Crusius, *PW* 3 (1899) s.v. "Bias," cols. 383-89, esp. 389.

⁴⁵Souilhé assumes δῆλον ("obviously") is spoken by Socrates. The ἀλλά that follows, however, suggests that a different person is speaking. Hence, the "obviously" is best taken as a remark by Axiochus. Socrates' subsequent remarks on farming are reminiscent of Menander's *Dyskolos*, e.g. 604f.: the Attic farmer takes "nothing good" from his labors.

⁴⁶The remarks about politics are not complimentary. In particular, the verbs ποπυσθεῖν καὶ κροτηθεῖν cannot easily be rendered, as does Souilhé, by "des flatteries et des applaudissements." As the Scholiast notes, ποπυσθεῖν is here used metaphorically. It's a term employed in training horses (see *LSJ*, s.v.), thus the politician is summoned, like a horse, with a clucking sound or smacking of the lips. κροτέω in the passive "to be beaten" or "struck" seems to mean here "slapped" as one slaps a horse. "Pitied" (ἐλεούμενον) after "killed" seems almost anticlimatic and is omitted by Stobaeus.

⁴⁷Miltiades, hero of Marathon, having led an unsuccessful campaign against Paros, was fined and died soon after in 489 B.C.; Themistocles, a famous Athenian statesman was, for alleged treason, ostracized in 470 B.C. and died in exile in 462; Ephialtes, friend of Pericles, worked to lessen the powers of the Areopagus about 462 B.C. and was killed by a hired assassin.

⁴⁸ Socrates refers to the trial of ten naval commanders who, after the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C., were charged with failure to rescue crewmen of damaged ships and to retrieve the corpses of those slain in battle. Their investigation was conducted illegally, and Socrates, chairman of the committee at which the issue was discussed, refused to have it put before the Assembly. See Plato, *Ap.* 32A-C and Xenophon, *HG* I.7,12-15 and *Mem.* 1.1,18 and 4.4,2, and Guthrie, *Socrates*, 59f.

⁴⁹ Theramenes, an Athenian politician, who was ordered to help the wrecked ships, laid blame on the ten commanders thus escaping punishment; Callixenus proposed having the Assembly of the citizens decide the commanders' guilt or innocence by a secret vote, thus accusing them *en bloc*.

⁵⁰ Euryptolemus, cousin of Alcibiades, objected to Callixenus' proposal but was induced, by threat of including him in the accusation, to withdraw his objection.

⁵¹ Since the transition from this question to Socrates' following mention of Prodicus' belief seems abrupt, Buresch assumed a lacuna after οὐ φευκτάς. He was rightly refuted by Feddersen (*Über den Axiochus*, 10-11) who noted Socrates has already discussed life's other pursuits (368A-C) and need not repeat his views. If life's pursuits are to be shunned, death can be no evil as it frees us from them. Prodicus' belief that death concerns neither the living nor the dead is quite appropriately mentioned at this point.

⁵² Feddersen (*Über den Axiochus*, 5) believed the author of the *Axiochus* was thinking of the famous centaur, Cheiron, and thus proposed ἡ Χείρωνος τοῦ κενταύρου. But his proposed reading is unnecessary since "the centaur" probably stands for any member of the class of chimerical beings; see Souilhé, *Axiochus*, 145.

⁵³ The sentiments expressed by Socrates at 369B-C are clearly Epicurean. "Chatter" (λεσχηνεΐα) is a hapax, derived from originally meaning "couch"; hence, lounging place of idlers or beggars; see *LSJ*, s.v.

⁵⁴ Literally, "had you not unintelligently assumed...a certain sensation" (μίαν αἴσθησιν). The Greek seems odd, but εἰς can be used indefinitely (see *LSJ*, s.v. 3), and I have supplied "for the dead" in an attempt to make the argument clearer. The following remarks of Socrates are an elaboration of Axiochus' unintelligent (ignorant?) assumption: Axiochus thinks that when dead he will still have sensation enabling him to perceive he has no sensation!

⁵⁵ Several scholars (e.g. Buresch, *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum historia critica* [= *Leipziger Studien zur Klassischen Philologie* 9/1] [Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1886] 14, and Immisch, *Philologische Studien*, 39) believed that before this sentence and after αἰσθήσει in the preceding sentence there is a lacuna. Otherwise, the transition πρὸς τῶ πολλοῦς καὶ καλοῦς κτλ. ("moreover, or in addition to the many etc.") cannot be explained. But as Brinkmann ("Beiträge," 447) and Souilhé (*Axiochus*, 146) noted, the hypothesis of a lacuna is superfluous. The argument which follows the supposed lacuna is, in fact, a discourse (λόγος) on immortality as are the preceding discourses, and the phrase πρὸς τῶ... should be taken to mean "in addition to the many beautiful discourses on the soul's immortality,..." On the sense of πρὸς τῶ, cf. Plato, *Phd.* 106C and *Lg.* 764A.

⁵⁶ I follow Souilhé's text, but the passage seems odd as it stands, and various suggestions have been made. Immisch and others removed "risings and settings" (ἀνατολάς τε καὶ δύσεις) from their present position and placed them after "Pleiades." Various proposals have been made about χειμῶνας καὶ θερούς; perhaps Brinkmann ("Beiträge," 447) was correct in suggesting the "Pleiades" should be omitted as a gloss made by a reader who missed a reference to the famous constellation.

⁵⁷ A passage from Philo (*Quod. det. potiori insid.* 87-90) is a striking parallel to this passage beginning at 370B: "For how could a mortal nature at one and the same time have stayed home and been abroad...or have sailed around at sea and traversed earth to its farthest bounds, or have grasped laws and customs...have also apprehended things on high, air and its changes...and all that is brought about by the seasons of the years...examine the condition and movement of the heavenly bodies....devise arts and sciences....How, then, was it likely that the mind of man being so small, contained in such small bulks as a brain or a heart, should have room for all the vastness of sky and universe, had it not been an inseparable portion of that divine and blessed soul" (εἰ μὴ τῆς θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπόσπασμα ἦν οὐ διαιρετόν; Colson and Whitaker trans., Philo, *LCL* 2 (1958). Socrates' speech also seems somewhat reminiscent of *Epin.* 983B: a thing can never become a spirit or alive (ἔμψυχον) except by god. Cf. also Cic. *Tusc.* I.63: *Ne in sphaera quidem eosdem motus Archimedes sine divino ingenio potuisset imitari*: "neither could Archimedes have reproduced the same motions upon a globe without divine genius"; and Sen. *Cons. Helv.* 20 for yet another parallel to the passage.

⁵⁸Axiochus' remark seems odd. Brinkmann noted that μετεωρολογῶ ("I talk of lofty things"?) does not harmonize with δίδειμι ("I go through") and Axiochus has, in any case, been silent for some time ("Beiträge," 454). He thus proposed μετεωροπολῶ ("I busy myself with high things"). This is a possibility, but part of the problem rests with καὶ πάλαι. Hermann proposed καὶ ἄμπαλιν which means something like "and on the contrary" or indicates that Axiochus has been brought to the "opposite opinion." But this also does not help much. Now πάλαι is used with a present to denote an act which began in the past and lasted to the present; thus "I have long talked of lofty things." Combined with the fact that Axiochus has recovered from his weakness (συνείλεγμα), his remarks could be understood as referring to his condition *before* his illness. Early in the work (364B-C and 365A-B) we learned that Axiochus scorned those who were afraid of death, praised manly virtues, and listened to rational arguments. He has now recovered something of his old self and in the process has become "a new person." Perhaps as a result of Socrates' consolation he has come to a fuller realization or better understanding of what he professed in the past.

Such an explanation, however, does not do full justice to δίδειμι κτλ. Presumably the δρόμος refers to the course of the heavenly bodies; see e.g. Dio Chrys. 19(36). 42; M. Ant. 7.47; PGM XII.251 and XIII.575; Dg. 7:2. But how has Axiochus traveled this course?

Now Brinkmann claimed that Axiochus' remark that he is imitating the rhetoricians refers to what follows: μετεωρολογῶ καὶ δίδειμι κτλ. Cf. Heidel (*Pseudo-Platonica*, 17-18) who took this sentence as evidence of padding and that the author was misled by Stoic interest in astronomy and meteorology. Possibly, then, it is a mistake to see any real connection of the phrase with Axiochus' own situation or the previous development of the dialogue. It is a mere rhetorical flourish devoid of any real significance. Or is it perhaps even a quotation from an unknown source?

Yet another possibility is that something has fallen from the text preceding the line. Whatever the case, the sentence remains puzzling.

⁵⁹Gobryas is mentioned by Hdt. 7.72. He was one of the leaders of Xerxes' army. But that he made a trip to Delos is stated only in the *Axiochus*, and the existence of a "wiseman" (possibly "Magian" or member of a Median tribe; see *LSJ*, s.v. Μάγος) by this name is very problematic. See H. Swoboda, *PW* 7 (1912) s.v. "Gobryas," col. 1151, 2 and 4.

⁶⁰The Scholiast identifies them as Apollo and Artemis.

⁶¹Guthrie (*History*, 5.396) notes that Herodotus (4.33) refers to "sacred offerings" that will come to Delos from the mysterious Hyperboreans. He raises, then, a question

concerning pseudo-Plato's source of information for the bronze tablets, "if indeed the author did not invent it." Now metals were used as writing materials, and bronze plaques inscribed with legal texts or dedications are common (cf. the "Orphic Gold Leaves," G. Zuntz, *Persephone* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1971] 277ff.). In a note to Blakeney (p. 42), H. J. Rose wrote:

This refers to the Hyperborean maidens, who were four (or rather 2 x 2) in number (Herod. IV, 33 and 35); according to Callimachus three, their names being Oupis, Loxos and Hecaerge (*h. ad Delum*, 292); two here. I can remember no other passage which gives that number, but the names agree with those mentioned by Callimachus, as far as they go, Ὠπίς and οὐπίς being the same. I see no reason for supposing them men; the names are feminine, Ἐκάεργος being a blunder of someone who had Apollo's epithet in mind (from which indeed the name is formed, as the others are also from names or titles of one or other of the divine twins.

The Hyperboreans were a legendary people belonging to Apollo (who were sometimes located in the far North or in the South-East or India); poets such as Pindar (*P.* 10.49-56) praised their virtue and blessedness. See also Hdt. 4.32-36 who doubted their existence and Antoninus Liberalis 20 for an interesting connection between Apollo and the Hyperboreans. The Pythagoreans loved to relate legends about the Hyperboreans and called Pythagoras himself "Hyperborean Apollo" (see Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 91f., 149-50 and index). But there is also mention of Orpheus receiving an oracle from Apollo Hyperboreus (Servius ad Vergil *Aen.* III 98, quoted in Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, 83). Some of what Gobryas learns from the tablets is Orphic-Pythagorean.

⁶²"Αδηλον is possibly a pun on Hades' name (Ἄϊδης, lit. the "Unseen").

⁶³The spherical (σφαιροειδής) heaven seems to be a recollection of Plato *Ti.* 33B: the Demiurge fashioned the universe into "the shape of a sphere (σφαιροειδής), equidistant in all directions from the center to the extremities, which of all shapes is the most perfect and self-similar." Nilsson noted that this scientifically conceived notion of the universe in the *Axiochus* stands in opposition to the mythological one following (*Geschichte*, 2.241-42). See also I. Opelt, "Erde," *RAC* 5 (1962) esp. 1150 and 1155 for philosophical notions similar to that found here.

⁶⁴The brothers are probably Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades among whom the cosmos was divided (see *Il.* 15.187f.); the children of brothers are probably Minos and Rhadamanthys (371B) who are always considered sons of Zeus. The story

of the Olympians casting lots for their positions (cf. ἔλαχον here with the ἔλαχον of *Il.* 15.190f., and esp. 191, παλλομένων, "when lots were cast") is found also in Apollodorus I.2,1.

⁶⁵Two of the "four infernal rivers" mentioned often in antiquity beginning with Homer (e.g. *Od.* 10.513-14: "there (in Hades' dark house) into Acheron flow Periphlegethon and Cocytus").

⁶⁶Two of the legendary judges of the dead, mentioned together for the first time in Plato, *Grg.* 523E and *Ap.* 41A; see Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 1.821ff.

⁶⁷The "plain of Truth" occurs at *Phdr.* 248B and in the *Hermetica* (ed. Scott, 3.583); cf. the "plain of oblivion" (Λήθης), Plato, *R.* 10.621A and *Ar. Ra.* 186 and Luc. *Luct.* 5.

⁶⁸On the "good daimon," see Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 1.218ff. and especially 2.213ff. A distinction between good and bad daimones was made by Xenocrates (see R. Heinze, *Xenocrates*, 78ff.; Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 31ff.; and Guthrie, *History*, 5.475).

⁶⁹The phrase χωρὸς εὐσεβῶν is found on a number of inscriptions sometime after the second century B.C. (see *Epigrammata gr. ex lapid. collecta*, ed. Kaibel, 151,5; 186,9; 218,16; 291; 411,4; 506,8). Cf. εὐσεβῶν λειμῶνας *Diod.* 1.96,2 (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, 293). The notion that there is a place reserved for the pious in the underworld probably became popular as a result of the mystery cults (see Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 1.647ff., esp. 666f.), but the concept of εὐσέβεια was also an important one in hellenistic philosophy (see *ibid.*, 2.253f.).

⁷⁰The fountains of pure water are possibly reminiscent of "cool water flowing from the pool of Memory" on the Orphic Gold Leaves (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, *Frag.* 32, p. 105, and Zuntz, *Persephone*, 358ff., esp. 370ff., on Egyptian analogies of the cool drink for the dead; cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 95).

⁷¹This line and the description following until "... the sun's gentle rays" is poetic, and Dieterich (*Nekyia*, 212) sensed remains of dactylic-logaoedic metre. There are parallels with this passage in *Plut. Consol. ad Apoll.* 120C where Pindar (*Frag.* 129) is quoted (see my introduction to the *Axiochus*) and *Plutarch Frag.* 178: "but after this a marvellous light meets the wanderer, and open country and meadow lands welcome him; and in that place there are voices and dancing and the solemn majesty of sacred music and holy visions. And amidst these, he walks at large in

a new freedom, now perfect and fully initiated, celebrating the sacred rites, a garland upon his head, and converses with pure and holy men...." (Sandbach's trans., Plutarch, XV, *LCL* [1969]; on the fragment and its Eleusinian or Orphic ideas, see H. D. Betz, "Fragmenta 21-23, 157-158, 176-178," *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature* [Leiden, 1975] 321ff.).

⁷²Κυκλίοισι χοροῖς appears in the Orphic hymn to the Ἔσθραι (Seasons) (G. Quandt, *Orphei Hymni* [2nd ed.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1962] 43.8, pp. 33-34) where the Moirai and Charites lead Persephone back to the light with "cyclic dances" (lit. circular dances about her or about an altar). The words used in the Hymn to describe the Seasons, εἶαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πολυάνθεοι...παντόχροοι, are similar to those used in the *Axiochus* to describe the λειμῶνες ποικίλοις ἔαριζομένοι; cf. the ἔσθραι mentioned shortly before the meadows.

⁷³Poetic performances, music, drinking parties, feasts are all part of underworld descriptions common in the Greco-Roman period, e.g. Plu. *De sera num. vind.* 565F. Lucian, *VH* 2.14-16 (cf. 5) where the cups fill of themselves (cf. the "self-furnished feasts"). No doubt the descriptions arose from the mysteries, Dionysiac and Orphic cults; see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 36ff., 75ff.

⁷⁴The temperate climate of the abode of the blessed goes back at least to Homer; see *Od.* 4.563ff.; cf. *Od.* 6.43 where Olympus is said to be shaken neither by winds nor rain nor snow. See also Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 19f.

⁷⁵The "place of honor" is obviously taken from the mysteries; see D.L. 6.39, where the Athenians encourage Diogenes of Sinope to be initiated into the mysteries, for the initiates have places of honor (προεδρίας) in the next world; see also Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.* 120B where the εὐσεβεῖς, according to a "story of ancient poets and philosophers," receive a certain privilege and place of honor (προεδρία) when departed. On the seat of honor in the theater enjoyed by the Hierophant of the Eleusinian cult, see Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 230.

⁷⁶This is an important, but puzzling, sentence. First, the expression γεννήτης τῶν θεῶν has caused some discussion. Wilamowitz (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1896, p. 984) thought Axiochus was so called only as a member of the *genos* (house or clan) of the Εὐπατρίδαι to which he apparently belonged. To be sure, at Athens it was possible to be adopted into a *genos* and the person was inscribed εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας of the adopter (Is. 7.13, 15, 17, 43; see also the remark of the Scholiast who interprets γεννήτας as

"those arranged into the *genē* [houses] of Athens"). Rohde, however, maintained that Axiochus is so called because he shares in the privileges of the initiated (*μεμυημένοι*). He is thus akin to the gods because he is initiated (Rohde, *Psyche*, 602-603).

Mylonas, however, who accepts F. R. Walton's view in "Kinsman of the Gods?" (*CP* 58 [1953] 24-27), does not think the line proves a theory of divine adoption of the initiate, but means only a "worshipper of Demeter." Thus Axiochus can share in the privileges of those who have been initiated since he is one of the band of these, the worshippers of Demeter (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 296 n. 23). This may be correct, but there nonetheless seems to be a kinship to the divine in that Axiochus has a soul in which a divine spirit is present (370C).

Secondly, it remains unclear why Axiochus is called *πρῶτος*, presumably before other initiates. Nothing in the text explains this, and all that can be affirmed is that his divine kinship seems based on his initiation at Eleusis (see the lines following in the text).

There are similarities to the present notion. For example, the expression *θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου* appears on the Orphic Gold Leaves (see Zuntz, *Persephone*, 329ff.); in the *Somnium Scipionis* (Cic. *Rep.* VI.24-26) Scipio, having been informed that the mind (*mens*) not the body is the true self, is told: "Know, then, that you are a god (*deum te igitur scito esse*) if a god is that which lives, feels, remembers...which rules, governs and moves the body...just as the ruler god (*princeps deus*) rules the universe" (see H. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 474f. on this passage). Like Scipio, Axiochus has come to much the same realization that a divine spirit is in him (see 370C-D).

⁷⁷The Scholiast identifies the goddess at Eleusis as Demeter. The tradition that both Heracles and Dionysus were initiated at Eleusis is represented in vase paintings (on Heracles' initiation, see also Apollod. 2.5.12, Plu. *Thes.* 30.5, Diod. 4.14,3; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 205ff. and 213; and N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* [Oxford: Oxford University, 1974] 22f. and 212f.). Moreover, Dionysus was sometimes confused with Iacchos, the personification of the shoutings and enthusiasm of the initiates (see Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 1.664, and Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 307f.). The descents of Dionysos (to bring back his mother) and of Heracles (to bring up Cerberus, or to return Alcestis) into the underworld are well known, and they may well have prepared themselves by being initiated. Here they are coupled as the two most illustrious initiates ever initiated.

⁷⁸The function of the Furies or Erinyes to send the wicked to the place of the impious (*Χῶρος ἀσεβῶν*) is also found at Luc. *Luct.* 8. On the Erinyes, see B. D. Dietrich,

Death, Fate, and the Gods (London, 1965) 91ff. Originally they were not spirits of vengeance, but chthonic deities linked with Demeter (*ibid.*, 117f.). In Orphic belief, however, they were considered avengers of human guilt, their parents were Hades and Persephone (*ibid.*, 93f.). Also the mention of Erebus (the place of darkness and son of Chaos. *Hes. Th.* 123) together with Chaos and Tartarus probably reflects Orphic influence (in *Ar. Av.* 690f. = Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 1, p. 80, they are mentioned together); see also *Damasc. De princ.* 123 (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 54) and Nilsson's comments on Erebus in Neopythagoreanism and Orphism (*Geschichte*, 2.426f.).

⁷⁹Lit. "the endless (ἀτελεῖς (possibly also with the sense of "uninitiated") drawings of water of the Danaids." On this punishment, cf. *Hor. Car.* 3.11, 21-24 and see the most recent study of the Danaids by E. Keuls (*The Water Carriers in Hades* [Amsterdam, 1974] esp. 53f.) for this passage.

⁸⁰A *locus classicus* for the punishment of these arch-sinners of antiquity is *Od.* 11.583ff. They are often mentioned in later literature, e.g. *Lucr.* 3.980f.

⁸¹On the Avengers or Ποιναι, see Dieterich (*Nekyia*, 58-59). Their distinction from the Furies or Erinyes is not always clear; both are spirits of punishment (cf. *Luc. Luct.* 6, where they are mentioned together).

⁸²These last remarks are reminiscent of Plato, *Phd.* 107D: "But since the soul is seen to be immortal, it cannot escape from evil or be saved in any other way than by becoming as good and wise as possible. For the soul takes with it to Hades nothing but its education and nurture, and these are said to benefit or injure the departed greatly from the very beginning of its journey there." Cf. the proof for the soul's immortality at *Phdr.* 245C beginning ψυχῆ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος. Belief in the soul's immortality was according to the second century philosopher Atticus (Eusebius, *PE* 15.809) the cement which holds together the Platonic School; without it, Plato's whole philosophy collapses

⁸³Cf. Plato, *Phd.* 67Dff. where it is claimed that the philosopher, because he truly loves wisdom, desires the separation of the soul from the body, or death. On the notion that death is not an evil, possibly in connection with the mysteries, cf. the grave inscription cited by W. Peek (*Griechische Vers-Inschriften* [Berlin, 1955] no. 879, p. 242): "...he went to the immortals; indeed lovely is the secret revealed by the blessed, that death is not an evil for mortals, but a good" (ἡ καλὸν ἐν μακάρων μυστήριον, οὐ μόνον εἶναι τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν). See also Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 431. Finally, compare Socrates' closing remark with 366 B above.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arrighetti, G. *Epicuro: Opere (= Classici della Filosofia, IV)*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1960.
- Betz, H. D. "The Delphic Maxim ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ in Hermetic Interpretation." *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970) 465-484.
- Blakeney, E. H. *The Axiochus: On Death and Immortality*. London: F. Muller, 1937.
- Brinkmann, A. "Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs *Axiochos*." *Rheinisches Museum* 51 (1896) 441-454.
- Buresch, C. *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum historia critica (= Leipziger Studien zur Klassischen Philologie, IX/1)*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1886.
- Burkert, W. *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Trans. E. L. Minar, Jr. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1972.
- _____. *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche (= Die Religionen der Menschheit, XV)*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977.
- Chevalier, J. *Etude critique du dialogue pseudo-platonicien l'Axiochos*. Paris: F. Alcan, 1915.
- Corsson, P. "Cicero's Quelle für *Tusc. I.*" *Rheinisches Museum* 36 (1881) 506-523.
- Courcelle, P. O. '*Consolation de Philosophie*' dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce. Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1967.
- Dieterich, A. *Nekyia*. Leipzig, 1893; 3rd ed., Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1969.
- Dillon, J. *The Middle Platonists*. London: G. Duckworth, 1977.
- Feddersen, H. *Über den pseudoplatonischen Dialog Axiochus*. Programm Cuxhaven: G. Rauschenplat, 1895.
- Festugière, A. J. *Epicurus and his Gods*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1956.
- Guthrie, W. K. C. *Orpheus and Greek Religion*. 2nd ed. London: Methuen, 1952.
- _____. *The Greeks and their Gods*. Boston: Beacon, 1954 (reprint).

- Guthrie, W. K. C. *A History of Greek Philosophy*, I-V. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University, 1962-1978.
- Hani, J. *Plutarque. Consolation à Apollonios (= Etudes et Commentaires, LXXVIII)*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1972.
- Heidel, W. A. *Pseudo-Platonica*. Baltimore, 1896; reprint, New York: Arno, 1976.
- Heinze, R. *Xenokrates*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1892.
- Hermann, C. F. *Platonis Dialogi*, VI. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907.
- Immisch, O. *Philologische Studien zu Plato*, I: *Axiochus*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1896.
- Judeich, W. *Topographie von Athen*. 2nd ed., *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* III.2.2. Munich: Beck, 1931.
- Kern, O. *Orphicorum Fragmenta*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922; reprinted, 1963.
- Meister, M. *De "Axiocho" dialogo*. Breslau: W. G. Korn, 1915.
- Mylonas, G. E. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1961.
- Nilsson, M. P. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II: *Die hellenistische und römische Zeit*. 2nd ed., *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* V.2.2. Munich: Beck, 1961.
- O'Neil, E. N. *Teles (The Cynic Teacher)*. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977.
- Padelford, F. M. *The Axiochus of Plato Translated by Edmund Spenser*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1934.
- Quandt, G. *Orphei Hymni*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1962.
- Richardson, N. J. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Oxford: Oxford University, 1974.
- Rist, J. *Epicurus: An Introduction*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University, 1972.
- Rohde, E. *Psyche*. Trans. W. B. Hillis. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950 (reprint).
- Shorey, P. *What Plato Said*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968 (reprint).

Souilhé, J. *Platon: Oeuvres Complètes*, XIII, Part 3.
Paris: Budé, 1930.

Tarán, L. *Academica: Plato, Philip of Opus, and the Pseudo-Platonic Epinomis*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975.

Taylor, A. E. *Plato: The Man and his Work*. New York: Meridian, 1956 (reprint).

Wyncherley, R. *The Stones of Athens*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1978.

Zuntz, G. *Persephone*. Oxford: Oxford University, 1971.

INDEX I

NAMES, ANCIENT AND MODERN

- Academus, 60 (n. 32)
 Academy, 11, 19, 21, 35, 53 (n. 1), 60 (n. 32)
 Acheron, 47, 67 (n. 65)
 Acropolis, 60 (n. 33)
 Aelian, 12
 Aeschines, 10-11
 Agamedes, 20, 37, 61 (nn. 38, 39)
 Alcestis, 69 (n. 77)
 Alcibiades, 53 (n. 2), 63 (n. 50)
 Alexandrian Platonists, 18
 Amphiaraus, 39, 61 (n. 41)
 Amazon column, 31, 53 (n. 1)
 Antiope, 53 (n. 1)
 Antisthenes, 53 (n. 1)
 Apollo, 39, cf. 47
 Apollo Hyperboreus, 65 (n. 60), 66 (n. 61)
 Apollo Lyceus, 60 (n. 32)
 Areopagus and Council of, 13, 25 (n. 25), 37, 60 (n. 33),
 62 (n. 47)
 Arginusae, 13, 63 (n. 48)
 Argine priestess (i.e. Cydippe), 20, 37, 61 (n. 39)
 Aristides Rhetor, 12
 Ariston of Chios, 53 (n. 1)
 Aristotle, 11, 60 (n. 32)
 Artemis, 47, 65 (n. 60)
 Athena Itonia, 53 (n. 1)
 Athens, Athenian(s), 1, 5, 13, 29, 35, 53 (nn. 1-2),
 56 (n. 15), 59 (nn. 26, 29), 60 (nn. 31, 33),
 62 (n. 47), 63 (n. 49), 68 (nn. 75, 76), 69 (n. 76)
 Attic, 11, 55 (n. 9)
 Atticus, 70 (n. 82)
 Avengers, 49, 70 (n. 81)
 Axiochus, 8-10, 17, 21, 23 (n. 5), 29, 31, 33, 35, 41, 43,
 45, 49, 53 (n. 2), 55 (nn. 7, 8, 10), 62 (n. 45),
 63 (n. 54), 65 (n. 58), 68 (n. 76), 69 (n. 76)
Axiochus, 1-21, 23 (nn. 1-5), 53 (n. 1), 54 (nn. 3-4),
 57 (n. 16), 58 (n. 24), 59 (nn. 25, 28, 29), 61 (nn.
 37, 39), 63 (nn. 51, 52), 66 (n. 63), 68 (n. 72)
- Bias, 39, 62 (n. 44)
 Bion of Borysthenes, 16, 17, 62 (n. 44)
 Biton, 61 (n. 39), cf. 37
- Callias, 35, 59 (n. 26)
 Callirrhoe, 13, 29, 53 (n. 1)
 Callixenus, 41, 63 (nn. 49, 50)
 Centaur, 43, 63 (n. 52); see Cheiron

- Cerberus, 69 (n. 77)
 Chaos, 49, 70 (n. 78)
 Charites, 68 (n. 72)
 Charmides, 8, 29, 53 (n. 2)
 Cheiron, 63 (n. 52); see Centaur
 Christian, Christianity, 1, 5-7, 21
 Cicero, 3, 18
 Cleinias, 8, 9, 29, 53 (nn. 1-2), 54 (n. 5)
 Cleisthenes, 33, 56 (n. 15)
 Clement of Alexandria, 12
 Cleobis, 61 (n. 39), cf. 37
 Cocytus, 47, 67 (n. 65)
 Crantor, 19-20, 23, 61 (n. 42)
 Crates, 16
 Cratinus, 60 (n. 36)
 Critias, 53 (n. 2)
 Critobulus, 53 (n. 2)
 Cydippe, 61 (n. 39); see Argive priestess
 Cynic, Cynicism, 1, 8, 16, 18, 20, 22, 53 (n. 1), 55 (n. 6),
 59 (n. 24), 62 (n. 44)
 Cynosarges, 13, 29, 49, 53 (n. 1)
- Damon, 8, 29, 54 (n. 2)
 Danaids, 49, 70 (n. 79)
 Delos, 9, 47
 Demeter, 4, cf. 49, 69 (nn. 76, 77), 70 (n. 78)
 Diogenes Laertius, 5, 11
 Diogenes of Sinope, 5, 68 (n. 75)
 Diomeian gates, 53 (n. 1)
 Dionysiac cults, 68 (n. 73)
 Dionysus, 4, 5, 24 (n. 11), 49, 69 (n. 77)
 Draco, 33, 56 (n. 15)
- Egyptian, 67 (n. 70)
 Eleusis, Eleusinian, 4, 5, 24 (n. 11), 49, 68 (nn. 71, 75),
 69 (nn. 76, 77)
 Elysian plain, 3
 Enneacrounos, 53 (n. 1)
 Ephebes, 13, 15, 25 (n. 25), 35, 37, 60 (n. 31)
 Ephialtes, 41, 62 (n. 47)
 Epicharmus, 35, 59 (n. 25)
 Epicurus, Epicurean(s), Epicureanism, 1, 2, 8, 10, 11,
 14-16, 18, 20, 21, 23 (n. 5), 25 (n. 32), 56 (n. 14),
 57 (nn. 16, 19), 63 (n. 53)
 Erebus, 49, 70 (n. 78)
 Erinyes, 69-70 (n. 78), 70 (n. 81); see Furies
 Eumolpus, 24 (n. 10)
 Euryptolemus, 41, 63 (n. 50)
- Furies, 49, 70 (n. 81); see Erinyes

- Galen, 12
 Garden, 21
 Glaucou, 29
 Gobyra, 9, 47, 49, 65 (n. 59), 66 (n. 61)
 Gymnaſium, 35
- Hade, 4, 49, 66 (nn. 62, 64), 67 (n. 65), 70 (n. 78)
 Hecademu, 60 (n. 32)
 Hecaerge, 47, 66 (n. 61)
 Hera, 37
 Heracle, 4, 5, 24 (n. 11), 49, 53 (n. 1), 58 (n. 24),
 69 (n. 27)
 Hilarion (Theodoru Prodrumu), 6
 Hippocle, 19
 Hipponichu, 32
 Homer, 5
 Hyperboreana, 47, 65-66 (n. 61)
- Iacchu, 69 (n. 77)
 Ilisu, 13, 29, 53 (n. 1)
 Itonian gate, 31, 53 (n. 1)
- Loxo, 66 (n. 61)
 Lucian, 12
 Lyceum, 35, 53 (n. 1), 60 (n. 32)
- Middle Platonism, 18, 20
 Miltiade, 41, 62 (n. 47)
 Minu, 1, 47, 66 (n. 64), 67 (n. 66)
 Moirai, 68 (n. 72)
 Mormo, 54 (n. 5)
- Odeion, 53 (n. 1)
 Olympeion, 53 (n. 1)
 Olympu, 68 (n. 74)
 Opis (Oupis), 47, 66 (n. 61)
 Orpheu, Orphic(s), Orphism, 1, 2, 4, 5, 23 (n. 6), 24
 (nn. 6, 7), 56 (n. 11), 57 (n. 17), 66 (n. 61),
 68 (nn. 71-73), 69 (n. 76), 70 (nn. 78, 79)
- Oupis; ſee Opis
- Paul, the apoſtle, 6
 Pericle, 54 (n. 2), 62 (n. 47)
 Peripatetic, 18
 Periphlegethon, 67 (n. 68)
 Perſephone, 68 (n. 72), 70 (n. 78)
 Phalerum, 53 (n. 1)
 Philo of Alexandria, 18
 Philodemu, 12
 Pindar, 5
 Plain of Truth, 47

- Plato, Platonic, i, 1, 2, 5, 8, 10-16, 18, 20-21, 23 (n. 5), 24 (n. 7), 53 (n. 2), 57 (nn. 16-17), 58 (nn. 21, 24), 59 (nn. 24, 28), 60 (n. 32), 66 (n. 61), 70 (n. 82)
 Pleiades, 45, 64 (n. 56)
 Plutarch, 3, 11, 13
 Pluto, 47
 Polybius, 12
 Poseidon, 66 (n. 64)
 Poseidonius, 3, 11, 18
 Potideia, 57 (n. 20)
 Prodicus, of Ceos, 9, 13, 35, 41, 58 (n. 24), 63 (n. 51)
 Pythagoras, Pythagoreanism, 1, 2, 5, 11, 23-24 (n. 6), 66 (n. 61)
 Pytho, 37

 Rhadamanthys, 1, 47, 66 (n. 64), 67 (n. 66)
 Roman, 13, 57 (n. 20)

 Scipio, 69 (n. 76)
 Scylla, 43
 Semele, cf. 69 (n. 77)
 Seneca, 3, 18
 Septuagint (LXX), 6
 Sextus Empiricus, 15
 Sisyphus, 4, 49
 Socrates, 1, 3, 8-10, 13-15, 17, 19, 23 (n. 5), 29-51 passim, 53 (n. 1), 54 (n. 3), 55 (n. 10), 57 (n. 16), 58 (nn. 21-24), 59 (n. 27), 62 (n. 45), 63 (nn. 48, 51, 53, 54), 64 (n. 57), 70 (n. 83)
 Sophist(s), 55 (n. 24), 59 (n. 26)
 Stilpon, 56 (n. 13)
 Stobaeus, 62 (nn. 42, 46)
 Stoic(s), Stoicism, 1, 6, 8, 10, 16-18, 20, 24 (n. 9), 53 (n. 1), 55 (n. 6), 57 (n. 20), 65 (n. 58)

 Tantalus, 4, 49
 Tartarus, 49, 70 (n. 78)
 Teles, 16-17, 59 (n. 28), 61 (n. 36)
 Themistocles, 41, 62 (n. 47)
 Theodorus Prodomus; see Hilarion
 Therames, 41, 63 (n. 49)
 Theophrastus, 19
 Thrasybulus, 53 (n. 2)
 Tityus, 4, 49
 Trophonius, 20, 37, 61 (nn. 38, 39)

 Xenocrates, i, 6, 11, 16, 19, 23 (n. 3), 25 (n. 31), 67 (n. 68)
 Xerxes, 47, 65 (n. 59)

 Zeus, 39, 61 (n. 41), 66 (n. 64)

INDEX II

ANCIENT PASSAGES

Achilles Tattius
II.36,3 5

Aelian
VH 90.29 12

Aesop
Fab. 84 56 (n. 12)

Andocides
I.16 53 (n. 2)

Antoninus Liberalis
20 66 (n. 61)

Apollodorus
1.2,1 67 (n. 64)
2.5,12 69 (n. 77)

Appian
BC 2.67 12
5.125 12

Aristides Rhetor
Or. XII.136 12

Aristophanes
Av. 690f. 70 (n. 78)
Nu. 266 58 (n. 22)
1417 61 (n. 36)
Ra. 186 67 (n. 67)

Aristotle
Ath. Pol. 42 13
Pol. 1336a 41ff. 59 (n. 29)

Athenaeus
V.196A 12
XII.538C 12
XIII.579A 12
604E 12

Callimachus
h. ad Del. 292 66 (n. 61)

Cicero
Acad. II.44,135 19-20

Cicero

<i>Divin.</i> I.40	55 (n. 7)
<i>Rep.</i> VI.24-26	69 (n. 76)
<i>Tusc.</i>	19
I.25,63	64 (n. 57)
37-38	20
38,91	56 (n. 14)
39,93	60 (n. 35)
47,113-114	20, 61 (n. 38)
48,115	61 (n. 42)

Clement of Alexandria

<i>Strom.</i> V.94,3	57 (n. 18)
----------------------	------------

Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum

IV.2 (1916) 1062	24 (n. 9)
------------------	-----------

Corpus Hermeticum

Frag. 25.4	67 (n. 67)
V	57 (n. 18)
XIII.12,15	5

Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum

I.442	57 (n. 20)
-------	------------

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

IX.4840	56 (n. 14)
---------	------------

Crantor

<i>Consolatio</i> 19-21,	61 (n. 42)
--------------------------	------------

Damascius

<i>De Princ.</i> 123	70 (n. 78)
----------------------	------------

Democritus

B37	5
B187	5

Dio Chrysostom

19(36),42	65 (n. 58)
-----------	------------

Diodorus Siculus

1.96,2	67 (n. 69)
4.14,3	69 (n. 77)
20.51	56 (n. 12)

Diogenes Laertius

2.61	10, cf. 11
3.62	10
4.12	11, 19
5.44	19
6.1,13	53 (n. 1)

Diogenes Laertius

6.39	5, 68 (n. 75)
10.81	56 (n. 14)
124-129	56 (n. 14)
139,2	14

Diogenianus Epicureus

3.25	56 (n. 14)
------	------------

Diognetus

6:8	5
7:2	65 (n. 58)

Epicurus

<i>Sent.</i> 2	2, 14
<i>Sent. Vat.</i> 63	56 (n. 14)

Epigrammata gr. ex lapid. coll.

151,5	67 (n. 69)
186,9	67 (n. 69)
218,16	67 (n. 69)
291	67 (n. 69)
411,4	67 (n. 69)
506,8	67 (n. 69)

Euripides

<i>Cresph. Frag.</i> 452 (Dind.)	61 (n. 42)
<i>El.</i> 59	57 (n. 20)
<i>Hel.</i> 1014-1016	57 (n. 20)

Eusebius

<i>PE</i> 15.809	70 (n. 82)
------------------	------------

Herodotus

1.31	61 (n. 39)
4.32-36	65-66 (n. 61)
7.72	65 (n. 58)

Hesiod

<i>Th.</i> 123	70 (n. 78)
----------------	------------

Homer

<i>Il.</i> 15.187f.	66 (n. 64)
15.190-191	67 (n. 64)
17.446-447	61 (n. 40)
24.525-526	61 (n. 40)
<i>Od.</i> 4.563-569	3, 68 (n. 74)
6.43	68 (n. 74)
10.513-514	67 (n. 65)
11.575-600	4
583ff.	70 (n. 80)
15.187-188	66 (n. 64)
245-246	61 (n. 41)

Homeric Hymn to Demeter

22-23 69 (n. 77)
 212-213 69 (n. 77)
 480-482 4-5

Horace

Car. 3.11,21-24 70 (n. 79)

Iamblichus

Vita Pyth. 58 56 (n. 12)

Isaeus

7,13,15,17,43 68 (n. 76)

Ioscrates

Paneg. 28 5

John Chrysostom

7.408 56 (n. 12)

Lucian

Dial. Mort. 27.9 55 (n. 6)
Herm. 6 55 (n. 6)
Luct. 5 67 (n. 67)
 6 70 (n. 81)
 8 69 (n. 78)
Par. 32 11
VH 2.5 4
 2.14 4
 2.14-16 68 (n. 73)

Lucretius

3.830-831 56 (n. 14)
 980-981 70 (n. 80)

Marcus Aurelius

2.17 56 (n. 11)
 7.47 65 (n. 58)

Menander

Dysk. 604-605 62 (n. 45)
Frag. 125 61 (nn. 37, 41)

Novum Testamentum

Acts 17:19 60 (n. 33)
 2 Cor 5:4 5
 5:17 5
 Eph 4:24 5

Novum Testamentum

Gal 6:15	5
Heb 4:12	6
11:13	56 (n. 11)
1 Pet 1:1	56 (n. 11)
2:11	56 (n. 11)
2 Pet 1:13-14	5
Rom 7:6	5
8:16	6
1 Thess 5:23	6

Orphic Hymn ad Horas

(43).8 68 (n. 72)

Orphicorum Fragmenta (Kern)

1	70 (n. 78)
32	67 (n. 70)
83	66 (n. 61)
293	67 (n. 69)

Papyri Graecae Magicae 5

I.319	57 (n. 18)
IV.448	57 (n. 18)
1951	57 (n. 18)
1970	57 (n. 18)
2141	57 (n. 18)
XII.251	65 (n. 58)
XIII.575	65 (n. 58)

Petronius

Sat. 45 59 (n. 25)

Philo Jud.

<i>Quaest. in Gen</i> 1.28	57 (n. 18)
<i>Quod det. pot. insid.</i> 87-90	64 (n. 57)

Philodemus

<i>Ira</i> p. 33 (Wilke)	56 (n. 14)
<i>Mort.</i> 38	60 (n. 34)

Philostratus

VS 38.21 12

Pindar

<i>O.</i> 9.52	62 (n. 43)
<i>P.</i> 10.49-56	66 (n. 61)
<i>Frag.</i> 2	61 (n. 38)
129-130	3-4, 67 (n. 71)

Plato

<i>Alcb.</i> I.130	57 (n. 16)
<i>Ap.</i> 18B	58 (n. 22)
32A-C	63 (n. 48)
40C	19
40C-D	58 (n. 21)
40E	14
41A	67 (n. 66)
<i>Chm.</i> 154	53 (n. 2)
155A	53 (n. 2)
<i>Cra.</i> 384B	58 (n. 24)
400C	57 (n. 17)
<i>Epin.</i>	57 (n. 20)
973D-974D	59 (n. 28)
974A	61 (n. 36)
983B	64 (n. 57)
<i>Euthyphr.</i> 271B	53 (n. 2)
273A	53 (n. 2)
274B	53 (n. 2)
275A	53 (n. 2)
<i>Grg.</i>	1
493A	1, 57 (n. 17)
523E	67 (n. 66)
<i>Hp. Ma.</i>	
282B	58 (n. 23)
<i>Lg.</i> 646A	60 (n. 36)
764A	64 (n. 55)
794C	59 (n. 29)
<i>Ly.</i> 203A	53 (n. 1)
<i>Phd.</i>	1
62B	1, 57 (n. 17)
66B	15
67D	70 (n. 83)
81C	57 (n. 18)
82E	57 (n. 17)
82F	1
106C	64 (n. 55)
107D	70 (n. 82)
114B-C	1
<i>Phdr.</i> 245C	14, 70 (n. 82)
246B	15, 67 (n. 67)
<i>Prt.</i>	59 (n. 26)
315A	53 (n. 2)
<i>R.</i> 10	1
363C	4
611B	15
616B-C	57 (n. 20)
621A	67 (n. 67)
<i>Smp.</i> 172A	53 (n. 1)
222B	53 (n. 2)
<i>Thg.</i> 128D	53 (n. 2)
<i>Ti.</i>	57 (n. 20)
32C	15
33B	66 (n. 63)

Plutarch

<i>Cons. ad Apoll.</i>	19
107A	55 (n. 6)
108E-F	20
108F	61 (n. 39)
109A	20
109A-B	61 (n. 38)
109F	20
119E	61 (n. 37)
120B	68 (n. 75)
120C	3-4, 20, 67 (n. 71)
<i>De def. or.</i> 432D	24 (n. 9)
<i>De gen. Socr.</i> 590-592F	3
<i>De sera num. vind.</i> 563B-568	3
<i>De sollert. anim.</i> 963B	12
<i>Paral. Graec.</i> 305D	55 (n. 6)
Frag. 178	67 (n. 71)
CM 1	5
CG 17	12
<i>Cic.</i> 24	60 (n. 33)
<i>Eum.</i> 1	12
<i>Num.</i> 4,6	24 (n. 9)
<i>Thes.</i> 30.5	69 (n. 77)
<i>Tim.</i> 38	12

Polybius

4.4,2	12
32.4,5	12

Seneca

<i>Apocol.</i> 9	59 (n. 25)
<i>Cons. Helv.</i> 20	64 (n. 57)
<i>Cons. Polyb.</i> 29	17
<i>Epist. Mor.</i> 66.12	24 (n. 9)

Septuagint (LXX)

	5
Gen 23:4	56 (n. 11)
Ps 39:12	56 (n. 11)

Servius

<i>ad Aen.</i> III.98	66 (n. 61)
-----------------------	------------

Sextus Empiricus

<i>M.</i> 1.285	14
<i>P.</i> 3.229	14

Sophocles

<i>El.</i> 276	54 (n. 5)
----------------	-----------

Stobaeus

98,75 (Mein.) III.236	6
120,34-35 (Mein.) IV.121	6
121,38 (Mein.) IV.121	6

Tacitus

Ann. 15.62 17

Teles (O'Neil)

I.17ff. (3-4H)	56 (n. 13)
II.149ff. (15-16H)	17, 59 (n. 28)
III.9-36 (22-23H)	56 (n. 13)
V.1ff. (49-51H)	16-17, 59 (n. 28)
32-33 (50H)	61 (n. 36)

Theocritus

15.40 54 (n. 5)

Xenophon

<i>HG</i> 1.7,12-15	63 (n. 48)
2.4,19	53 (n. 2)
<i>Mem.</i> 1.1,10	58 (n. 23)
1.1,18	63 (n. 48)
1.3,8	53 (n. 2)
1.3,10	53 (n. 2)
2.1,21-34	58 (n. 24)
3.7	53 (n. 2)
4.4,2	63 (n. 48)
<i>Smp.</i>	59 (n. 26)
4.12ff.	53 (n. 2)

INDEX III

GREEK TERMS

ἀγαθά (τά)	56 (n. 13)
ἀγαθὸς δαίμων	16
ἄδηλον	66 (n. 62)
Ἄϊδης	66 (n. 62)
αἰθήρ	18, 32, 57 (n. 20)
αἰφνίδιος	12, 54 (n. 4)
ἀμέπτως	55 (n. 6)
ἀμυχαῖος	12
ἀναισθησία	56 (n. 14)
ἀνασφῆλαι	12
ἀνεπιστάσια	56 (n. 14)
ἀνεπιλογίστως	56 (n. 14)
ἄνθρωπος	15, 57 (n. 16)
ἀπηχῆματα	12
ἀποδέδεικται	14
ἀστενακτί	12, 55 (n. 6)
ἀτελεῖς	70 (n. 79)
ἀτυχήσεις μου	12
αὐτοχορήγητος	12
ἀφή, ἀφάς	12, 55 (n. 8)
ἀψίκορος	12
βάνουσος	62 (n. 43)
γέγονα καινός	5
γεννήτης (τῶν θεῶν)	68-69 (n. 76)
γνώμαι	59 (n. 24)
γραμματικός	60 (n. 30)
γραμματισταί	59 (n. 29)
δαίμων, δαίμονες	16, 57 (n. 20), 67 (n. 68)
δῆλον	62 (n. 45)

διαχλευάζω	12
δίειμι	65 (n. 58)
δίμοιρον	12
δρόμος	65 (n. 58)
δυσαλθές	60 (n. 34)
δυσαποσπάστως ἔχειν	56 (n. 12)
ἐγγράφεσθαι εἰς ἐφήβους	13
εἰμαρμένη	17
ἐκφοβεῖν	54 (n. 5)
ἐλεούμενον	62 (n. 46)
ἐπίδειξις	58 (n. 24)
ἐπίκηρον	60 (n. 34)
ἐπιτωθάζω	12
ἐς τὸ χρεῶν ἴη	12, 17, cf. 55 (n. 6)
εὐδαίμων	16
εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβεῖν	55 (n. 7), 67 (n. 69), 68 (n. 75)
καινός, καινότης	5
κακοδαίμων	16
κοινά (τά)	58 (n. 23)
κοσμητής	60 (n. 31)
κριτικός	12, 60 (n. 30)
κροτέω	55 (n. 9), 62 (n. 46)
κρότησις	55 (n. 9)
κυκλίοισι χοροῖς	68 (n. 72)
λειμῶνες	68 (n. 72)
λεσχηνεΐα	63 (n. 53)
λόγος	55 (n. 10)
μάγος	65 (n. 59)
μεταβολή	58 (n. 21)
μετεωρολογεῖν	65 (n. 58)
μετοίκησις	58 (n. 21)
μίαν αἴσθησιν	64 (n. 54)
μορμολύττομαι	54 (n. 5)

νοῦς	16
ὁμοίωσις θεῶ	18, 26 (n. 34)
παιδαγωγός	59 (n. 29)
παιδοτρίβης	13, 59 (n. 29)
πάλαι, καί	65 (n. 58)
παρεπιδημία	12, 56 (n. 11)
παρηγορεῖν	12
περιττά (τά)	58 (n. 23)
περιψυγμός	12
πληθύς	12
πνεῦμα	6, 9, 15, 18, 24 (n. 9)
Ποιναί	70 (n. 81)
ποπύζειν	62 (n. 46)
πόρος	17, 57 (n. 19)
πράως	54 (n. 5)
προεδρία	68 (n. 75)
πρός + gen.	54 (n. 3)
πρός κακοῦ	12, 54 (n. 3)
πρῶτος	69 (n. 76)
ῥωμαλέος	12
σῆμα	1, 23 (n. 6)
σκήνος, σκήνωμα	5-6, 57 (n. 18)
σύγκρισις	15
συνερανίζω	12
σύστασις	15
σφαιροειδής	66 (n. 63)
σῶμα	1, 23 (n. 6)
τακτικός	60 (n. 30)
τέχνη	62 (n. 43)
τοσοῦτος	58 (n. 23)

φευκτός	63 (n. 51)
φλυαρολογία	21
φροντιστής	58 (n. 22)
φύσις	17
χειρωνατικός	62 (n. 43)
χρεία	58-59 (n. 24)
χρεών (τό)	12, 17, 55 (n. 6)
χωρός εύσεβων	67 (n. 69), 69 (n. 78)
ψυχή	6, 15, 16, 57 (n. 16)
ώρα	54 (n. 4)
ώρακία	54 (n. 4)

A37347
 THEOLOGY LIBRARY
 CLAREMONT, CALIF.

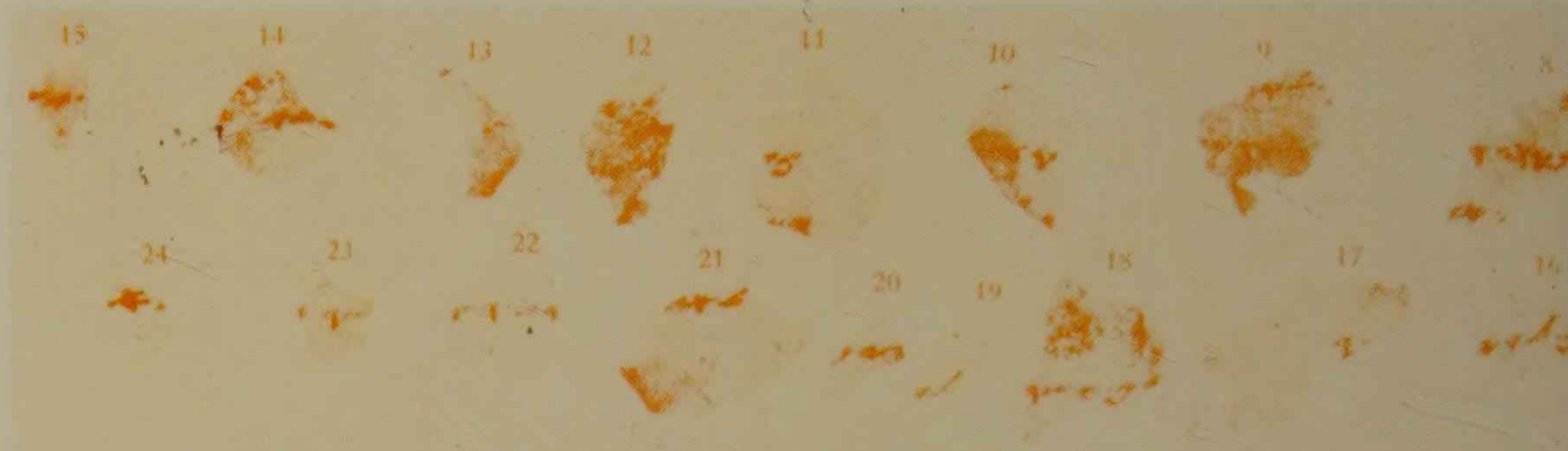
E
391
.A85
H47

Hershbell, Jackson P., 1935-
Pseudo-Plato, Axiochus / by Jackson
P. Hershbell. -- Chico, Calif. :
Scholars Press, c1981.
viii, 90 p. ; 23 cm. -- (Graeco-Roman
religion series ; 6 ISSN 0145-3211)
(Texts and translations ; no. 21 ISSN
0145-3203)
English and Greek.
Bibliography: p. 71-73.
Includes indexes.

1. Plato. Axiochus. 2. Death--Early
works to 1800. I. Plato. Axiochus.
II. Title III. Series IV. Series:
Texts and translations ; no. 21.

A37347

CCSC 10 DEC 82 5336895 CSTMxc 79-20127



GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGION 6

