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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

May 27 1939

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by Dorothy M. Stephens
entitled "Critias: Life and Literary Remains"

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Ph. D.

Approved by:

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CRITIAS
LIFE AND LITERARY
REMAINS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I Life of Critias	3
II Critias as Poet	47
III Critias as Dramatist	63
IV Critias as Philosopher	81
V Critias as Prose Writer and Orator	89

TABLE OF CONTENTS
PAGE

CHAPTER I

LIFE OF CRITIAS

Thucydides, Aristotle, Xenophon, and, to a lesser degree, Plutarch, who are our chief sources of knowledge for the history of Greece during the Pentecontaety and the Peloponnesian Wars, show, as is well known, a definite leaning toward the side of the aristocrats or oligarchs and a corresponding hostility toward the democrats. Only a few great democrats like Themistocles and Pericles receive sympathetic handling. In this respect the literature for the period does not reflect accurately the opinion of the general public. Grote¹ has been the foremost in the modern attempt to adjust this balance—unless, indeed, it be thought that he has shifted it too far to the other side.

After the turn of the century the situation is reversed. The brief but tragic rule of "The Thirty", those *κακοδαιμονησάντων καὶ μανέντων ἀνθρώπων*,² became in the mind of the restored democracy an odious memory.

As the leader of the Thirty, Critias, *ἐν τριάκοντα τοῖς πονηροτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος*,³ *τυραννικώτατος δὲ καὶ φονικώτατος . . . καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλύπησε πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς μισούμενος τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε*.⁴ So intense was this hatred that it formed no small part of the wave that engulfed Socrates, the teacher of his youth. So deep was the bitterness that it has left us only a few scattered facts and fragments out of which to piece together the portrait of that *ιδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ιδιώταις*,⁵ politician, orator, and poet who not only played an important, if brief, role in the history of his country, but also formed no contemptible part of its cultural and intellectual achievement. During those early years of the fourth century most literary men, reflecting the democratic spirit of the times, have nothing kind to say of Critias. Only one writer has given us a brighter side of his character—his kinsman, Plato.

And yet it is Plato who has presented us with the knottiest problem in the reconstruction of the man, and that, too, on a subject for which he of all men should be an authority—his family tree. "Critias" appears as an interlocutor in four of the Socratic dialogues

¹*History of Greece.*

²Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 154 (73).

³Aristeides, *De Rhet* 83.

⁴Aelian, *V. H.*, IV, 15.

⁵Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus* 20A.

CRITIAS

of Plato—the *Charmides*, the *Protagoras*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Critias*. The *Timaeus* and the *Critias* are the first two members of a trilogy which it was Plato's purpose to complete with a *Hermocrates*.⁶ This group grows out of the discussion in the *Republic*, the story of which—we learn in the *Timaeus*—was related on the day between these two dialogues to Critias, Timaeus, Hermocrates, and a fourth man who fails to appear for the *Timaeus*.

The Critias of the trilogy, as Burnet⁷ was the first to discover, is unquestionably not the Critias of the Thirty but his grandfather. The Critias of the *Timaeus* is an old man. In the early part of the dialogue he tells the tale of the island of Atlantis, a tale which Solon told to his kinsman Dropides. Dropides told it to his grandson Critias, who, as an old man of eighty, told it to the Critias (when the latter was a child of ten) who now tells it to the persons of the *Timaeus*.⁸ On the day before, while listening to the story of the *Republic*, he recalled the old story, but its outlines were not clear in his mind. *χθές τε εὐθὺς ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν πρὸς τοῦσδε ἀνέφερον αὐτὰ ἀναμνησκόμενος, ἀπελθὼν τε σχεδόν τι πάντα ἐπισκοπῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνέλαβον. ὡς δὴ τοι, τὸ λεγόμενον, τὰ παίδων μαθήματα θαυμαστὸν ἔχει τι μνημεῖον! ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂ μὲν χθὲς ἤκουσα, οὐκ ἂν οἶδα εἰ δυναίμην ἅπαντα ἐν μνήμῃ πάλιν λαβεῖν· ταῦτα δὲ ἂ πάμπολυν χρόνον διακῆκοα, παντάπασι θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν εἴ τί με αὐτῶν διαπέφευγεν.*⁹

Now Critias the Oligarch certainly did not live to be an old man—so old that he forgets what happened yesterday and remembers distinctly a story of his childhood, which, moreover, he says he heard a *very long* time ago (*πάμπολυν χρόνον*). Further, he pushes his childhood back to a time when the poems of Solon were a novelty (*νέα*).¹⁰ Certainly they could have been no novelty in the oligarch's childhood. Placing the trilogy at some date not too long after 425¹¹ and assuming that Critias is at least eighty years of age, we find his birth-date near 510. Since Solon's poems could hardly have been

⁶Taylor (*Plato* p. 440) thinks Plato intended no discourse by Hermocrates because (a) there is no reference to one and because (b) there is nothing left for him to discuss. This opinion is also partially due to (c) his identification of Hermocrates with the Syracusan general (Taylor places the dialogues at 422 or 421), who would be too young to take part in the conversation. As to (a): we have too little to go on. Certainly in the *Timaeus* the subjects for Timaeus and Critias are both agreed on and none is assigned to Hermocrates. Those who have presumed a *Hermocrates* find little reason for Hermocrates' presence if he is not to speak and point to *Critias* 106B where Timaeus hands over the discussion to Critias *ἐξῆς*, "as the next in order" not the last. As to (b): this is doing Plato an injustice. As to (c): that Hermocrates is the Syracusan general is probable but not sure.

⁷*Early Greek Philosophy* p. 203 and n. See also Müller Vol. I, p. 241.

⁸*Timaeus* 20 E.

⁹*Timaeus* 26 B.

¹⁰*Timaeus* 21 B.

¹¹Another possible date is 410.

CRITIAS

in favor with Peisistratus or the Peisistratidae, we can see that they must have seemed a novelty after their expulsion.¹² Whether we accept 425 or 410, Critias the Oligarch still had the prime of his political career before him and was certainly not likely to forget so long a conversation on the preceding day. Of course, it can easily be proved that Plato, through carelessness, forgetfulness, or design, was guilty of many anachronisms. In most of the obvious and indisputable cases, however, his transfer is one of facts; it can seldom be proved to be one of personalities. If he intended the speaker of the *Timaeus* to be Critias the Oligarch, what purpose was served by making him appear so old? Plato's errors, wherever deliberate, are not purposeless, and such an error could not be attributed to negligence or ignorance on his part.

The theory—that Plato presents two Critiases, the Oligarch and his grandfather—has thus the twofold merit of correcting the obviously faulty genealogy of Plato's family as it has been handed down by tradition, and of absolving Plato of an inexcusable ignorance about his own family's history.

The genealogical confusion arose first from Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus*.

The Critias of the *Timaeus* says: ἦν μὲν οὖν οἰκείος ἡμῖν καὶ σφόδρα φίλος Δρωπίδου τοῦ προπάππου, καθάπερ λέγει. πολλαχοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει.¹³

Proclus' commentary on the passage is as follows:

ἡ μὲν ἱστορία ἢ κατὰ τὸ Σόλωνος γένος καὶ τὴν Πλάτωνος πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν τοιαύτη τίς ἐστίν· Ἐξηκεστίδου παῖδες ἐγένοντο Σόλων καὶ Δρωπίδης, καὶ Δρωπίδου μὲν Κριτίας, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Σόλων ἐν τῇ ποιήσει λέγων·

Ἐιπέμεναι Κριτίῃ ξανθότριχι πατρὸς ἀκούειν·
οὗ γὰρ ἄμαρτινῶν πείσεται ἡγεμόνι.¹⁴

This genealogy is slightly varied by Diogenes Laertius, who says:

Τούτου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Δρωπίδης, οὗ Κριτίας, οὗ Κάλλαισχος, οὗ Κριτίας ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ Γλαύκων, οὗ Χαρμίδης καὶ Περικτιόνη, ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστωνος Πλάτων, ἕκτος ἀπὸ Σόλωνος.¹⁵

¹²Taylor, *Plato* p. 438.

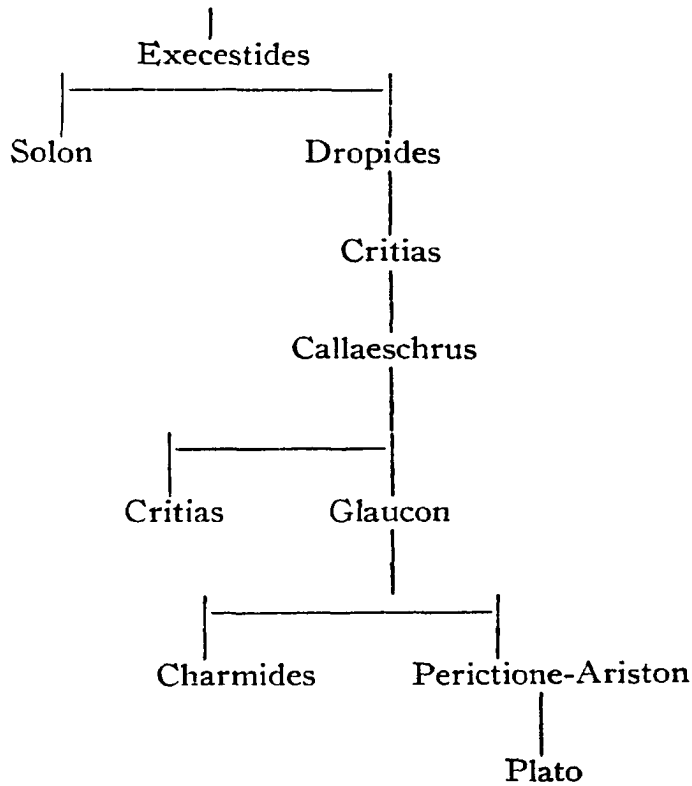
¹³*Timaeus* 20 E.

¹⁴Aristotle's version of the first line of the distich (*Rhet.* I, 15, 13) shows a slight variation: *Εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτία πυρρότριχι πατρὸς ἀκούειν*

¹⁵III, 1. Like most of us, Proclus and Diogenes would like to think that the blood of Solon flowed in Plato's veins. Kinship in the remote past there evidently was, but Plato's word *οἰκείος* implies no such close relationship as brother. The statement of Linforth (*Solon the Athenian* p. 35) that there is no mention of Solon's marriage is flatly contradicted by Plutarch (*Solon*, VI) in his tale of Solon and Thales. Solon not only married but has a son of whose death Thales pretends to have heard.

CRITIAS

Combining Proclus and Diogenes Laertius (since they are not contradictory) we have



This makes Critias the Oligarch the uncle, not the cousin, of Charmides, a possibility denied by Plato in the *Charmides*, in which Critias refers to Charmides as “τὸν τοῦ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ ἡμετέρου θείου υἱόν, ἐμὸν δὲ ἀνεψιόν.”¹⁶

The scholiast of Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* adds a fact to our table:

“ἐπεδήμησε γὰρ (sc. ὁ Ἀνακρέων) τῇ Ἀττικῇ Κριτίου ἐρῶν, καὶ ἠρέσθη λίαν τοῖς μέλεσι τοῦ τραγικοῦ”¹⁷

There is one final error in the genealogy. Execestides was the name of Solon’s father¹⁸ and must, in consequence, be removed.

¹⁶*Charmides* 154 B.

¹⁷*Prometheus* 1. 128.

¹⁸Plutarch, *Solon* 1.

CRITIAS

All this is obviously impossible. Since Solon died about 560¹⁹ at the age of eighty,²⁰ and Critias the Oligarch died in 403 not too far past middle age, there must be more than two names between them. The insertion of two more names not only accounts with plausibility for the number of years, but also conforms to the Attic custom of using the same name in alternate generations.

Now Aeschylus began to exhibit in 499, and 487 is the latest possible date²¹ for the death of Anacreon. A Critias who was a youth during Anacreon's prime was presumably born about 510. But this is just the time we have assumed for the birth of the Critias of the *Timaeus*.²²

Our earliest dates are supplied by the Parian Marble, which mentions a Dropides as archon in 645²³ and a Critias in 604 (?).²⁴

Now Solon held the archonship, according to best authorities,²⁵ in the 46th Olympiad, *i. e.*, 594-0, and, according to Philostratus,²⁶ a Dropides held the archonship *μετὰ Σόλωνα*, within a few years after Solon.²⁷ Again we must distinguish between the Dropides who was archon in 644 and the one who followed Solon, say in 590. This latter Dropides is certainly the *σφόδρα φίλος* and *οἰκείος* of Solon, and the Critias who was archon in 604 may well be his elder brother. The archon of 644 is the earliest member of the family to whom there is any reference. Between the Dropides who was archon ca. 590 and the Critias who knew Anacreon (499-488) there are two names and approximately 120 years, which makes

¹⁹Plutarch, *Solon* XXXII, 3. He held the archonship some time between 594 and 590.

²⁰Diogenes Laertius, I, 62.

²¹Anacreon was probably born in or about 572. Hesych. (Suidas) V. He died at the age of 85 (Macrobius, 26, Valerius Max., IX, 12, 8.)

²²That a confusion of two men named Critias had occurred, there is indication in two commentaries, by Philoponus and Simplicius, on Aristotle, *De Anima* 89.8.

²³Line 50, *C. I. G.*, II, p.296.

²⁴Line 52, *C. I. G.*, II, p.296.

²⁵Sosicrates (in Diogenes Laertius, I, 62), Ol. 46.3.

Tatian (<i>adv. Graecos</i> 41),	}	Ol. 46.
Clem. of Alex. (<i>Strom.</i> I, 65),		
Suidas (<i>Σόλων</i>) Ol. 47		
		Ol. 56

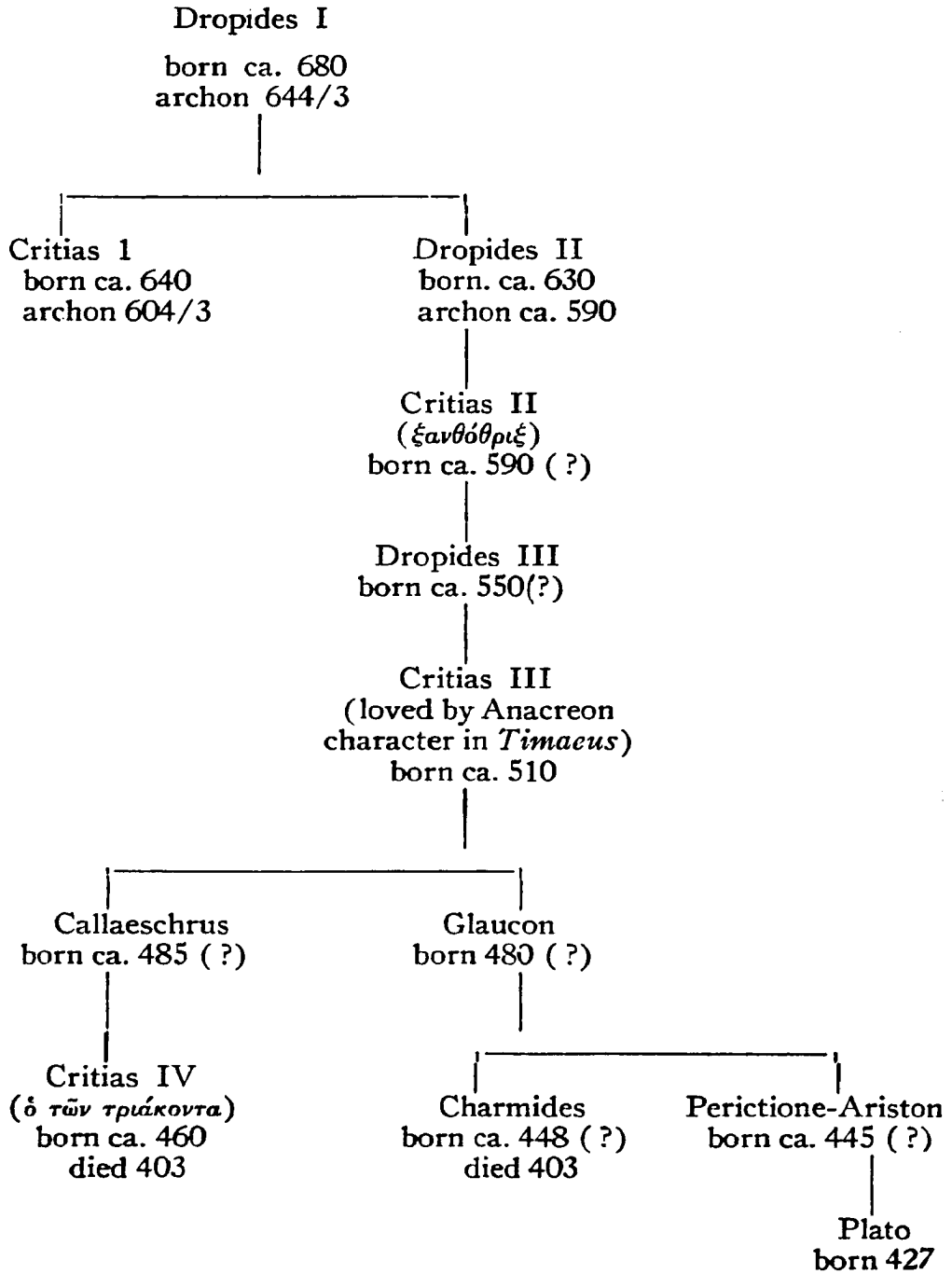
Eusebius . {	Armenian version-Ol. 47.2	
	Jerome	Ol. 46.3 47.2

²⁶*Vit. Sophist.*, I, 16.

²⁷Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* Vol. I, 7, and footnote (1893 ed.) has correctly pointed out that *μετὰ Σόλωνα* probably does not mean the year following Solon's archonship, since the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* mentions a Phormio as archon *μετὰ Σόλωνα*. The interpretation "next after" for *μετὰ* is too limited.

CRITIAS

forty years for a generation. If we assume an age near 40 for the archonship (except for Solon, whose birth-date is reasonably certain), we can now complete the stemma as follows:



CRITIAS

Critias "the Handsome," then, was born not long after 460, the son of Callaeschrus, of the tribe Erechtheis²⁸ and the deme Phegus.²⁹ He was the cousin and lifelong associate of Charmides, and the cousin of Leogoras, the father of Andocides, to whom he owed the favor of his life in 415. His family had been for generations noted for *κάλλει*, *ἀρετῇ* and *εὐδαιμονία*.³⁰ Socrates expects to find that Charmides has a fine soul since he is of Critias' house.³¹ Critias remarks that Charmides is also quite a poet and a philosopher, "both of which, my dear Critias," says Socrates, "are gifts your family has had a long while back through your kinship with Solon."³² True, for more than a hundred years the family had taken no conspicuous part in political or military affairs, being content with a life of culture and ease. His grandfather Critias was an associate of Socrates and perhaps a philosopher in the more technical sense of the term. Concerning his father Callaeschrus, we have no facts unless it was he who, according to Lysias,³³ was one of the Four hundred.³⁴

Of his childhood we know little, but can be sure that he received the traditional "gentleman's education."³⁵

He was evidently a more tractable pupil than his erratic contemporary, Alcibiades, who refused to learn to play the flute, although "the most distinguished Athenians, including Callias and Critias,"³⁶ learned to do so. The unruliness attributed to his ancestor

²⁸Xenophon, *Hellen.* II, 3, 2; Loeper, *Jour. Russ. Imp. Col.*, 1896, p. 90.

²⁹*I. G.*, II, 943 a, mentions a fourth century *δαιτητῆς* Κάλλαισχος Φηγοῦσιος.

³⁰*Charmides* 157 E.

³¹*Charmides* 154 E. "Εἰ τὴν ψυχὴν . . . τυγχάνει εὐ πεφυκῶς. πρέπει δέ που, ὦ Κριτία, αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς γε ὑμετέρας ὄντα οἰκίας."

³²*Charmides* 155 A.

³³*Eratosthenes* 66.

This identification seems to me probable in spite of its difficulties. One of these arises from Plato's reference to Critias as the *ἐπίτροπος* of Charmides. If this term is to be taken legally, surely Callaeschrus (or his father Critias, who was still living at the time of the *Timaeus*) would bear this title at Glaucon's death. For the same reason this Callaeschrus cannot have been Critias' elder brother, and since he achieved political prominence so long before Critias, it seems improbable that he is Critias' younger brother. The simplest explanation is that Socrates is teasing Critias and uses the term *ἐπίτροπος* playfully.

Another difficulty is the fact that according to Andocides (*De Reditu*, 147), Callaeschrus sued for the hand of Antiphon's daughter at the latter's death, on the grounds of nearest kinship. Certainly something is wrong with this statement. The daughter of Antiphon the orator had no property (since her father's goods had been confiscated) and was without citizenship and all its rights. But Callaeschrus' brother Glaucon had married the daughter of another Antiphon. This daughter Perictione was Plato's mother. Perhaps, then, it was Plato's grandmother to whom Andocides refers.

³⁴Lysias, *Agoratus* 55, mentions a certain Hagnodorus of Amphitrope as a kinsman of Critias. Perhaps a brother-in-law?

³⁵Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* I, 16, ἀριστὰ μὲν ἦν πεπαιδευμένος.

³⁶Athenaeus, *Deip.* IV, 184d.

CRITIAS

of the blond locks and thrown into his teeth later by Cleophon *ὄτι πάλαι ἀσελγῆς ἢ οἰκία*,³⁷ seems not to have been evident in his boyhood, or Cleophon could have done better than a reference to conduct at least 150 years old.

We have considerable, though conflicting, evidence of his relations with Socrates, the chief sources being Xenophon and Plato. Let us begin with Plato's *Charmides*. The dialogue occurs in 432 (Socrates has just returned from the army at Potidaea). Critias is a man somewhat less than 28, Charmides, a lad of 16. When Socrates left for Potidaea, Charmides had seemed a *μειράκιον*,³⁸ and Socrates expresses surprise that the lad recognizes him. Charmides replies that as a mere child (*ἔγωγε καὶ παῖς ὄν*) he had seen Socrates in Critias' company.³⁹ Both in this dialogue and in the *Protagoras* (which is probably dated the same year) Critias seems quite at home in philosophic discussion. His readiness with question and answer, his familiarity with philosophical phraseology and the Socratic method of discussion, the smoothness with which, in the *Protagoras*, he assumes the role of moderator and causes the broken discussion to continue testify that he is (as Socrates says of the other Critias in the *Timaeus*) *οὐδενὸς ιδιώτην . . . ὢν λέγομεν*.⁴⁰ It is equally obvious, from his contradictory statements and weak positions, from the ease with which Socrates corners him, that he is not a real philosopher in the deeper sense of the term.

Xenophon⁴¹ correctly distinguishes two types of pupils of Socrates: one, like Crito, Chaerephon, and others, who imitated the master and adopted his ideas, and another, like Critias and Alcibiades, who associated with him and listened to him without reflecting his mind or his soul in their own. Of course Xenophon is making out a case for Socrates, and he would not hesitate to sacrifice Critias and Alcibiades to his defense, but the mere fact that he feels the defense necessary proves the association which not even he denies. The charge is that Socrates must be an evil man because two of his pupils, Critias and Alcibiades, grew to be evil men. His defense⁴² is long, and we need only the gist of it to see the character of Critias, as Xenophon paints him. Critias and Alcibiades (the two are not distinguished by Xenophon) as youths were by nature ambitious (*φιλοτιμοτάτω πάντων Ἀθηναίων*) and wished to control everything and outstrip everybody (*βονλομένω τε πάντα δι' ἑαυτῶν πράττεσθαι καὶ πάντων ὀνομαστοτάτω*). They knew Socrates well, knew his mode of living and his facility in discus-

³⁷Aristotle, *Rhet.* I, 15, 13.

³⁸*Charmides* 154 B.

³⁹*Charmides* 156 A.

⁴⁰*Timaeus* 20 A.

⁴¹*Memorabilia* I, 2, 48.

⁴²*Memorabilia* I, 2, 12-25.

sion, the ease with which he worsted any opponent in an argument (τοῖς δὲ διαλεγόμενοις αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρώμενον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὅπως βούλοιο).⁴³

They had no desire to imitate his mode of life; they would rather have died (ἐλέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τεθνάναι).⁴³ Their ambitions were political as were their reasons for associating with Socrates.⁴⁴ Xenophon goes even farther in his determination to absolve Socrates. So long as they were with him, even they were wise and prudent (οἶδα δὲ κάκεινω σωφρονούντε, ἔστε Σωκράτει συνήστην).⁴³ There follows quite a sermon on the decay of character through the insidious inroads of bad habits and evil company. So it was with Critias and Alcibiades; "ἕως μὲν Σωκράτει συνήστην, ἐδυνάσθη ἐκείνῳ χρωμένῳ συμμάχῳ τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατεῖν."⁴⁵ As proof of this let us note Socrates' reproof of Critias as for his passion for Euthydemus. It was at first mild, appealing to Critias' pride—φάσκων ἀνελεύθερόν τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ πρόπον ἀνδρὶ καλῷ κάγαθῷ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἢ βούλεται πολλοῦ ἄξιος φάινεσθαι, προσαιτείνῳσπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἱκετεύοντα καὶ δεόμενον προσδοῦναι καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ. Critias, clearly beginning to get out of hand, ignored the reproof, whereupon Socrates spoke bluntly and forcefully: ἕκκον αὐτῷ δοκοίη πάσχειν ὁ Κριτίας ἐπιθυμιῶν Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνησθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὕδια τοῖς λίθοις.⁴⁵ According to Xenophon (and we may well believe him if the anecdote is true), Critias bore Socrates a grudge and repaid him later.

But Socrates' efforts were in vain. Critias went to Thessaly, Alcibiades became the darling of society, and Xenophon draws a pious picture of the inevitable: τοιούτων δὲ συμβάντων αὐτοῖν καὶ ὠγκωμένῳ μὲν ἐπὶ γένει, ἐπηρμένῳ δ' ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, πεφυσημένῳ δ' ἐπὶ δυνάμει, διατεθρυμμένῳ δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις (διεφθαρμένῳ) καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἀπὸ Σωκράτους γεγονότε τί θαυμαστόν εἰ ὑπερηφάνῳ ἐγενέσθην;⁴⁵ What wonder, indeed?

Even discounting Xenophon's indisputable bias toward Socrates, this fact seems clear: like most of the young men of the fashionable world, Critias was attracted to the new sophistic learning, either following a natural inclination or planning to use its fruits to further his political ambitions.

Aeschines adds his testimony in *Timarchus* that Σωκράτην μὲν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὅτι Κριτίαν ἐφάνη πεπαιδευκῶς,⁴⁶ and Philostratus his wonder that Critias did not grow to be like Socrates, ᾧ πλείστα δὴ συνεφιλοσόφησε.⁴⁷

⁴³Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I, 2, 14-18.

⁴⁴See Plato's forceful statement of the aims of just such a youth in *Republic* II, 365. συνωμοσίας τε καὶ εταιρείας συνάξομεν, εἰσὶ τε πέιθοῦς διδάσκαλοι σοφίαν δημογορικὴν τε καὶ δικανικὴν διδόντες.

⁴⁵Xenophon *Memorabilia* I, 2, 24-30.

⁴⁶173. Aeschines suggests a similar fate for Demosthenes.

⁴⁷*Vit. Sophist.* I, 16.

CRITIAS

And yet, according to Xenophon, even while the young Critias and Alcibiades were "philosophizing" with Socrates, they were conversing with politicians, trying out on them with (certainly in Alcibiades' case) astonishing success the methods they had often seen Socrates employ to drive an opponent into an indefensible position or rout him to complete speechlessness.⁴⁸

Aristeides,⁴⁹ although tempted to disbelieve in Critias' association with Socrates, achieves sufficient tolerance to acquit Socrates of any responsibility for Critias' crimes.

ἐνθυμούμαι δ' ἔγωγε πῶς ἀνέχεσθαι χρή ὅτι Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν καὶ Κριτίαν Σωκράτει συγγενομένους, οἱ τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας αἰτίας ἐσχέκασιν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν . . . τούτους μὲν οὐ φασι δεῖν ἐν τεκμηρίῳ ποιῆσθαι ὅτι Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διέφθειρεν οὐδ' εἶναι τὰ κείνων ἁμαρτήματα οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν πρὸς Σωκράτη.

Indeed, Cicero⁵⁰ goes so far as to assert that both Alcibiades and Critias were benefited by conversation with Socrates.

Quid Critias? Quid Alcibiades? Civitatibus quidem suis non boni, sed certe docti atque eloquentes, nonne Socraticis erant disputationibus eruditi?

Philostratus twice tells us that Critias was a pupil, or at least a hearer, of Gorgias. Gorgias came to Athens in 427 and, while there, not only excited the admiration of the multitude but also charmed the notables, young men like Critias and Alcibiades (linked again!) and older men like Thucydides and Pericles.⁵¹ The other reference is curious. The combination has been shuffled: *Κριτίας δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης οὐκ ἀγνοοῦνται τὸ μεγαλόγνωμον καὶ τὴν ὀφρὺν παρ' αὐτοῦ κεκτημένοι, μετὰ ποιοῦντες δ' αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ οἰκείον δὲ μὲν ὑπ' εὐγλωττίας ὁ δ' ὑπὸ ῥώμης.*⁵²

I think it safe to say that even in his early youth Critias did not contemplate a life devoted to the study of philosophy and its search for the just life or for a solution to the mysteries of the universe. His education was broad, embracing music, poetry, rhetoric, and dialectic, and its aim was general culture and preparation for public life. In these respects it resembled the education of hundreds of young men of his class, and this resemblance included attendance on the lectures of the famous sophists.

Of his military service we know nothing. When Socrates returns from Potidaea in 432, he finds Critias in Athens. They meet at a palaestra and there is no hint that Critias is other than the

⁴⁸As a sample of this Xenophon (*Memorabilia* I, 2, 39 ff.) relates the well-known dialogue between Pericles and Alcibiades, but his general statement of the facts applies to both boys. *οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεχειροῦν διαλέγεσθαι ἢ τοῖς μάλιστα πράττουσι τὰ πολιτικά.*

⁴⁹*De Rhet.* 83.

⁵⁰*De Oratore* III, 138.

⁵¹*Vit. Sophist.* I 9. The inclusion of Pericles' name is an obvious error, since he died in 429.

⁵²*Epistula* 73.

CRITIAS

typical Athenian of leisure. His age at the time would warrant the assumption that he had passed his period of preliminary military training.

Of his entrance into civic life we likewise know nothing. We hear of no public office, no political activity.⁵³

Since in 415 political significance was attached to the Mutilation of the Hermae, we arrive in that year at the first substantiated appearance of Critias in public life. In order to follow his political career, we shall have to pause for an understanding of the background of 415. Enough of the political history of Athens must be told to account for those years during which he was an important figure; such features of political life and philosophy must be repeated here as entered into his own life and that of his party.

The word "party" is, of course, a modern political term, with significances that have no analogy in Athenian life. Sometimes the word signifies the followers (or the enemies) of a certain statesman or soldier. Since economic conditions, as always, are an important factor in distinctions among political creeds, sometimes the word means men striving for the same economic ends, although they may differ widely in class and mode of life.

It is equally dangerous to apply to Athenian statesmen terms like democrat and oligarch. When we term Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson and Alfred E. Smith democrats, we make mental reservations concerning difference of period and diversity of personality. The great leaders of a party will differ widely in training, background, and principles. To find adequate terms to represent these shades of political creed is impossible. Hence it is that scholars who comprehend the political significance and creed of a party leader will attach to him different labels. I have called Pericles a democrat (with which term most will agree); I have also applied this label to those radical democrats who, after his death, were leaders of the populace even though they carried his measures down roads he would not have trod.⁵⁴ I have called Alcibiades a moderate because he was so in comparison with these democratic leaders, although he certainly stood high in popular favor. He was not a party man, but an individualist. His war policy resembled that of the radical democrats; his background and principles were Periclean; he used the oligarchs; the radical democrat leaders were

⁵³In the tribute list of 430/29 (List 25, Col. III, ll.54-55) appears the following:

*ταῖσδ[ε] ἔτ[ι] ἀχσαν ἰοι τάκται
ἐπὶ Κρ[ιτίας] ὁ γραμματεῖοντος.*

For a possible identification with Critias see the note on this passage in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Merritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor p. 195. In list 26, Col. II, ll. 34-36, the same name has been restored. For Κρ. . . . s as secretary of the taktai in 434/3 see the note on the passage, p. 456.

⁵⁴In a sense their policies were an outgrowth of his.

CRITIAS

his enemies; the moderates worked assiduously for his recall. I have called Nicias an oligarch because his policies were more conservative and more anti-war than those of Theramenes and Critias (before 404).

Mention must also be made of two principles of Greek thought alien to a modern point of view. First, the Greek concept of democracy included not only such modern ideas as individual liberty before the law and universal (male) citizen suffrage, but also the active participation of all citizens in the government. Both extremes of political creed believed in this principle. One party might extend the franchise generously, another restrict it to the point of exclusiveness; the citizen-roll might be large or small, but under any government, each citizen was, in theory at least, an active part of the government. Solon⁵⁵ and the oligarchs of 411⁵⁶ established a fine for non-attendance at the ecclesia. The Periclean democracy paid councilmen and dicasts, and the restored democracy at the turn of the century paid the assembly. The second principle is the almost unique form individualism assumes. Grundy⁵⁷ says: "The Greek would vigorously support the state when in form and action it promoted what seemed to him to be his own interests. But there his loyalty ended. He was far more attached to party than to the state. . . . The frequency of *στάσις* in Greek states is due to the tendency of the political section in power to work the state for its own interests, and the consequent resentment of those of opposite views to a system under which their special interests must inevitably suffer." Under a system in which broad general policies were initiated not by magistrates chosen for their known views, but on the floor of the citizen-assembly the "opposition" had several methods of attack, against all of which the Athenian democracy had defended itself by the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, which placed an attempt to alter the established laws in the category of treason. The "opposition" in this way had no hope of a "change of administration" and resorted to revolution and the secrecy and desperation attendant upon it. This desperation sometimes included treasonous commerce with the enemy.

Early in the sixth century⁵⁸ Solon's legislation had tended to turn Attica from an agrarian to a manufacturing state. "He forbade the exportation of all produce of the Attic soil, except olive-oil alone. . . . We are probably to take this prohibition in conjunction with other objects said to have been contemplated by Solon, especially the encouragement of artisans and manufacturers at

⁵⁵Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 4.

⁵⁶Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 30, cf. Plato, *Laws*, 746A.

⁵⁷*Thucydides and the History of His Age*, Part III, Ch. 7., p. 172.

⁵⁸Our sources for the sixth century are Herodotus, Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*) Plutarch (*Solon*), and Solon's poems.

CRITI AS

Athens."⁵⁹ Effects of this legislation on the people would be an increased purchasing power of the distressed, a correction of the deficient food supply, and profitable occupation for the masses in industry and manufacture.⁶⁰

In the first quarter of the century there were three political parties: ⁶¹ (1) the *Pediaci*, the wealthy landowners of the Attic plain, oligarchic in tendency, with *Lycurgus* as leader; (2) the *Paralii*, the traders of the coast, moderate in principles, with *Megacles* son of *Alcmaeon* as leader; (3) the *Diacrii*, the small agriculturists of the slopes, with democratic leanings but leaderless before *Peisistratus*. The *Diacrii* included those who had suffered from *Solon's* abolition of debts and whose birth claim to citizenship was of doubtful validity (*οἷ τε ἀφηρημένοι τὰ χρέα διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ οἱ τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον*).⁶² They constituted the distressed of the period. The *Paralii* had been favored by *Solon's* legislation and experienced as its result financial prosperity and increased political power, for as early as 582 we find two *δημιουργοὶ* among the archons.⁶²

The *Paralii* and *Diacrii* were fierce opponents, with the *Pediaci* holding the balance and inclining now one way and now the other. In graphic form:

<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Oligarchic</i>	<i>Moderate</i>
<i>Diacrii</i> yeoman farmers	<i>Pediaci</i> wealthy land- owners (<i>Lycurgus</i>)	<i>Paralii</i> middle-class traders (<i>Megacles</i>)

The strange position of the oligarchs in the middle where we should expect to find the moderates suggests that the distinction of parties rested on their economic condition rather than on their political creeds.

Peisistratus espoused the cause of the discontented *Diacrii*, whose support he held by promoting the interests of the yeoman farmer.⁶³ He gained his power through a *Pediaci-Paralii* feud, lost it by a *Pediaci-Paralii* reconciliation, regained it through the support of the *Paralii* leader, *Megacles*, and lost it again when *Megacles* turned against him. The opposition of the traders seems

⁵⁹Grote, Vol. 3, p. 346-7. If Attic farmers were to produce only for local consumption, agriculture would be a less profitable, less attractive occupation. Since *Solon* also encouraged artisans and manufacturers, foreign trade would concern itself with "the produce of artisan labor instead of the produce of the land." The product of the Attic soil would be lessened and its price kept down.

⁶⁰Grundy, *op cit.* Part III, Ch. 4, p. 97 and Ch. 5, p. 113.

⁶¹Herodotus, I, 59; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XIII.

⁶²Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XIII.

⁶³Herodotus, I, 59.

CRITIAS

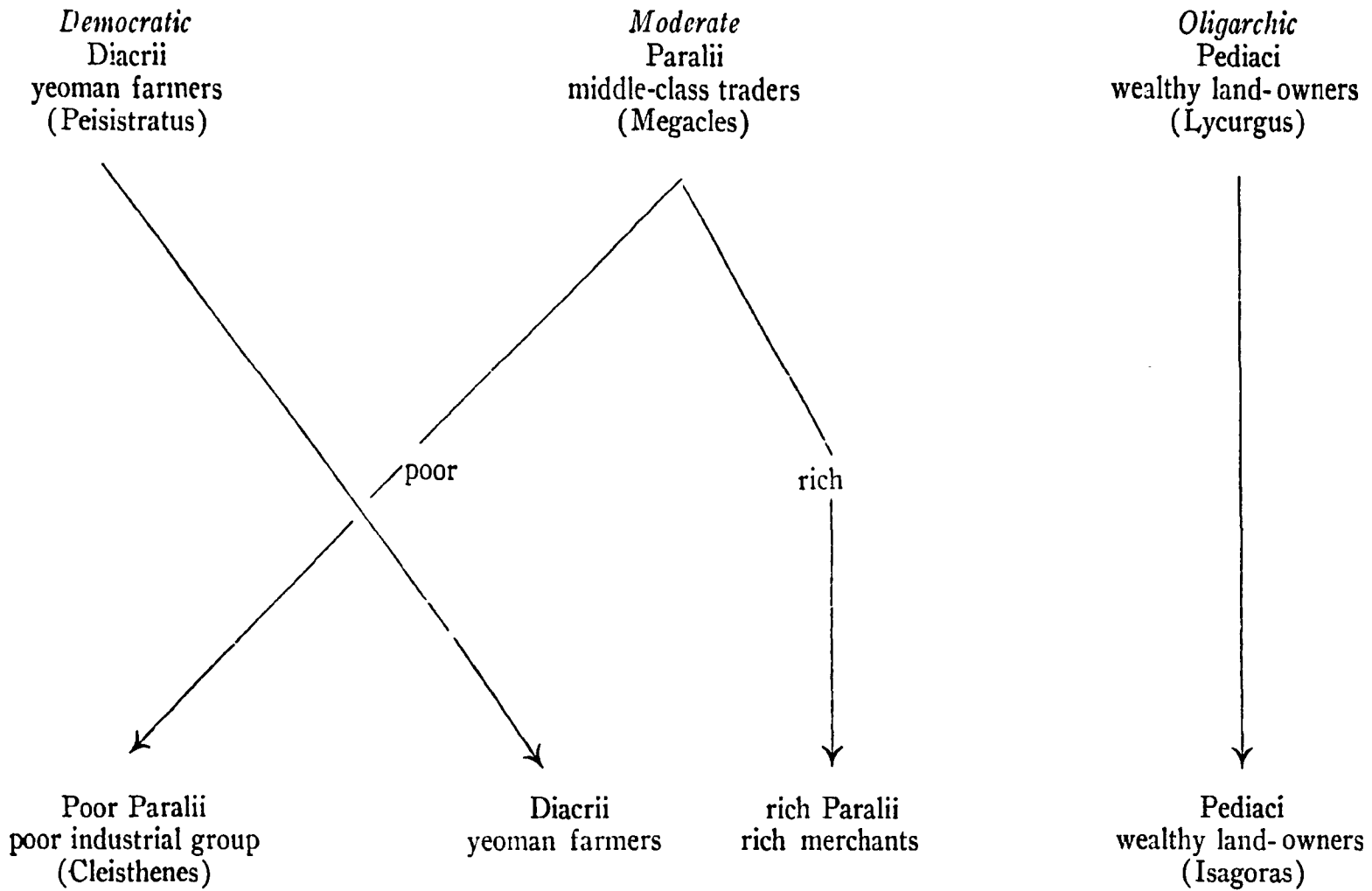
to say that Peisistratus' policies were detrimental to commerce.⁶⁴ His confiscation of the property of his wealthy enemies not only added to this hostility, but considerably weakened the position of the *Pediaci*. Meanwhile, with the fruition of Solon's policies had come the growth of slave labor, and the consequent alteration of the complexion of the *Paralii*. As some of the merchant class grew wealthy and began to employ slave labor on a large scale,⁶⁵ the great majority found their livelihood threatened, and were reduced to poverty. Because the cost of slave labor was much lower than that of free labor, manual labor lost its profit and its dignity.⁶⁶ Since the *Diacrii* were not in a position to employ slave labor, they show a fairly equal distribution of resources; large capital does not accumulate in the hands of the few, their economic condition is satisfactory, and they adopt more conservative views. Thus the majority of the *Paralii* are now the distressed group, and find a champion in Cleisthenes. This gives us a situation explicable only on economic grounds. Peisistratus and Cleisthenes, while supported by *Diacrii* and *Paralii*, respectively, are really champions of the distressed or democratic group. Megacles and Cleisthenes, though both *Alcmaeonidae* and both head of the *Paralii*, present divergent political aspects, Megacles' party being conservative, Cleisthenes' democratic.

Graphically again:

⁶⁴Grundy remarks (Part III, Ch. 5, p. 120) that the introduction of the cult of Dionysus at Athens at this time suggests that Peisistratus was trying to solve the *Diakrii* problem by cultivation of the vine for export trade.

⁶⁵It seems hardly necessary to mention the greater profit to be made from slave labor in manufacture than in agriculture and its greater adaptability thereto.

⁶⁶For figures see Jevons, *Work and Wages in Athens in J. H. S. 1895*, p. 239.



CRITIAS

Substantially this situation continued throughout the fifth century. The democratic party, the majority of the old Paralii, comprised the needy population of Athens and the Piraeus, and sought, above all else, relief from economic distress. The oligarchic party, considerably shrunken in size and therefore in power, strove desperately but ineffectually to retain the traditions and prerogatives of a happier past. Midway between the two stood the moderates,⁶⁷ still democratic in principle but rather conservatively so because, on the whole, their economic condition was satisfactory. This group, of course, is not a "party" at all in the modern sense. It is merely a name for all Athenian citizens whose views were moderate. Socially, this "party" had two wings,⁶⁸ the yeoman farmers and the prosperous merchants of the town, but the former were almost negligible in actual politics because they seldom attended the ecclesia. They never had a program of reform, never gave Athens a political leader, and found their sole expression in the voice of Aristophanes.⁶⁹ They went to Athens for the great Dionysia, their special feast, and frequently awarded the crown to Aristophanes for views which had no echo in the ecclesia. The prosperous-merchant wing, because of its conservative temper, maintained with the oligarchic party a coalition which was economic rather than political, which lasted through most of the fifth century, but which was seldom in control.

Before the Persian invasion the coalition was pro-Spartan, the democrats rather pro-Persian, and the balance of power between them seems to have been rather nice. In 507, the democrats, in an attempt to keep out Isagoras and Cleomenes, sent an embassy to Persia which offered the submission of earth and water—only to have the terms rejected on their return. In 499, help was sent to the Ionian rebels (by the oligarchs?) which was promptly withdrawn (by the democrats?). A compromise in 496 resulted in a Peisistratid archon. 493/2 was a critical year; each side found a

⁶⁷Ancient writers, of course, make no definite mention of a moderate party; still there are definite traces of it. Thucydides (III, 82), having spoken of the democrats and the oligarchs, says the "center" party, μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, perished between them. At VIII, 75 he mentions οἱ διὰ μέσῳ. Euripides (*Suppl.* 247) refers to the party ἡ 'ν μέσῳ. Aristotle mentions the μέσοι. Alcibiades (in Thuc. VI, 89) says his family tolerated democracy but μετριώτεροι τῆς παρούσης ἀκολασίας. Thucydides (IV, 28, VIII, 53, and III, 82) seems to use σώφρονες, σωφρονέστερον and ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος in the sense of "moderate" oligarchy. Diodorus (XXX, 53) speaks of οἱ ἐπιεικέστατοι. Aristeides (*De Rhet.* 83) of τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν.

⁶⁸I find in notes taken from Dr. Allen Brown West the following:
 Liberal Party (new in early 5th century)
 a { impure blood (see Solon)
 { supporters of tyrants (diacrii)
 b commercial element.

⁶⁹See Croiset, *Aristophane et les parties à Athènes*, p. 10.

CRITIAS

powerful leader: the democrat, low-born Themistocles was archon, and Miltiades, the Eupatrid, returned from the Chersonese. The necessities of war effected a temporary cessation of politics, but Miltiades' victory at Marathon kept the oligarchs in power until his failure at Paros in 498 ended in his disgrace and death.

From 480 to the "reign" of Pericles, the great gap between Herodotus and Thucydides, our sources of information are so meager and uncertain that we can discern little more than a confusing series of events which seems to indicate a constantly shifting balance. Beneath the confusion lie a great development and two major problems. The growth of the Delian League and its metamorphosis into the Athenian empire interest us chiefly because of the vastly widened horizons of the Athenian state. The intoxicating victory over the Persians and the triumphant sense of power it gave, the astonishing ousting of Sparta from the hegemony of Greece, and the sense of responsibility to Asiatic and island Greeks prompted Athens to build herself a permanent leadership of the Greek world. All parties seem to have shared this policy of expansion.

To the Greek, it was political freedom, even more than personal freedom, that was vital.⁷⁰ A small, compact democracy exercising imperial sway over a widespread domain developed the feeling of the supremacy of the state over the individual; the long and frequent wars, during which the citizen was constantly in the service of the state, and the theory of active participation of every citizen in the government strengthened this supremacy and tended to establish a very real identity of state and citizens. Logically then, the resources of the state are the citizens', and it was but one step from "Attica for the Athenians" to "the empire for the Athenians."⁷¹ Since the state *was* the citizens, it was responsible for the citizens' well-being. The citizen must have leisure to serve, and therefore be, the state.

The two great problems of the state's responsibility were the grain supply and the unemployed proletariat, and political success will be the fruit of a satisfactory solution of these problems. Let us see how these problems were approached by the great statesmen of the period: Themistocles, the democrat; Aristides, the moderate, and Cimon, son of Miltiades, the oligarch.

From the most reliable figures it seems likely that Attica pro-

⁷⁰Andreades, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας*, Book III, Ch. 4, p. 232; Paulsen, *System der Ethik* 2, p. 838: "Die Griechen startten viel mehr auf die politische Freiheit, die Teilnahme an der Regierung (Freiheit im Staat) als auf die persönliche Freiheit, die Beschränkung der Rechte des Staates (Freiheit vom Staat).

⁷¹Andreades, Book IV, Part I, Ch. 3, p. 321.

CRITIAS

duced only about two-fifths of the grain needed⁷² for home consumption, and to an imperial state this fact necessitated control of the sources of supply and of the transport routes. There were three chief sources of supply—Egypt, Pontus, and Sicily. All three committed Athens to a policy of expansion. Grundy thinks that the many associations of Themistocles with western Greece indicate that he was interested in Sicily (and that for a time Pericles acted on the same policy), while Cimon's constant efforts in the Aegean show the oligarchic leaning toward Pontus.

We come now to the state's responsibility to support its citizens. Although its major purpose may have been other, Themistocles' large fleet provided employment for many of the poor of Athens. Perhaps unconsciously, Aristeides after the amnesty of 480/79 used the Delian League to the same end. Aristotle⁷³ says *τροφὴν γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι πᾶσι τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις, τοῖς δὲ φρουροῦσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐπορίαν τροφῆς, ὡς περ Ἀριστείδης εἰσηγήσατο*. A further proof of Aristeides' attachment to the democratic principle is his vigorous stamping on an oligarchic plot (just before Plataea) to overthrow the democracy, or at least to betray the Greek cause to the barbarians. And yet that Aristeides was not an ultra-democrat Plutarch proves. In speaking of Cimon's great generosity to the poor (was this *Cimon's* way of expressing his feeling responsibility?) we read: *οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κολακείαν ὄχλου καὶ δημαγωγίαν εἶναι διαβάλλοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἐξηλέγχοντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προαιρέσεως ἀριστοκρατικῆς καὶ Λακωνικῆς οὐσης, ὅς γε καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπαίροντι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀντέβαινε μετ' Ἀριστείδου.*⁷⁴

Cimon's employment of the proletariat on the fleet,⁷⁵ though not a relief measure, probably did help to solve the problem at least insofar that, added to his great generosity and probity, it kept him in high esteem. With his victory on the Eurymedon ca. 468, the need for a large fleet ceased and with it the sailors' pay. Once more the problem became acute. The masses, having found all solutions merely temporary, saw that there was only one way to regulate the state for their own benefit—to take the government into their own hands. Fortunately for them, able democratic leaders were not wanting in Ephialtes and Pericles.

With the ostracism of Cimon in 462/1 as one result of the Ithome incident, the coalition was definitely beaten and its power

⁷²For a good discussion of the political importance of this problem, see Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, Part III, Ch. 3, p. 58ff., and Ch. 6, p. 125ff. I have followed his discussion, of which I give only the conclusions. For statistics see Andreades, Book IV, Part I, Ch. 3, p. 299. Böckh (*Staatshaushaltung* I, 108ff.), and Beloch (*Bevölkerung* p. 29ff., 75ff.), also Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, Ch. 13.

⁷³*Ath. Pol.* 24.

⁷⁴Plutarch, *Cimon* X.

⁷⁵Plutarch, *Cimon* XI.

CRITIAS

broken.⁷⁶ Indeed its answer to Cimon's fall, the assassination of Ephialtes, merely strengthened Pericles' hand. At Cimon's death, in 449 (or possibly earlier) the leadership of his party fell to Thucydides, son of Melesias, who was, in many respects, a better party leader. Cimon was essentially a soldier, Thucydides an organizer. He attacked Pericles on the expenditure of the imperial funds, but Pericles was too secure and Thucydides was ostracized (444/3), again leaving the party leaderless.

For the fifty years between the fall of Cimon and the revolution of 411, the democrats remained almost uninterruptedly in power. Democratic ascendancy was established largely through the statesmanship of Pericles, his fulfillment of the people's political ideals and—probably more important—his solution of their economic problems, and was continued through the extension of his policies by his successors. Of his many achievements several must be noted here: (1) The democrats were not only anti-Spartan (by tradition and as a result of the Ithome incident), but they were imperialists. Pericles utilized the empire and its tribute as a means of financial support and economic security for the masses. If Athens lost her empire, the citizen lost his state pay—and well he knew it. (2) Pericles' many cleruchies, his maintenance of sixty triremes a year,⁷⁷ his institution of pay for the dicasts,⁷⁸ and his huge building program⁷⁹ were chiefly a means of relieving distress in Athens.⁸⁰ (3) Since Pericles was of good birth, the empire prosperous, the

⁷⁶After his recall in 451, Cimon seems not to have been a "party leader," but to have bent all his efforts on reconciling Athens and Sparta and turning their united power against Persia (Plutarch, *Cimon* XIV, and *Pericles* X, represents the recall of Cimon as following quickly on the battle of Tanagra).

⁷⁷Plutarch, *Pericles*, XI. ἐν αἰς (sc. ναυσὶ) πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀκτῶ μῆνας ἐμισθαί καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολῆν πολυπράγματος ὄχλον τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθύμειθς δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου. Thuc. (II. 13) in listing the martial resources of the state lists *τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας*.

⁷⁸Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XXVII, says the dicasts' pay was to offset the liberality of Cimon. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια Περικλῆς πρῶτος, ἀντιδημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπορίαν.

⁷⁹Probable cost of the Parthenon, the Athena Parthenos, the Propylaea, the Odeion, the docks at Peiraeus, the middle long wall, other buildings in Peiraeus, the temple of Nike Apteros, and other miscellaneous Periclean public works=8,000 talents. See Francotte, *Finances* 175, Zimmern II, 410, Andreades, IV, 2. With the exception of the temple of Hephaistos and the Erechtheion, there was no further building on a large scale until Lycurgus in the next century.

⁸⁰Andreades (Book IV, Part I, Ch. 3) thinks that the party-politics aspect of the state pay and public works policy of Pericles was more valid than that of economy or the political theory of leisure for state business, that Pericles, having instituted his policy to offset Cimon's generosity, committed his followers to a continuance and even an increase of his system.

CRITIAS

tribute both regular and adequate, and the opposition badly disorganized through the break-up of the *ἐταιρείαι*,⁸¹ Pericles probably commanded the loyalty of many conservatives.⁸²

In brief retrospect, the oligarchic-moderate group desired the maintenance of the alliance with Sparta on equal footing,⁸³ opposed all changes in the Cleisthenian constitution,⁸⁴ and believed the Greek states should remain firmly united against Persia. In all these aims they failed. The democrats renounced the Athens-Sparta alliance against Persia, began to acquire a land-empire on the Greek mainland,⁸⁵ completed the Long Walls which the opposition regarded as a threat to Hellenic peace, and achieved perhaps the most thorough-going democracy the world has ever known. Despite the loss of the land-empire and the signing of the Thirty Years' Truce, such a foreign policy had presaged the inevitability of a war to the death,⁸⁶ but neither Pericles nor his war policy survived the opening of the war.

Until the death of Pericles in 429, most of the great party leaders, even the stoutest champions of the oppressed masses, had been men of wealth and good birth.⁸⁷ But even during Pericles' life, with the full flowering of democracy a new type of democratic leader had arisen, whom we might more properly call the radical democrat.⁸⁸ The more able and courageous among the lower classes were using their natural resources of intelligence and oratory and their newly acquired skill in the conduct of state affairs to fight their way into the ranks of authority, hitherto held so firmly by tradition, wealth, and family connections. We call them democrats because, like him, they were leaders of the popular party and continued his policy of favoring and providing for the depressed and

⁸¹See *infra*.

⁸²Even that of Thucydides (II, 65) who, however (VIII, 97), rates the restored democracy of 410 "the first good government of my time".—*οὐχ ἡκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γ' ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεῖσαντες.*

⁸³Plutarch, *Cimon* XVI: *μήτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα χωλὴν, μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἑτερόβουλα περιδεῖν γεγενημένην.*

⁸⁴Plutarch, *Cimon* XV: *πειρωμένον πάλιν ἄνω τὰς δίκας ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένου ἐγείρειν ἀριστοκρατίαν.*

⁸⁵Grundt, Part III, Ch. 6, p. 164-166, thinks the expansion in western Greece was undertaken with a view to controlling the Sicilian grain supply.

⁸⁶A war which Pericles had long foreseen and which most writers, beginning with Thucydides, think he would have won. Thuc., I, 7 and II, 65. Beloch's lively arraignment of the defensive strategy of Pericles is an exception (*Attische Politik*, 22ff.).

⁸⁷Oncken (*Athen u. Hellas* Part III, Ch. 2, p. 44) attributes this to the fact that the great Athenian families traced their origin to the ancient heroes and the gods.

⁸⁸Cornford (*Thucydides Mythistoricus*) thinks the radical democratic leaders represented the "Peiraeus group" and that it was the latter who forced the Peloponnesian War. Part I, Ch. 2, p. 18ff; Part I, Ch. 3, p. 30.

unemployed masses. Unlike his, their policies and diplomacy were short-sighted and demagogic. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρώτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι says Thucydides.⁸⁸ His party is now led by them, but his policies are inherited by the moderates. Again circumstances and time effect a change in the complexion of political parties. The death of Pericles made way for the new leaders,⁸⁹ although Plutarch makes the statement,⁹¹ (and quotes Hermippus to substantiate it) that Cleon was politically prominent before. Cleon, indeed, first appears as Pericles' opponent, but this stand is to be expected of a citizen of humble birth bidding for power in a democratic party headed by an aristocrat. Policies that had earlier seemed extremely democratic no longer served to satisfy the masses, for whom the new leaders had now arisen. Of this party Cleon's now became the most authoritative voice, while the conservative mantle had meanwhile fallen once again on the shoulders of a soldier, Nicias.

As we shall need from now on an understanding of the Athenian *ἐταιρείαι*, let us review briefly their history in so far as we know it. As Vischer⁹² remarks, these "gentlemen's clubs" sprang from the antithetical principles of individualism and state authority over its citizens,⁹³ the former well exemplified in politics by the "tyrants," the latter reaching its most emphatic expression at Sparta. As the march of democracy continued, the influence of the clubs became stronger, furthered by men dissatisfied with the turn of political events and men seeking merely a means of making their personalities valid in public and private life.⁹⁴ Most of them naturally were oligarchic in tendency, although there were democratic clubs, and at least one great conservative did not belong to one. Themistocles, says Plutarch, owed much to his club: ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς ἐταιρείαν ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἶχε πρόβλημα καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον.⁹⁵ That he repaid them, in true politician's style, is evidenced by his reply

⁸⁸II, 65.

⁸⁹Pericles' loss of prestige (430), the attacks on his friends, his deposition as *στρατηγός*, and his fine were probably due in part to a temporary combination of Cleon and the moderate-oligarchic coalition. Pericles, in his speech in the ecclesia to restore the confidence of the people in him, attacks his moderate and conservative enemies to whom he attributes the people's lack of confidence. τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι δικήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει συμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ἀργῆς ἔχετε. Thuc., II 63, 64.

⁹¹Pericles XXXIII.

⁹²*Die Oligarchische Partei und die Hetairien in Athen*, 154-5.

⁹³Aristotle, *Politics* I, 2

⁹⁴Ἡ ἀτομικὴ ἐλευθερία εἶναι τελείως ἀγνωστος εἰς τὰς θεωρίας τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν τῶν ἑλληνικῶν δημοκρατιῶν.

Sarpilos, *La democratic et l' election proportionelle* I, 232.

⁹⁵This and the two following quotations are from Plutarch, *Aristeides*, II.

to a man who told him he would be a good ruler if only he were impartial. He retorted: "Μηδέποτε εἰς τοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαιμι τὸν θρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον οὐδὲν ἔξουσιν οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων." Aristeides, however, walked the path of politics alone: Ἀριστείδην δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἢ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαριζόμενος, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδὼν ἐπαίρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο. Cimon probably belonged to such a *ἐταιρεία*, because there are numerous references in Plutarch to his φίλοι, especially the νεανίσκοι συνήθεις,⁹⁶ who attended him and exchanged their fine raiment for the clothes of needy citizens and quietly thrust small change into "genteel poor" hands in the agora.

During Cimon's ostracism some of the oligarchs, seemingly without his knowledge, entered into a plot with the Spartan army caught in Boeotia in 457. The desertion of Athens' Thesalian allies in the midst of the battle of Tanagra is significant if not suspicious, as is the assassination of Epheialtes by a Tanagran who was the tool of his enemies.⁹⁷ If plot it was, it failed through the patriotism of Cimon, whose desire for friendship with Sparta did not include treason.

It was probably through his *ἐταιρεία* that Thucydides, son of Melesias, succeeded in organizing his party into so compact a body.⁹⁸ At all events, when Pericles contrived his ostracism, he broke up his club: τέλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θουκυδίδην εἰς ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῦ ὀστράκου καταστάς καὶ διακινδυνεύσας ἐκείνον μὲν ἐξέραλε κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην ἐταιρείαν.⁹⁹ While Thucydides was leader of the party, there is evidence neither of under-cover schemes nor of dealings with Sparta, although there was no lack of opportunity for the latter. His club (or the clubs) was simply a well-organized opposition party.

There was, in fact, nothing in the nature of these clubs that spelled revolution or treason. It was merely that, as the oligarchs suffered more and more from the constantly growing germ of communism in the ruling majority, and saw less and less chance of relief, the most conservative elements in the clubs allowed them to be used for revolutionary or treasonable ends.

After the fall of Thucydides son of Melesias, the democrats were so firmly entrenched that there is no trace of conservative political activities or of the clubs. This is not to say that they did not exist as social groups. They merely lost their importance in politics and were isolated units. It is at this time that Thucydides the historian can refer to them as *ξυνωμοσίας ἐπὶ δίκαις*

⁹⁶Plutarch, *Cimon* X.

⁹⁷Plutarch, *Pericles* X, on the authority of Aristotle.

⁹⁸Plutarch, *Pericles* XI.

⁹⁹Plutarch, *Pericles* XIV.

CRITIAS

καὶ ἀρχαῖς.¹⁰⁰ They were the oligarchs' only way of economizing and concentrating their one power—wealth. In what Vischer¹⁰¹ calls "die Tyrannei der Mehrzahl gegen die Minderzahl", they presumably pledged themselves under oath to the personal and financial support of fellow-members in law-suits and in campaigns for public office. "Bald bildeten diese Clubbs eben so viele Cotterien gegen einander; durch Sykophantismus, Porismus, und Demagogenkünste suchten sie sich einander den Rang abzulaufen, dann wieder vereinigten sich die eine und andere, um eine dritte zu stürzen oder irgend eine Massregel die ihnen nützte durchzusetzen."¹⁰² They functioned separately in the direct interest of their own membership and, while still apt instruments for united party warfare, were not so used, so far as we know, until 411.

Nicias and Alcibiades were both leaders of such clubs, and there are definite traces of others.¹⁰³

The Peloponnesian War, though inevitable, was the responsibility of the democrats. As I have shown above, the democracy was contingent upon the empire and had always been anti-Spartan. The democrats had everything to gain and little to lose from the vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful outcome. Their voting strength lay in the needy population of the capital and the port. The moderates had democratic traditions but, like the oligarchs, felt the oppression of the extreme democracy. They were still a mixed group. The rural wing owed its democratic leanings to Peisistratus, was attached to old customs, rites, and traditions, and seldom attended the ecclesia¹⁰⁴ until the devastation of Attica drove them into Athens. They were not pro-Sparta but pro-peace.

The middle-class urban wing, like the oligarchs heavily outweighed in ecclesia and heliaea, like them believing in the dominance of the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*, were, however, like the rural wing, not pro-Spartan but pro-peace. Most of them were prosperous, many were metics like Lysias, with no political privileges. They were not nobles, cared, as a matter of fact, little for distinctions of birth, were not politicians but educated men who had acquired their politics as well as their culture in the schools of the sophists. As Müller has pointed out,¹⁰⁵ it would be difficult to name any

¹⁰⁰VII, 54. See also Plato, *Republic* II, 365, *Laws* IX, 835, and *Theaetetus*, 173.

¹⁰¹*Op. cit.*, 169.

¹⁰²Droysen, p. 184

¹⁰³See Vischer, *op. cit.*, 170, 174, 175 and Droysen *op. cit.*, 1835, p. 183. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XIII, 19 20.

¹⁰⁴According to Dionysius' argument to Lysias, 23, there were at that time only 5,000 citizens who owned no land. Accepting Beloch's figures (*Bevölkerung*, 73) we find this rural wing outweighing the town population.

¹⁰⁵*Griech. Lit.* II, p. 165.

CRITIAS

prominent literary man of the period who did not belong to this group, with the single exception of Aristophanes, who belonged to the other wing of the same party.

The oligarchs, of course, were definitely anti-democratic and anti-imperialistic. They shared with the moderates a resentment against a war which they did not want but for which they had to pay, the urban wing through cash, the rural wing through a devastation of Attica. "Der Grundbesitz vor allem war es gewesen, worauf der Einfluss des Adels beruht hatte; und gerade der Grundbesitz hatte am Schwersten unter den Einfällen der Peloponnesier und später unter den Occupation von Dekeleia zu leiden. Steuern und Leiturgien zehrten auf, was der Feind übrig gelassen."¹⁰⁶ They shared a contempt for the new democratic leaders. They resented as unjust that they should have to support the poor. Until the last quarter of the century, the surplus had come from the empire. When this failed, the rich had to assume the burden. "At one time the rich alone had been qualified for high office, and had controlled the government in their own interests; they had been ready to make sacrifices in order to enjoy these privileges, and to contribute to the revenue in proportion to their wealth. Now, while these burdens had increased, their privileges had vanished."¹⁰⁷ Thus they were not only pro-peace, but even pro-Spartan.

"Sparta was the proper center of reaction against Athenian dominion, but even in Athens there was a link of the "Adelskette"¹⁰⁸ "The oligarchs¹⁰⁹ were ready to combine with the enemies of Athens and to break from their allegiance; and just as there was a solidarity of democracies throughout Greece, so there was a network of oligarchic combinations between the different states—an "Adelskette"—embracing Athens and most of the allies, always ready, if opportunities were favorable, to combine with Sparta, and to overthrow the democratic government. . . . There was, indeed, an inseparable relation between oligarchy and disloyalty to Athens, on the part of the allies. As soon as the allies broke from Athens, the oligarchic party got the upper hand, so that revolt was the first step in establishing their influence; and conversely as soon as the oligarchs came into power, the alliance was broken off. Democracy was, therefore, the bond of union between Athens and her allies, while oligarchy was almost synonymous with revolt.¹¹⁰ The war was therefore not only a trial of strength between the two great powers of Greece; it was a struggle between the principles of oligarchic and democratic government.

¹⁰⁶Beloch, *Attische Politik-Einleitung*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷Whibley, *Political Parties*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁸Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes* pp. 83-84.

¹⁰⁹Whibley, *Political Parties*, 32-34.

¹¹⁰Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, of course, are exceptions.

CRITIAS

The danger threatened even the constitution of Athens as well as her empire; for there were many of her citizens who would have gladly seen oligarchy established at the price of submission to Sparta. These men as soon as they attained power began to treat with Sparta; and there was some ground for the democratic feeling that peace with Sparta, except on terms which would be a compensation for the past and a guarantee for the future, was likely to lead to the rise of philo-Spartan influence, and bring the danger to democracy all the nearer."

"Das athenische Reich ist in seinem Kern and Wesen ein Schutz- und Trutzbündnis hellenischer Demokratieen gegen den inneren Feind der Oligarchie, der mit dem äusseren Feind, dem Barbarenthum verschworen oder stets sich ~~zu~~ verschwören bereit ist."¹¹¹

"Der Riss, der seit der glücklichen Zurückweisung des persischen Angriffs die griechische Welt in zwei Lager theilte, deren eines die Delische Symmachie mit Athen, das andere der Peloponnesische Bund mit Sparta an der Spitze bildete, trennte auch die Bevölkerung jeder grösseren hellenischen Stadt in zwei feindliche Parteien, die Demokraten die sich auf Athen stützten, und die Oligarchen die Anschluss an Sparta suchten . . . Der griechische Stadt-staat war nach seiner ganzen Organisation niemals der Vertreter der Gesamtinteressen des Volkes, sondern die jemals herrschenden Partei."¹¹²

The ever-widening gulf between oligarch and democrat was exactly equal to and caused by the sharp line of demarcation between rich and poor. Beloch¹¹³ says "Die ganze Staatsverwaltung war auf den Vortheil der besitzlosen Masse berechnet" and asks, Is it any wonder that "jeder Besitzende, jeder Reiche wenigstens, als geborener Gegner dieser Staatsform galt?" and that "auf die Dauer eine gemässigt demokratische, oder gar eine oligarchische Regierung in Athen nur möglich war, wenn sie auf die Lanzen einer fremden Besatzung sich stützte?"

Their pro-Spartan leanings were an inheritance. Active Spartan interference before Marathon in Athenian politics had been so constant that those whom it had benefited never lost the tradition. Conservative by nature, they did not "move with the times." Strong anti-Spartan feeling was peculiar to the democrats and so rooted in Athenian imperialism that the oligarchs could not be expected to share it. To them Sparta had never been the enemy, and the democrats' war could not make her so. In spirit they were closer to the stolid conservatism of Sparta than to their democratic fellow-citizens. I have shown above how much stronger party loyalty could be than state loyalty. They were in somewhat

¹¹¹Oncken, *Athen und Hellas*, Part III, Ch. 3, p. 116.

¹¹²Nestle, *Politik u. Aufklärung im Ausgang des V Jahrhunderts* Neue Jahrb. XXXIV p. 4.

¹¹³*Attische Politik*-Einleitung p. 11-12.

CRITIAS

the same position as the democratic fleet at Samos in 411. Their political opponents had revolted from *them*,¹¹⁴ and the democrats were ready to sail to Athens and plunge Athens into a civil war, thus discarding their defences against the enemy Sparta. As for the oligarchs, using their fellow Greeks from Sparta against a political system which the oligarchs regarded as a betrayal of Athens evidently did not seem to them treason, but a form of patriotism, since it would return Athens to her ancient spirit. I have deliberately stated the foregoing from an oligarchic point of view. Although it is impossible today to agree with their principles or condone their practices, I believe an understanding of how the honest members of the party felt is necessary to an understanding of Critias. The modern writer's justifiable censure of them must not blind him to oligarchic motives if he wishes to study one who, after becoming an oligarch, out-Heroded Herod.

The outbreak of the war drew to the democrats' side many younger men of moderate or oligarchic tradition, attracted by the lure of military glory and honor, and established in popular favor not a few moderate and oligarchic generals whose reputation for valor now overshadowed their political views. We think, of course, of Alcibiades and Nicias, of whom more shortly.

The power of the new democratic leaders culminated in the great victory at Pylos, for which Cleon claimed—and received—credit, but on the death of Cleon in 422 waned sufficiently to allow the conservatives to make gains. Nicias and Alcibiades were the most conspicuous members of the group. Nicias, as a conservative, was pro-peace, but, as a soldier, was not pro-Spartan. Alcibiades because of his over-weening military ambition inclined more toward a bid for democratic support than was usual in a moderate. He probably pictured himself as another Pericles. It was not to be expected that Nicias and Alcibiades should exercise a joint leadership of the moderate-oligarchic coalition. The austere, slow, old-fashioned Nicias was respected and admired by the democrats; the gay, mercurial, reckless Alcibiades was their darling; thus these two, who could have commanded popular support, split the coalition. Alcibiades fiercely resented the peace of Nicias as a matter of personal vanity.¹¹⁵ Although he was Spartan proxenos at Athens, and had especially interested himself in the care of the prisoners of Sphacteria, the Spartans had negotiated through Nicias, and this slight turned Alcibiades against Sparta. He had his revenge the following year. Taking advantage of Sparta's troubles and suspicious conduct over the terms of the peace, and of the feverish jockeying for position that followed, he succeeded in discrediting both Nicias and Sparta and in driving Athens into the

¹¹⁴Thucydides, VIII, 76 και ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν, ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε.

¹¹⁵Thucydides, V, 43.

CRITIAS

Argive alliance. But, although the coalition had split, the democratic leaders were not strong enough to take advantage.

The Nicias-Alcibiades feud having been fanned to the heat of a proposal for ostracism, a behind-the-scenes reconciliation¹¹⁶ turned the vote against Hyperbolus, who seems to have been the leader of the democratic party.¹¹⁷ That the reconciliation was not permanent is evidenced by the fiery opposition of Nicias to Alcibiades over the Sicilian venture. Nicias' caustic sneer at Alcibiades in the ecclesia during the debate did not prevent the assembly from handing over the expedition to the joint command of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. Nicias' adherents were better political strategists than he (although poorer patriots) for they used the Mutilation of the Hermae to doom Alcibiades.¹¹⁸

And Critias? Like Alcibiades, he inherited conservative affiliations; in mode of life, in tastes, and in political views he must have greatly resembled Alcibiades. If he was less prominent in political life, he was more active in literature and philosophy. He seems also to have lacked Alcibiades' military ambitions. However, Grote may be correct in his statement that in 404 he had been "for a long time important in the political, the literary, and the philosophical world of Athens."¹¹⁹ The political importance is certainly not evident in Thucydides, but then Thucydides usually ignores the importance of rhetors and sophists in politics.¹²⁰

Since Critias and Alcibiades were associated earlier and are found to be of the same party in 411, Droysen assumes that Critias

¹¹⁶This (according to Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XIII) was accomplished through the hetaireiae, although he is not sure whether Alcibiades arranged the matter with Nicias' or with Pheax' club.

¹¹⁷According to Aristophanes *Peace* 681 Hyperbolus was master of the Pnyx in 422 (the date of the *Peace*). Beloch, *Attische Politik* p. 55 thinks Hyperbolus instituted the ostracism as a means of ridding himself of either Nicias or Alcibiades.

¹¹⁸Alcibiades was, of course, an individualist and opportunist. His politics at the moment depend largely on his chance of advantage. That he bid for popular favor is indisputable, that he was an extreme oligarch is equally impossible from his feud with Nicias and Pisander. Perhaps he best states his own convictions in Thucydides VI, 89. "Darum (his ambition) ward er weder Oligarch noch Demokrat, vielmehr bediente er sich nur nach Umständen der einen oder andern Partei, deren Häupter ihm deshalb unversöhnlich grollten; aber viel wüthender und consequenter als die exaltirtesten Demagogen verfolgten ihm die Oligarchen, deren letzte Rach ihn unter den Dreissig erreichte." Vischer, *op. cit.* His exile was effected by Androcles, an extreme democrat, and Thessalus son of Cimon, an extreme oligarch.

¹¹⁹Vol. 8, p. 207.

¹²⁰Cf. his well-know omission of Gorgias as head of the Sicilian embassy in 427, although he is reported to have been among the pupils of Gorgias, III, 86.

CRITIAS

at the time of the Mutilation of the Hermae was "ein treuer Anhänger des Alkibiades."¹²¹

"The predilection for Lacedaemon, which Critias had imbibed as one of the Eupatridae and as a friend of Socrates, declares itself in the commendations of the old customs which the Spartans kept up in their banquets: nevertheless, we have no right to suppose in this an early manifestation of the ill-affected and treasonable opinions with regard to the democracy of Athens, which only gradually and through the force of circumstances developed themselves in the character of Critias with the fearful consequences which often convert a single false step of the politician into a disastrous and criminal progress for the rest of his life."¹²²

That he at some time visited Sparta is almost certain from his intimate observations of Spartan customs in his writings. If so, he must have done so between the Peace of Nicias and the first oligarchy.

Whether the Mutilation of the Hermae in 415 was a drunken prank or, as Grote¹²³ thinks, "a deliberate act of organized conspirators, not inconsiderable in numbers," it is impossible to be sure. Nor is certainty necessary for our purposes here. If it was an oligarchic plot, its aim was to discredit Alcibiades and prevent the Sicilian expedition.¹²⁴ Since high hopes were held both by the masses and by Alcibiades for the expedition and Nicias had vigorously opposed it, it follows that behind such a plot (if plot it was) stood not Alcibiades but either (1) his enemies, the oligarchs or (2) the enemies of the expedition, Corinthians or sympathizers with Corinth,¹²⁵ whose colony Syracuse was. If it was a drunken prank, both these enemies took immediate advantage of it to ruin Alcibiades.

In the course of the investigation the profanation of the Mysteries transpired, and Alcibiades' enemies were quick to seize the opportunity to link it with the Mutilation in the public mind, even though such a link could not be proved.¹²⁶ The demagogues, as the oligarchs probably had foreseen, set up the cry of revolution, attributing to the instigators of both sacrileges an attempt to subvert the democracy. Some, at least, of the oligarchs suspected Alcibiades' participation in the Profanation, and by linking it with the Mutilation, hoped to ensure his downfall.

¹²¹Droysen, *op. cit.* 1836, p. 30.

¹²²Müller: *Geschichte der Gr. Litt.* (Donaldson) Vol. II, p. 81.

¹²³Vol. 7, p. 211.

¹²⁴Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* Part I, Ch. 3, p. 34ff., Part I, Ch. 4, p. 43ff., thinks the Sicilian expedition was conceived as early as the middle of the century as a part of the expansion of the Empire westward, an expansion for the purpose of controlling Sicilian grain.

¹²⁵Both Plutarch (*Alcibiades* XVIII) and the pseudo-Plutarch (*Vit. X Orat.* 834) assert this to be true. The first informer was a metic.

¹²⁶Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XX: τοῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ὑβρίσμασι καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ συμπλεκόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῶ συνωμοσίας πεπραγμένα.

CRITIAS

I think there is little doubt that Alcibiades and his friends (or his club) were guilty of the Profanation and Andocides and his club of the Mutilation. Critias, however, though accused by Diocleides in the Mutilation, was not concerned in either. Teucus, a metic, accused eighteen persons of participation in the Mutilation. Among these was Euphiletus. Diocleides accused forty-two men among whom were the Euphiletus club, Andocides, his father Leogoras, and eight of Andocides' other relatives, including Critias.¹²⁷ Charmides, son of Aristoteles, Andocides' cousin, seemingly aware of Andocides' guilt, persuaded him to disclose his knowledge so as to release his innocent kinsmen. This Andocides did, admitting the truth of Teucus' charge and adding four names to Teucus' list. The βουλή, realizing the discrepancy in the lists, interrogated Diocleides again and secured a confession that his accusation was false, and that he had been bribed to make it by Alcibiades the Phegusian and Amiantus, both of whom promptly fled. It seems clear (if anything can be called so in this puzzling affair) that Andocides refuted a false charge by confessing to a true one. In both charges he was accused, but the false one included many relatives and the true one was limited to his club. The βουλή, at any rate, was convinced of the truth of this view,¹²⁸ condemned Diocleides to death, considered the affair of the Mutilation closed and turned its attention to the Profanation. Let us do likewise.

This was, without doubt, a lark of Alcibiades and his *ἐταιρεία*,¹²⁹ and seems not to have been an isolated instance.¹³⁰ His enemies, however, by some very clever political maneuvering contrived to use it to secure his condemnation at the hands of Thessalus son of Cimon.¹³¹ As Hyperbolus had been defeated by the combination of Alcibiades and Nicias, now Alcibiades was defeated by the democrats and the oligarchs, although this union was not pre-arranged, and the oligarchic efforts were not apparent. Indeed two of his oligarchic enemies, Peisander and Charicles, seem to have masquer-

¹²⁷Andocides, *De Myst.* 47 for the list. These men, including Critias "νῦν δρῶσι τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς δι' ἐμέ." *De Myst.* 68.

¹²⁸Diocleides' story of 300 men walking in a body along the south slope of the Acropolis *under the full moon*, and of mistaking the full moon for day, should have been suspect from the start. Surely the conspirators, whoever they were, worked surreptitiously, singly or in small groups, and surely Diocleides would have discovered his error in time as soon as he got outside his house. Plutarch's (*Alcibiades* XX) and Diodorus' (XIII, 2) statement that it was new moon must be false, or the prisoners would have immediately seized on this flaw in his story.

¹²⁹The charge was that he himself had burlesqued the hierophant, that several others of his friends had played the parts of other officials at the sacred rites, and that still others of his comrades (*ἐταίρους*) had assumed the role of initiates. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XXII.

¹³⁰Thucydides, VI, 28.

¹³¹For the wording of the *εἰσαγγελία* and the exact charges, see Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XXII.

CRITIAS

aded as democrats, and were appointed as inquisitors into the scandal. The members of the Euphiletus club were known as oligarchs; Plutarch calls Andocides *μισόδημος καὶ ὀλιγαρχικός*.¹³²

In 413, the Athenians, in the great distress occasioned by the tragedy at Syracuse and the fort at Decelea, named ten *πρόβουλοι* to devise ways and means of carrying on the war, thus considerably abridging the power of the ecclesia. Politically, the "reforms of 413 were the inevitable result of a reaction against extreme democracy, which was regarded as responsible for the Sicilian Disaster."¹³³ Müller¹³⁴ calls them "the middle-class movement which preceded the oligarchy at Athens."

With the rapid defection of the Athenian allies and the intervention of Tissaphernes in behalf of Sparta, the oligarchs continued to gain in prestige until their fortunes reached the peak in the Revolution of 411. This revolution was initiated by Alcibiades whom we left disgraced and in exile as a result of the Mutilation scandal.

"After trying without success to establish his influence in Sparta and Persia by services rendered against Athens, he made his recall the immediate object of his life. To secure this end he was not scrupulous about the means employed, and had no hesitation in working against the democracy. For his fall had been mainly due to the democrats,¹³⁵ and his return, while Androcles was chief demagogue, was impossible. On these grounds he initiated the oligarchic movement of 411, foreseeing that his opportunity would come, as it did, in the confusion caused by the revolution. He took this step, however, from no love of the oligarchs, from whom he broke as soon as possible, while they for their part saw clearly that he was a man unfitted for oligarchy."¹³⁶

In 412, informed secretly that sentence of death had been passed upon him at Sparta, he had fled to Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, and had begun to work for his recall to Athens. His advice to Tissaphernes, to let both Athens and Sparta wear themselves out in the war, whereupon Persia could easily master the winner, was not necessary; it was exactly Tissaphernes' idea.¹³⁷ That it was Alcibiades' real plan is, I think, untrue. If he wanted to sail into Piraeus with a victorious Persian fleet, he had only to remain with Tissaphernes and continue to work against both sides. Instead, he seemed possessed of a passionate desire to be restored to Athens. That he could not bring any strong Persian support to Athens he probably knew before negotiations began, but the hope of such support could be used as a lever at Athens. Tissaphernes

¹³²*Alcibiades* XX.

¹³³Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

¹³⁴Vol. II p. 165-6.

¹³⁵At least, so far as was publicly known.

¹³⁶Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58.

¹³⁷Thucydides, VIII, 45-52.

CRITIAS

was pledged to Sparta, but if that support could be given with suspicious vacillation, the procedure would lend color to his proposals to Athens.

Accordingly, from Magnesia he sent a private message of greeting to the *βελτίστους* among the Athenian navy at Samos stating that if there were an oligarchy at Athens instead of the evil democracy that had banished him, he would return to Athens with aid from Tissaphernes.¹³⁸ After a private conference between several of the oligarchs and Alcibiades at Magnesia, the former returned to Samos, banded together all possible sympathizers with the plan, and broached the matter to the army, which promptly showed its disapproval. Disapproval was also expressed by the general Phrynichus, who clearly understood Alcibiades' plans and motives and showed how illogical his statements were and how illusory his promises. The chief inducements, Persian help contingent upon an oligarchy in Athens, and a return of the revolted allies (or at least a cessation of the revolts) did not deceive him, nor, I think, did they deceive his fellow-oligarchs. It was not they who wanted the allies, nor had they ever sued for Persian help.¹³⁹ They did not want Persian gold to allow them to prosecute the war against Sparta; they wanted the war stopped at all costs, as is proved by their dealings with Sparta whenever they were in power.

Why, then, did they negotiate with Alcibiades? They wanted an oligarchy in order to restore what they considered order in Athens, and the proposals of Alcibiades, as he had foreseen, would carry weight with the despairing ecclesia, especially at a time when many voters were absent from Athens in service on the fleet.¹⁴⁰

Peisander, well chosen because although an oligarch he was reputed a democrat and had been one of the inquisitors in the affair of the Hermae, was sent to Athens to organize all the hetaeerae and propose a revolution to the ecclesia.¹⁴¹ The populace, with great reluctance, acceded because they were deceived by the arguments and believed Peisander sincere in advancing them. They became convinced that there was no other hope of safety for the city.¹⁴² The movement was supported by the *πρόβουλοι*, by demagogues of the character of Peisander, by moderates like Aristo-

¹³⁸Thucydides, VIII, 47; Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XXV.

¹³⁹Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* (65), produced in 426, accuses the demos of having sent an embassy to Persia to seek financial aid. This I take to be a joke.

¹⁴⁰Plutarch definitely states (*Alcibiades* XXVI) that these arguments, when advanced by Peisander in the ecclesia, were *πρόφασις καὶ πρόσχημα*.

¹⁴²Phrynichus, whose astuteness was much greater than his integrity, was driven by frantic fear that if the oligarchy should be consummated and Alcibiades recalled, he would pay for his attitude with his life, and made an attempt to discredit Alcibiades with the army—an attempt which included the betrayal of the fleet to the Spartan admiral.

¹⁴³Thucydides, VIII, 54 Cf. Justin, V, 3.

CRITIAS

crates and Theramenes, by many professed democrats, generals, ex-generals, and trierarchs, and by men of distinction in art and letters like Melanthius, Andron, Critias, and Aristoteles¹⁴⁸—in short, by both oligarchs and moderates. Critias is included in this list because Lysias informs us¹⁴⁹ that all the members of the Thirty had been members of the Four Hundred.¹⁴⁵ It is Lysias also¹⁴⁶ who tells us Callaeschrus was a member. The ecclesia dispatched Peisander and ten other ambassadors¹⁴⁷ to Ionia to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes. Before Peisander left Athens, however, he had two other tasks to perform: he procured the recall of Phrynichus and his colleague Scironides, and organized the oligarchic hetaeireiae to promote the revolution, as the ecclesia would probably repent of its decision.

In Ionia the envoys met with failure. Alcibiades, knowing he could not fulfill his promise of Persian aid, extricated himself by making demands so harsh that the envoys could not agree and the conference was broken off.

Meanwhile in Athens Antiphon¹⁴⁸ had been astonishingly efficient in organizing the clubs into a compact and secret force. His chief aids were Theramenes and Phrynichus,¹⁴⁹ now returned from his command. That Theramenes was of the moderate party, probably its head, is proved, I think, by Henderson.¹⁵⁰

On Peisander's return to Athens after the abortive conference with Alcibiades, the oligarchs were in a critical position. The promised Persian support, which had secured the reluctant acquiescence of the demos, was a delusion, their hope of making the revolution seem to the people a benefit had collapsed, but they had gone too far to retreat. Their real purpose would now have to be pursued openly. For in Peisander's absence, the reign of terror had been launched, and Androcles had been assassinated—this latter move manifestly a desire to please Alcibiades and pave the way for his return.¹⁵¹ Using strategic assassination and an impenetrable and paralyzing secrecy as weapons, the conspirators

¹⁴³Ferguson, in *C. A. II*. Vol. V, Ch. 11, p. 326.

¹⁴⁴*Agoratus* 74 οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἣ τότε βουλευούσα οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντες τῶν τετρακοσίων.

¹⁴⁸Except, of course, such as had died or were otherwise unavailable.

¹⁴⁶*Eratosthenes* 66.

¹⁴⁷Most certainly not all, perhaps only a few, of these were oligarchs. The assembly would send men thought to be democrats (to protect their interests) and moderates (in view of the conservative nature of their present attitude and Alcibiades' known sympathies).

¹⁴⁸Droysen assumes (*op. cit.*, 1836, p. 41) from Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1300 ff. that Antiphon had a hetaireia.

¹⁴⁹Thucydides, VIII, 68.

¹⁵⁰*The Great War between Athens and Sparta*, Ch. 10, 407 ff. and note 490-491.

¹⁵¹The assassination of Androcles proves the presence of moderates among the conspirators. The extreme oligarchs detested Alcibiades.

CRITIAS

established themselves in power, rewrote the constitution, considered a measure to restore all exiles (and had it quashed by the extremists because it would have included Alcibiades), and opened negotiations with Agis at Decelea.

Matters went far differently at Samos. The assassination of the exiled demagogue Hyperbolus served only to awaken the soldiers and the Samian democrats to their peril. Immediate appeal was made to four pronounced democratic generals and soldiers (Thrasylbulus, Thrasyllus, and Leon and Diomedon, who had replaced Phrynichus and Scironides) to defend Samos against intrigue. Violence broke out and the democrats came off victorious. At a great democratic demonstration the army and all adult male citizens of Samos pledged themselves to stand together, uphold the democracy, carry on the war, and treat the Four Hundred as enemies. At an assembly of the army, generals were chosen and, on the motion of Thrasylbulus,¹⁵² a vote was taken to recall Alcibiades.¹⁵³

Alcibiades was, of course, more interested in the war and the opportunities of military glory it offered him than in the political situation at Athens.

To prevent the possibility of the extreme oligarchs betraying the city to Sparta, he sent the Four Hundred's embassy back to Athens with the knowledge that the fleet was inflexibly hostile, and with terms that urged the moderates to assert themselves and prevent the extremists from securing control. These terms were the removal of the Four Hundred and the active government of the Five Thousand. His chief desire now was to be off to Aspendus to prevent Tissaphernes from bringing up the Phoenician fleet.

It was the return of this embassy that drove the wedge into the Four Hundred, splitting extremists and moderates. Heretofore, there had been a satisfactory compromise: the moderates had not insisted on the recall of Alcibiades, the extremists had agreed to the moderates' ideal of a limited democracy, allowing the franchise only to men of hoplite census. The oligarchs failed in many ways, but their greatest failure was the inability to win the fleet at Samos. It spelled the doom of the oligarchy, but the two factions reacted differently in attempting to avert that doom. The moderates, those who were less compromised and thus more willing to compromise, attempted to conciliate the populace and win as he had suggested and turning the government over to the Five

¹⁵²Thucydides, VIII, 81.

¹⁵³Because of Tissaphernes' luke-warm support of Sparta the army believed Alcibiades' promise of Persian gold, while Alcibiades could now play off the Athenian army against Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes against the Athenian government.

CRITIAS

Thousand.¹⁵⁴ The extremists, too heavily compromised, were driven in desperation to protect themselves from both the people and (over the fleet and Alcibiades by establishing a limited democracy the fleet by letting in the enemy.

To these ends they began construction of the fort at Eetioneia (alleging the danger of an attack by the fleet) and sent an embassy to Sparta. The wide and drastic powers granted this embassy tell clearly the frantic terror of the extremists. The oligarchs wished:

1) to retain the oligarchy and rule the allies *ὀλιγαρχούμενοι ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων*. If this were denied, they wished

2) to retain the ships, the walls, and their autonomy *τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἔχοντες αὐτονομεῖσθαι*, If this were denied at least they wished

3) to retain the government, if their lives were assured *ὅπως οὖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν εἰ τοῖς σώμασι σφῶν ἄδεια ἔσται*.¹⁵⁵

That the purpose of the fort was treasonable, there can be no doubt.¹⁵⁶ Its alleged purpose, defense against the Athenian fleet, was also valid. It could be used in either way or both ways. The oligarchs and moderates drew apart on the two issues: the fort and the admission of the Five Thousand. The moderates, under Theramenes, denounced the fort and demanded the Five Thousand. They succeeded in arousing the people to destroy the fort, but the oligarchs refused to call the Five Thousand except when it was too late.¹⁵⁷

The return of the embassy without having accomplished anything,¹⁵⁸ the assassination of Phrynichus in open day, the appearance of the Spartan fleet off Piraeus, and the loss of Euboea were the final chapters.

At a meeting of the ecclesia it was voted to depose the Four Hundred, place the government in the hands of the Five Thousand (approximately equivalent to the hoplite census) and abolish

¹⁵⁴Thucydides implies (VIII, 89) that they were not sincere in desiring a moderate government, that their only motive was jealousy. Perhaps we might grant that many of them did not want a moderate democracy for the people's benefit, but they were sincere in wanting it as a means of conciliating Alcibiades and the fleet. The motive of jealousy is imputed to Theramenes and Aristocrates also by Lysias, *Eratosthenes* (66, 67, 69) and *Agoratus* (12-17).

¹⁵⁵Thucydides, VIII, 91.

¹⁵⁶Thucydides distinctly says so in VII, 91, and the Spartan fleet bound for Euboea hovered in convenient proximity during the critical time—first at Aegina and Epidaurus, later near Megara and Salamis.

¹⁵⁷Demosthenes or Deinarchus, *Theocrines* 58, 67 has confused the events of 411 and 404.

¹⁵⁸Any open peace, that is, that applied to the city. That an understanding had been reached for the safety of the oligarchs is clearly implied in Thucydides' words: *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος πρέσβεις οὐδὲν πράξαντες ἀνεχώρησαν τοῖς ξύμπασι συμβατικόν*.

CRITIAS

pay for state functions.¹⁵⁹ These measures not only constituted the political creed of the moderates, but had been so proclaimed by Alcibiades from Samos. On motion of Critias¹⁶⁰ the sentence of exile against Alcibiades was removed.¹⁶¹

Most of the extremists fled to Decelea, only two (Antiphon and Archeptolemus) remaining to be charged with treason and executed. The statement of Lycurgus,¹⁶² that the assembly, on motion of Critias, voted to exhume the body of Phrynichus for trial is certainly in part,¹⁶³ perhaps wholly false. The orderly procedure of the democrats in the deposition of the Four Hundred is inconsistent with such stupid barbarity. However, even without this motion, we have sufficient evidence that Critias was at this time a moderate.¹⁶⁴

It seems from Andocides¹⁶⁵ that the members of the Four Hundred were called (according to the regular procedure) to an account as if going out of office. Those who did not appear were condemned; those who did were either fined or acquitted—perhaps on the ground of service rendered to the people in overthrowing the oligarchy. In which of these categories to place Critias we have no means of knowing.

Thus was peace restored and the city and the fleet reunited, and we find a decided lull in party politics until 407. The radical democrats were in control again under the leadership of Cleophon, and it is probably now that the remaining members of the Four Hundred were tried and subjected to various penalties of exile, fine, and partial *ἀτιμία*. Among those exiled was Critias, for we know that he was prosecuted by Cleophon, who *κατὰ Κριτίου τοῖς Σόλωνος ἐλεγείοις ἐχρήσατο λέγων ὅτι πάλαι ἀσελγῆς ἢ οἰκία; οὐ γὰρ ἂν τότε ἐποίησε Σόλων,*

*Εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτία πυρρότριχι πατρός ἀκούειν.*¹⁶⁶

Certainly Critias was exiled before Arginusae, for at that time *ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὠπλίζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν*

¹⁵⁹Thucydides, VIII, 97.

¹⁶⁰See Fr. 5, Chap. 2. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XXXIII.

¹⁶¹Both Diodorus, XIII, 38 and Nepos, *Alcibiades* V attribute the recall to Theramenes, indicating probably that both men were behind the move, and confirming the suggestion that their purposes were at this time similar. Neither writer says Theramenes made the motion. Diodorus says Theramenes *μόνος συνεβούλευσε*, while Nepos says "suffragante Theramene."

¹⁶²*Lycocrites* 113.

¹⁶³Because he says that Aristarchus and Alexicles (both of whom had fled) were put to death for undertaking a defense.

¹⁶⁴Lysias (*Ératosthenes* 66) tells us that the moderates were motivated by a jealousy of *Πείσανδρον μὲν καὶ Κάλλαισχρον καὶ ἑτέρους*. This seems to indicate that Callaeschrus was an extreme oligarch. If so, perhaps he fled and his position told against his son (or brother?) later. See *infra*.

¹⁶⁵*De Myst.* 75-78.

¹⁶⁶Aristotle, *Rhetoric* I, 15, 13.

CRITIAS

ἐνθάδε γένοιτο.¹⁶⁷ It is impossible to make out clearly what was happening in Thessaly. That "Prometheus" is a nickname or surname of Jason or Lycophron of Pherae seems probable. Plutarch¹⁶⁸ tells a story of a man who, with intent to kill the Thessalian Prometheus, struck him with a sword, thus slashing a tumor and saving his victim's life. Cicero,¹⁶⁹ and Pliny,¹⁷⁰ and Valerius Maximus,¹⁷¹ tell the same tale about Jason. In a struggle between the *Many* and the *Few* Archelaus of Macedon (413-399), whose ambitions included all Thessaly, was called in by the Few. In 404 Lycophron of Pherae, also desiring to master all Thessaly, defeated the Larissaeans and all who opposed him.¹⁷² Archelaus invaded Larissa and massacred the commons. The sequence and inter-relation of these events are inexplicable. Certainly "Prometheus" was not aiming at a democracy, but Theramenes is making the charge before an oligarchic tribunal, and no more effective charge could have been made. Probably he understood the Thessalian situation no better than we do.

According to Plato¹⁷³ it was Gorgias who influenced the Larissaeans to add a love of philosophy to the other traits for which they were famous among the Greeks—horsemanship and luxury. It seems that Critias' former teacher, at that time a guest of the Aleuadae, continued his former influence. Critias' dual interest in philosophy and politics would draw him into the factional strife.¹⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the Hellespont had been reopened and, as a consequence, state pay resumed in Athens. Quite reasonable peace terms proffered by Sparta after Cyzicus had been rejected through Cleophon's influence. Alcibiades, after four years of successful military operations, had returned to Athens, misconstrued the temper of the people into a personal triumph for himself, and had been appointed commander-in-chief with Adeimantus and Aristocrates as associates of his own choice. While the democracy ruled in Athens, the moderates ruled the fleet.

In 406 Alcibiades, after many months of inactivity, followed by a few petty successes, the inexplicable raid on Cyme, and the

¹⁶⁷Xenophon, *Hellen.* II, 3, 36.

¹⁶⁸*Moralia* 89 C.

¹⁶⁹*De Natura Deorum* III, 28.

¹⁷⁰*Nat. Hist.* VII, 51.

¹⁷¹I, 8 ext 6.

¹⁷²Xenophon, *Hellen.* II, 3, 4.

¹⁷³*Meno* 70.

¹⁷⁴Is it significant that Aristippus, who was decidedly influenced by Gorgias (Plato, *Meno* 70) was later hard pressed by his political opponents and obtained from Cyrus money to maintain his troops against the time when Cyrus should need them against Artaxerxes (Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 1, 10)? It looks as if the influence of Gorgias continued to operate in the factional strife in Thessaly.

CRITIAS

defeat of his pilot at Notium, was deprived of his command and went into voluntary exile in the Thracian Chersonese. The democrats had won again. In the elections ten democratic generals were chosen under the command of Conon.

The victory of the democratic generals at Arginusae was a blow not only to Sparta but to the moderate party. Theramenes, again working energetically for Alcibiades' recall, scored a triumph in the condemnation *en bloc* of the democratic generals. Critias' charge later that Theramenes accused them to save his own life is only partly true. Whether the generals charged and Theramenes and Thrasybulus counter-charged to save themselves, or whether the charge was the trierarchs' and the counter-charge the generals' is of little matter here. (There is no evidence of the former.) What matters is that it was in part, at least, a political maneuver with the moderates winning the throw. The democratic nominees (such as returned to Athens to stand trial) were executed. Adeimantus and Theramenes were again chosen generals, but this time Theramenes' victory was dampened by his failure at the *δοκιμασία*.

That he was not discouraged we can guess from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, produced in 405. There is obvious agitation in Athens for the recall of Alcibiades¹⁷⁵ and a very solemn plea for the removal of the *ἀτιμία* still in force against members of the Four Hundred.¹⁷⁶ The democratic control, however, remained. The only moderate general elected to replace the victors of Arginusae was Adeimantus, and once more peace terms on the basis of the status quo were rejected.

Then came Aegospotami. The *ἀτιμία* was removed and an internal amnesty was declared. Cleophon's failure to comprehend the situation—with the entire Peloponnesian force (except the Argives) encamped at the very gates of Athens and a fleet of 150 triremes blocking up the Saronic Gulf—proved his undoing. Gradually the moderates took control, first in the army, then in the *βουλή*. At this point Theramenes stepped in. His three-month conference with Lysander not only brought the citizens to an understanding of the situation but allowed him to make all preparations with Lysander for an oligarchic government. When Theramenes returned to Athens, Cleophon had been executed, and Theramenes was enabled to carry the humiliating but inevitable peace terms in the ecclesia.

There is here, of course, no question of betrayal. Athens, with only a shadow of an army and navy, locked up within her walls without a possible source of food, was in no position to dictate terms. Cleophon's refusal to allow the Spartan terms to be con-

¹⁷⁵693 ff.

¹⁷⁶686 ff.

CRITIAS

sidered was sheer stupidity,¹⁷⁷ a hectic flush of courage to conceal his own defeat. It is untrue that Theramenes betrayed the city to Lysander.¹⁷⁸ He merely allowed the conditions of a siege to become operative.¹⁷⁹

With the surrender of the walls, the democrats were completely discredited and the cry for a constitutional revision was taken up. The return of the exiles (a provision of the treaty) gave the party efficient leaders. Among them was Critias, who now returned to Athens bearing in his soul a "glühenden Durst nach Rache an seinen politischen Feinden, Hass und Verachtung gegen den Pöbel der so lange in Athen ohne Schranken geherrscht hatte Zum Staatsmanne fehlte ihm die Kraft ein leidenschaftliches Naturell zu beherrschen."¹⁸⁰ The bitterness of confiscation and exile had added force to a previously held faith in the rule of the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*; the situation in Thessaly had vitalized his sophistic theory of the right of the strong. Philostratus repeats the story that he was demoralized by the luxury of the Thessalians, but adds that "Κριτίας ἂν εἴη Θετταλοῦς διεφθορῶς μᾶλλον ἢ Κριτίαν Θετταλοῖ."¹⁸¹

It is easy to deplore the foolhardiness of the democrats, easier to condemn the ruthless tyranny of the Thirty. In doing both we forget not only the bitter humiliation of the people, the thorough depletion of the treasury, the famine and devastation, but the feverish hatreds, despair, and hysteria, the futile charges of responsibility for a *fait accompli*, that ensued. The oligarchs and moderates alike looked upon the tragic wreckage of a great state as the work of a democracy they had never believed in, and saw no hope for the future except in an application of their own principles. "It is too often forgotten that among the Thirty 'Tyrants' were men of strong religious principles. The democratic writers of Athens loved to depict them as mercenary butchers, but it is plain from the casual testimony of Lysias that they looked upon themselves as moral reformers. 'They said that it was their business to purge the city of wicked men, and turn the rest of the

¹⁷⁷Bury, p. 504—"It was folly to resist, yet the Athenians resisted. The demagogue Cleophon, who had twice hindered the conclusion of peace when it might have been made with honor, . . . now hindered it again when it could be made only with humiliation. An absurd decree was passed that no one should ever propose to accept such terms (demolition of the Long Walls for a length of ten stades). But the danger was that such obstinacy would drive the enemy into insisting on an unconditional surrender; for the situation was hopeless."

¹⁷⁸Theramenes was never guilty of betrayal to Sparta. His blind partisanship of Alcibiades and his victories, and his break with the Four Hundred over the fort at Eetioneia are strong evidence on his side.

¹⁷⁹The charge of betrayal at Aegospotami is not only unproved but improbable. The case is too well put by Gilbert, *Beiträge* Ch. III, p. 390-393, to need paraphrase here.

¹⁸⁰Beloch, *Attische Politik* Ch. 6, p. 93-4.

¹⁸¹*Vit. Sophist.* 1, 16.

CRITIAS

citizens to righteousness and self-restraint."¹⁸² Such passages read like quotations from men who would inaugurate a 'rule of saints', and if their severities surpassed those of the English Puritans, they were themselves outdone by the cruelty which sternly moral leaders of the French Revolution not only condoned but initiated. Critias was the Athenian Robespierre. But the one revolution was the reverse of the other. The regime of the Thirty was a last violent effort of the Athenian oligarchs to stem the tide of ochlocracy, to induce some self-discipline into the freedom of Athens. They failed, and Critias was justified on the field of Chaeroneia."¹⁸³

The seeds of ruin lay in the fact that the government was again a coalition. Moderates and oligarchs held in common these general principles, but in motive, in practice, in specific means to the desired end there was great variance. The moderate platform was now as in 411 a) a citizenship limited to the hoplite census, b) election of officials, c) no state pay, and d) concentration of power in the hands of the intelligent few. At an assembly held at Colonus and in Lysander's presence thirty men were chosen to rule the city and ten the Piraeus; of the former Critias, Theramenes, and Charicles were the leaders, of the latter, Charmides, Critias' young cousin.¹⁸⁴ In an attempt to prevent a recurrence of the outcome of the first oligarchy a Lacedaemonian garrison was installed in the Acropolis. Critias felt that only force could support a form of government discarded a century earlier, and that only known supporters of the regime should remain in Athens. Thrasybulus and Anytus fled; Leon and Niceratus were executed.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸²*Eratosthenes* 5.

¹⁸³Norwood, *Greek Tragedy* Ch. 1, p. 29.

¹⁸⁴For Charmides' political talents and Socrates' encouragement of them see Xenophon, *Memorabilia* III, 7.

¹⁸⁵That Socrates was a moderate is here definitely proved. Although he fought the injustice of the Arginusae affair, he remained in Athens during the entire rule of the Thirty and never joined the patriots at Phyle. "The inference from this is plain: he agreed with many and most of the principles of the educated party—the *καλοί*—and, upon the whole, preferred an aristocracy of talent and knowledge to the old constitution of his country; and, though he made a courageous effort to save the head of the party, Theramenes, from the vengeance of his great rival, and would, no doubt, have contributed what he could to give a blow to the schemes of Critias and Charmides, he preferred his own Girondist theories to the revived democracy which succeeded the downfall of the oligarchs; and the knowledge of this, coupled with the belief, however erroneous, that he was still a mischievous agent of the middle-class party, not unnaturally induced Anytus, one of the leaders of the party of Thrasybulus, to indict him before the popular tribunal, and led the Athenians to involve themselves in the crime and disgrace of persecuting intolerance." (Müller, *Geschichte Gr. Litt.* (Donaldson) Vol. II, p. 165). Socrates had, as is well-known, refused to participate in the arrest of Leon. Diogenes Laertius, II, 24.

CRITIAS

Matters were getting quickly out of Theramenes' hands. Whether as his enemies said, he foresaw that an oligarchy based on Critias' theories could not last and opposed it in the hope of saving himself at the restoration of the democracy, or whether he was merely standing on his frequently asserted moderate principles, we cannot tell. It is, of course, the fate of any middle party to be ground between the extremes and to be accused of democratic principles by the oligarchs and of oligarchic leaning by the democrats. Both accusations are true. Neither in 411 nor in 404 did he change parties. In trying to maintain an equilibrium of the political see-saw, he was not unnaturally tumbled into the laps of the sunken democrats when the oligarchic end swung to its dizzy heights. He knew that he was farther removed from the ultra-oligarchs than from the democrats. He could not continue without endangering his political future. He had to risk a break with the extremists. That he openly opposed them is proof enough of his courage.

To the removal of men known to be hostile to oligarchy Theramenes made no objection, but soon the list was swollen by the names of men who had been influential with the democracy but were doing no harm to the aristocrats. The bankrupt government began to find the necessary funds through confiscation, the citizenship was limited to the arbitrary number of three thousand, and every one else was disarmed. All these moves Theramenes opposed on the ground that they were unworthy of those who styled themselves "the best citizens."

Critias saw that there was nothing to do but rid himself of this man and his tiresome scruples before he became the center of reactionary efforts. *καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γιγνομένας, ὁπότεροι τὰ πράγματα πράξουσι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρξουσιν.*¹⁸⁶

Secretly arming his attendants, Critias summoned the *βουλὴ*. If possible, he wanted this matter carried in accordance with legal form. He began¹⁸⁷ with the premise that all revolutions must rest on force and the consequent necessity of removing all hostility. Then he bluntly accused Theramenes of hostility to the government, a hostility the latter had not felt at the beginning but had adopted to save himself in case of failure of the oligarchy. Critias pointed to 411 and 406 as proof that Theramenes turned his coat to save himself, and concluded with a demand for his condemnation.

Theramenes defended himself against the Arginusae charge as he had done earlier, adding that Critias knew nothing of the matter since he was at that time in Thessaly, fomenting revolu-

¹⁸⁶Lysias, *Eratosthenes* 51.

¹⁸⁷I am following the account of Xenophon in the *Hellen.* II, 3, 24-56.

CRITIAS

tion and arming serfs against masters. He commented on the injustice of the death of the democratic generals, Leon and Niceratus, and pointed out that the Lacedaemonian garrison, the disarming of the populace, and the driving of men like Thrasybulus into exile was merely weakening their cause, while infuriating and strengthening the opposition. He admitted the "buskin" characteristic, interpreted as the "middle of the road" policy directed equally against those οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ . . . οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννείσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν.

His very clear and reasonable statement of his moderate creed was approved by the βουλή, but Critias, stung to fury by the reference to his exile, and determined not to be frustrated, responded by taking the decision out of the hands of the βουλή. Since they alone could condemn a citizen, but the word of the Thirty was law concerning the disenfranchised, Critias struck Theramenes' name from the citizen-roll, and, in the name of the Thirty, condemned him to death.¹⁸⁸ Theramenes' effort to save himself by seeking sanctuary at the altar and the efforts of Socrates or Isocrates¹⁸⁹ to save him were of no avail.

The story told by Xenophon¹⁹⁰ and repeated by Cicero¹⁹¹ of his death is dramatic enough to bear repetition here. In the fashion of comrades at a symposium, he flung out the final drops of the hemlock in a toast to Critias: "Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ"—Propino hoc pulchro Critiae!"¹⁹²

At about the same time Critias disposed of the other great moderate, Alcibiades. Both Plutarch¹⁹³ and Nepos¹⁹⁴ attribute the

¹⁸⁸This juggling act to avoid an illegal process appears in another version in Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XXXVII and is redated after the occupation of Phyle by Thrasybulus. Aristotle states that a law was passed denying citizenship to any who had participated in the demolition of the fort at Eetioneia or in any way opposed the Four Hundred. Theramenes, of course, lost his citizenship by either process. Xenophon's version is preferred because Aristotle misplaces the disarming of the disenfranchised and the arrival of the Lacedaemonian garrison. For a discussion of this question see Busolt, *Aristoteles oder Xenophon?* in *Hermes* XXXIII, p. 71.

¹⁸⁹Diodorus, XIV, 5 says Socrates, pseudo-Plutarch (*Vita X Orat.* 836) says Isocrates. If it was Socrates, we have an additional motive for Critias' opposition to him. See infra. The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs* (541) makes Isocrates the pupil of Theramenes.

¹⁹⁰*Hellen.* II, 3, 56.

¹⁹¹*Tusculans* I, 40, 96. Cicero was deeply moved by the story. "Quam me delectat Theramenes, quam elato animo est! Etsi enim flemus, cum legimus, tamen non miserabiliter vir clarus emoritur. . . . Lusit vir egregius extremum spiritum, cum iam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret, vereque ei, cui venenum praebiberat, mortem eam auguratus, quae brevi consecuta est."

¹⁹²For the custom see Chap. 2.

¹⁹³*Alcibiades* XXXVIII.

¹⁹⁴*Alcibiades* X.

CRITIAS

move to Critias, who convinced Lysander that so long as Alcibiades lived he could not hope for the permanence of the Athenian oligarchy.

Critias' prohibition of teaching the art of words brings to an end in a manner both absurd and tragic the association of Critias and Socrates.¹⁹⁵ Socrates, who was among the Three Thousand, remarked in his sadly wise way that, although it was strange that a herdsman who let his cattle decrease and rot would not admit being a poor herdsman, yet it was stranger still that a statesman who let his citizens decrease and deteriorate should not admit being a poor statesman.

Shortly thereafter Critias, flanked by Charicles¹⁹⁶ to do the talking, summoned Socrates and forbade him to hold any conversation with young men. Socrates in gentle irony reverted to this method of innocent inquiry. How the conversation must have carried Critias back to happier days! We can at least rejoice that he had the grace to remain silent through most of the conversation.

First Socrates wants an age limit set. Charicles sets it. He may not converse with anyone under thirty.

"If I wish to buy something, I may not inquire the price if the salesman is under thirty?"

"Oh yes, you may do that, but you must not go around asking questions to which you know the answers."

"If a youth asks me 'Where does Charicles live?' or 'Where is Critias?', I am not to answer?"

"Oh yes, you may do that."

Socrates is at the old game of dialectic, and has cornered his prey nicely. Critias, seeing Charicles' helplessness at this game breaks in,

"You must quit talking about butchers and bakers and candlestick makers; you've worn them thin."

"Yes," rejoins Charicles, "and herdsmen too,—or the cattle *will* decrease."

Now, says Xenophon, the truth was out. The remark of Socrates had been repeated to Critias. He had his vengeance both for it and for Socrates' earlier remark about the pigs.¹⁹⁷

In so far as he was able, Critias had silenced all opponents. There remained the exiles. These had been taken in by Argos, Megara, Boeotia, and Euboea in generous defiance of a decree from Sparta, and had been provided, as Theramenes had foreseen, with a capable leader in Thrasybulus, whose prestige was only increased by the fact that he was known not to be a radical democrat. Their chief danger, Spartan intervention, they removed

¹⁹⁵The story is told by Xenophon in *Memorabilia* I, 2.

¹⁹⁶One of the inquisitors in 415 and general in 413.

¹⁹⁷See *supra*.

CRITIAS

by cleverly enlisting the aid of Pausanias and using his dislike and jealousy of Lysander.

Thrasybulus moved his ever-increasing band to Phyle. The Thirty marched out against him with the entire citizen body and the Knights,¹⁹⁸ were defeated in a skirmish and prevented by a snow-storm from blockading Phyle. Thrasybulus also routed a force sent out to hamper his movements. The double defeat showed the Thirty that "their measure of iniquity had become full."¹⁹⁹ By a final mass execution they seized Eleusis as a refuge, but thereby alienated more irretrievably many of their partisans. Thus encouraged, Thrasybulus moved his force to the Piraeus, whither the entire military force of Athens now proceeded. Unable to hold the whole town, since the walls, of course, had been dismantled as a provision of the treaty, Thrasybulus massed his troops on the hill of Munychia. Against the enemy's superior force and equipment he had the advantage of the steep ascent. In the battle that followed, the exiles were victorious and among the slain²⁰⁰ were Charmides, head of the Piraeus oligarchs, and Critias. "In secundo proelio cecedit Critias, dux tyrannorum, cum quidem adversus Thrasybulum fortissime pugnaret."²⁰¹ "Beim Sturz der Oligarchie durch Thrasybul sühnte Critias seine Vergehen, indem er im Kampf für die Sache starb, für die er gelebt hatte."²⁰² If the scholiast on Aeschines, I, 39 is correct, on the death of Critias the Thirty set up a monument showing *ὀλιγαρχίαν δαίδα κατέχουσαν καὶ ὑφάπτουσαν Δημοκρατίαν*, and wrote thereon the distich:

μνήμα τόδ' ἐστ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἱ τὸν κατάρατον
δῆμον Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγον χρόνον ὕβριος ἔσχον.

¹⁹⁸Xenophon's words (*Hellen.* II, 4, 2) seem to imply that the knights were not of the Three Thousand. Or should he have said the Three Thousand and the garrison?

¹⁹⁹Grote, Vol. 8, p. 230.

²⁰⁰Xenophon, *Hellen.* II, 4, 19.

²⁰¹Nepos, *Thrasybulus* II, 7.

²⁰²Nestle, *Die Vorsokratiker* p 96.

CHAPTER II

CRITIAS AS POET

In his works, as in his life and character, Critias became the victim of a strange irony. A half century of life was so heavily outweighed and overshadowed by the last few mad months that it is upon the latter his reputation rests. The bulk of ancient criticism not only refers to a type of work now lost to us completely but emphasizes qualities neither easily found nor well illustrated in the seventy-four fragments spared to us.

The list of works ascribed to him suggests a literary versatility exceedingly rare among classic Greek authors. His works present us with a curious combination of conventional adherence to a mode with bold departures into new forms and provinces. That his writings extend over a considerable portion of his life is indicated by a certain inconsistency—which is not strange if we consider that the earlier ones should show the gentleman-thinker and friend of Socrates, while the later ones must reflect the ruthless cynicism of the “tyrant.”

Critical discussions of his style are found in the writings of Flavius Philostratus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Phrynichus the Sophist, Hermogenes, and Cicero. Most of these refer to his orations. I shall begin with a bare statement of these passages; then I shall quote and translate the fragments, classified into groups, examining each group separately, and reserving a general discussion until the end.

I should also state that the numbering of the fragments of Critias' work is my own, that of Diels in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* appearing in Arabic numerals within parentheses. I have removed from Diels' list all passages which give the context without the actual words and have relegated these to my discussion, where in every case I have indicated their numbering by Diels.

For modern discussions of Critias as author see:

Williamowitz—*Platon* Book I, p. 117 ff.

Nestle—*Die Vorsokratiker*, p. 96 ff.

Blass—*Attische Beredsamkeit*, Vol. I, p. 263 ff.

Ancient Criticisms

A: Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist.*, I, 16 (Critias).

Τὴν δὲ ιδέαν τοῦ λόγου δογματίας ὁ Κριτίας. Καὶ πολυγνώμων σεμνολογῆσαί τε ἰκανώτατος οὐ τὴν διθυραμβώδη σεμνολογίαν, οὐδὲ καταφεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κυριωτάτῳ συγκειμένην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βραχυλογοῦντα, ἰκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς καθαπτόμενον ἐν ἀπολογίας ἦθει ἀπτικίζοντά τε οὐκ ἀκρατῶς, οὐδὲ ἐκφύλως—τὸ γὰρ ἀπειρόκαλλον ἐν τῷ ἀπτικίζειν βάρβαρον—ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀκτίνων αἰγαὶ τὰ Ἀπτικά ὀνόματα διαφαίνεται τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως δὲ χωρίῳ προσβαλεῖν Κριτίου ὄρα, τὸ παραδόξως μὲν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, παραδόξως δ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι Κριτίου ἄγῶν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πνεῦμα ἑλλιπέστερον μὲν, ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ λεῖον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Ζεφύρου ἢ αὔρα

B: Flavius Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, II, 1 (Herodes Atticus).

Ἡ δὲ ἄρμονία τοῦ λόγου ἰκανῶς κεκολασμένη καὶ ἡ δεινότης ὑφέρπουσα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκειμένη κρότος τε σὺν ἀφελείᾳ καὶ κριτιάζουσα ἡχῶ καὶ ἔννοια οἷαι μὴ ἐτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθῆναι κωμική τε εὐγλωττία οὐκ ἐπέσακτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ἡδὺς ὁ λόγος καὶ πολυσχήματος καὶ εὐσχήμων καὶ σοφῶς ἐξαλλάττων τὸ πνεῦμά τε οὐ σφοδρόν, ἀλλὰ λεῖον καὶ καθεστικὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπίπαν ιδέα τοῦ λόγου χρυσοῦ ψῆγμα ποταμῷ ἀργυροδίῃ ὑπαύγαζον. προσέκειτο μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τῷ δὲ Κριτία καὶ προστετεθήκει καὶ παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐς ἡθῆ Ἑλλήνων τέως ἀμελαίμενον καὶ περιοριώμενον.

C: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *de Lysia* 2.

(Αυσίας) καθαρὸς ἐστὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν πάνυ καὶ τῆς Ἀπτικῆς γλώττης ἄριστος κανὼν οὐ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἢ κέχρηται Πλάτων τε καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἀλλὰ τῆς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιχωριαζούσης ὡς ἐστὶ τεκμήρασθαι τοῖς τε Ἀνδοκίδου λόγοις καὶ τοῖς Κριτίου καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς.

D: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *de Isaeo* 20.

Τῶν μὲν δὴ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγωγὴν κοσμουμένων ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα (Ἰσαῖον) διαφορώτατον ἡγησάμενος, οὐκ ἔτι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡξίωσα μακρολογεῖν καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον τὸν χρόνον· τῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς ῥητορικῶν λόγους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐναγώνιον ἀσκούντων ῥητορικῆν, ὧν ἐγένετο Ἀντιφῶν τε ὁ Ῥαμνούσιος καὶ Θρασύμαχος ὁ Καλχηδόσιος καὶ Πολυκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Κριτίας τε ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα ἄρξας καὶ Ζώϊλος ὁ τὰς καθ' Ὀμήρου συντάξεις καταλιπὼν καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοί τινες οὐδένα ἡγούμενος οὔτε ἀκριβέστερον οὔτε χαριέστερον γεγονέναι Λυσίου. . . . Θρασύμαχος δὲ καθαρὸς μὲν καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ δεινὸς εὐρεῖν τε καὶ εἰπεῖν στοργγύλως καὶ περιπτῶς ὃ βούλεται, πᾶς δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τεχνογραφικοῖς καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῖς δικανικοῖς δὲ ἢ συμβουλευτικοῖς οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπε λόγους· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ Κριτίου καὶ περὶ Ζωΐλου τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

CRITIAS

E: Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, II 388, p. 401.

ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς ἰδέας ἐστὶ ταύτης καὶ ὁ Κριτίας· διὸ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον εὐθὺς περὶ Κριτίου λεξόμενον. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος σεμνὸς μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ Ἀντιφῶντι καὶ διηρμένος πρὸς ὄγκον καὶ τὰ πολλὰ λέγων ἀποφαντικῶς, καθαρώτερος δὲ τὴν λέξιν, καὶ ὅτε παραβάλλοι διευκρινῶν, ὥστε εἶναι καὶ σαφῆς ἅμα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ εὐκρινῆς. ἔχει δὲ πολλαχού καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Δημηγορικοῖς Προομιῖοις καὶ τὸ ἀληθινόν τε καὶ πιθανόν. ἐπιμελῆς δὲ ὢν οὐ μετρίως ὅμως οὐχ ἀπλῶς χρῆται τῷ τοιούτῳ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα προσκόρως καὶ σαφῆ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἔχοντι ἀλλ' ὥστε μετέχειν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀληθοῦς. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τοῦ ἥθους εἶδεν οὐ σφόδρα τι χρῆται οἷον ἐπιεικείαι ἢ ἀφελείαι ἢ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

F: Phrynichus (Plotius, *Bibl.* 158, p. 101b Bekk).

εἰλικρινοῦς δὲ καὶ καθαροῦ καὶ Ἀττικοῦ λόγου κανόνας καὶ στάθμας καὶ παράδειγμά φησιν ἄριστον Πλάτωνά τε καὶ Δημοσθένην μετὰ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ τῶν ἐννέα χωρῶν, Θουκυδίδην τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντα καὶ Αἰσχύνην τὸν Λυσανίου τὸν Σωκρατικόν, Κριτίαν τε τὸν Καλλαίσχρον καὶ Ἀντισθένην.

G: Cicero, *Brutus* 29.

Huic aetati supparet Alcibiades, Critias, Theramenes quibus temporibus quod dicendi genus viguerit ex Thucydidi scriptis, qui ipse tum fuit, intellegi maxime potest: grandes erant verbis crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob rem ipsam causam interdum subobscuri.

H: Cicero, *De Oratore* II, 23.

Antiquissimi fere sunt, quorum quidem scripta constant, Pericles atque Alcibiades, et eadem aetate Thucydides; subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiis magis quam verbis abundantes: non potuissent accedere, ut unum esset omnium genus, nisi aliquem sibi proponerent ad imitandum. Consecuti sunt hos Critias, Theramenes, Lysias: multa Lysiae scripta sunt, nonnulla Critiae, de Theramene audimus: omnes etiam tum retinebant illum Periclis succum, sed erant paulo uberiore filo.

CRITIAS

FRAGMENTS—Hexameter and Elegiac:

- I (1) ^(Ἀνακρεόντιος Παιὶς, VIII, 600A)
 τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ἤδ' ἄς
 ἦδ' ἄς Ἀνακρεόντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνήγεν,
 συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπειμα,
 αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἦδ' ἄς ἄλυπον.
 οὐ ποτέ σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὔτε θανείται
 ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσιν
 παῖς διαπομπεύῃ, προπόσεις ἐπὶ δεξιὰ νομῶν,
 παινήχιδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
 πλάστιγξ θ' ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι καθίζῃ
 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου ψακάδεσσιν. ἢ
 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου ψακάδεσσιν. 10

“Teos brought into Greece Anacreon, that delightful weaver of songs of old in womanish strains, rouser of revels, deceiver of women, rival of the flutes, lover of the lyre, the sweet one who brings release from pain. Nor shall love of you grow old or die, so long as slave boy shall carry round in cups the water mixed with wine, dealing out toasts to the right, so long as maiden-bands attend the holy night-festivals, so long as the scale, daughter of bronze, sits aloft on the very summit of the cottabus, a target for the drops of wine.”

I:

- (1) τόν σε (Meineke).
 (5) (σου)—τοῦ (G. Hermann).
 οὔτε—οὔδ' (Edmonds).
 (9) πλάστιξ A.
 καθίζει A.
 καθίζει E.
 (10) ὑψηλοῦ—ὑψηλῇ (Wilamowitz).
 κορυφαῖς, Βρομίου ψακάδεσσιν [βαλλομένη] Kaibel.
 If the sentence is complete, κορυφαῖς seems a gloss of ἄκραισι—
 in its place τέκμαρ or ὄροφῇ—Diels.

II (2)—(Athenaeus, *Epist.* I.)

κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονός, ἐκπρεπὲς ἔργον, ὄν σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα· εἶτα δ' ὄχος Σικελὸς κάλλει δαπάνη τε κράτιστος	
Θεσσαλικὸς δὲ θρόνος, γυίων τρυφερωτάτη ἔδρα· εὐναίου δὲ λέχους (ἔξοχα) κάλλος ἔχει	5
Μίλητός τε Χίος τ' ἔναλος πόλις Οἰνοπίωνος. Τυρσηνὴ δὲ κρατεῖ χρυσότυπος φιάλη καὶ πᾶς χαλκὸς ὅτις κοσμεῖ δόμον ἐν τινι χρείᾳ. Φοίνικες δ' εὖρον γράμματ' ἀλεξίλογα·	10
Θήβη δ' ἄρματοέντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρώτη, φορτηγούς δ' ἀκάτους Κᾶρες ἄλὸς ταμίαι. τὸν δὲ τροχὸν γαίας τε καμίνου τ' ἔκγονον εὖρεν κλεινότατον κέραμον, χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον, ἢ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι καταστήσασα τρόπαιον.	15

“From the Sicilian land comes that remarkable piece of work, the cottabus, which we set up as a mark for the throwing of the wine-drops. Sicilian too is the cart that is most beautiful and most precious. Thessalian is the armchair, that seat most luxurious for the limbs, while Miletus and Chios, Oenopion’s city by the sea, own the beauty of the couch. The best gold-wrought bowl is Etruscan, as is everything bronze that adorns the house for any use. The Phoenicians invented the alphabet, which protects reasonable discourse. Thebes first put together the chariot, and the Carians, stewards of the sea, merchant-ships. But the wheel and the child of earth and kiln, the world-renowned pot, that useful housekeeper, are the invention of her who set up the beautiful trophy at Marathon.”

II:

- (1) ἐστὶ missing p. 28.
ἔργον 666—εἰς ἔργον 28.
- (2) ἐς 666—ἐκ 28.
- (3) σικελικὸς AĒ—Σικελὸς (Musurus).
- (4) Sitzler would (incorrectly) insert B6, 6.
- (5) γυῶ Mss—γυίων (Musurus).
- (6) [ἔξοχα] Musurus. κάλλ(ει κῦδ)ος (Kalinka).
- (9) ὅστις Mss—ὅτις Musurus.
- (10) γράμματ' ἀλεξίλογα Mss—Lex Bekk (Gedankenheifer);
λεξίλογα (τὰ τὴν λέξιν λέγοντα) Schweighäuser.
δεξίλογα Dohree.
ἀεξίλογα Meineke.

CRITIAS

III (4)—(Hephaestion 2, 3.)

καὶ νῦν τοῦ Κλεινίου υἱὸν Ἀθηναῖον στεφανώσω
 Ἀλκιβιάδην νέοισιν ὑμνήσας τρόποις·
 οὐ γὰρ πως ἦν τοῦνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἐλεγείῳ·
 νῦν δ' ἐν ἰαμβείῳ κείσεται οὐκ ἀμέτρως.

“And now, singing in new measures, I shall crown Athenian Alcibiades, son of Cleinias. And since it was impossible in any way to fit his name into the elegiac line, I shall put him, still retaining some meter, into an iambic.”

IV (5)—(Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 33.)

γνώμη δ' ἣ σε κατήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν
 εἶπον καὶ γράψας τοῦργον ἔδρασα τόδε.
 σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώττης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κείται

“The decision that brought you back from exile, I uttered it among them all, for I made the motion and I accomplished the fact. And the seal of my tongue is set on these words.”

III:

(1) ἀθηναῖον A 1

IV:

(3) γλώσσης Schäfer.

CRITIAS

V (6)—(Athenaeus, X, 432d)

καὶ τὸδ' ἔθος Σπάρτη μελέτημά τε κείμενόν ἐστι πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἰνοφόρον κύλικα, μήδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομαστὶ λέγοντα, μήδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερὰν χεῖρα κύκλω θιάσου	5
..... ἄγγεα Λυδῆ χεῖρ εὖρ' Ἀσιατογενῆς καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι ἔξονομακλήδην, ᾧ προπιεῖν ἐθέλει.	
εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοιούτων πόσεων γλώσσας τε λύουσιν εἰς αἰσχροὺς μύθους, σῶμά τ' ἁμαυρότερον τειχουσιν· πρὸς δ' ὄμμ' ἀχλὺς ἀμβλωπὸς ἐφίξει, λήστις δ' ἔκτῆκει μνημοσύνην πραπίδων, νοῦς δὲ παρέσφαλται. δμῶες δ' ἀκόλαστον ἔχουσιν ἦθος· ἐπεισπίπτει δ' οἰκοτριβῆς δαπάνη. οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κύροι πίνουσι τοσοῦτον,	10 15

V:

- (5) intercidit haec sententia "contra apud Aethenienses hoc moris est"—Kaibel.
 (6) ἀγγε' ἄ—Dobree.
 ἀγγε' ἄ δὴ ταχύχειρ—Bergk.
 (8) προπιεῖν C.
 προπολεῖν A.
 ἐθέλημι Hartung.
 (9) τε λύουσιν (Musurus).
 τελέουσιν Mss.
 (11) δμμ' Mss.
 δμματ' (G Hermann).
 (12) λῆστις C2.
 λῆσις AC.

CRITIAS

ὥστε φρέν' εἰς ἰλαρὰν ἐλπίδα πάντα ἄγειν
 ἔς τε φιλοφροσύνην γλῶσσαν μέτριόν τε γέλωτα.
 τοιαύτη δὲ πόσις σώματί τ' ὠφέλιμος
 γνώμη τε κτήσει τε· καλῶς δ' εἰς ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης
 πρὸς θ' ὕπνον ἤρμοσται, τὸν καμάτων λιμένα 20
 πρὸς τὴν τερπνοτάτην τε θεῶν θνητοῖς Ὑγίειαν
 καὶ τὴν Εὐσεβίης γείτονα Σωφροσύνην.
 αἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον κυλίκων προπόσεις παρὰ χρῆμα
 τέρψασαι λυποῦσ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.
 ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ δίκαιθ' ὀμαλῶς διάκειται, 25
 ἔσθειν καὶ πίνειν σύμμετρα πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν
 καὶ τὸ πονεῖν εἶναι δυνατοῖς· οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπότακτος
 ἡμέρα οἰνώσαι σῶμ' ἀμέτροισι πότοις.

V:

- (16) ἐλπίδα (Emperius)—ἀσπίδα (Mss).
 πάντα ἄγειν Bergk.
 πάντ' ἀπάγειν (ἀπαγαγεῖν) Mss.
- (21) ὑγείαν Mss.
- (22) Dieterich puts B-7 between 22 and 23 without connecting
 lines or members (see *Brief* 19 Jan., 1908).
- (24) ἅπαντα—(Schneidewein ἔπειτα).
- (26) ἔσθειν (Musurus)—ἔσθειν (Mss).
 Φρονεῖν (Bach)—φανέν (Mss).
- (27) ἀπότακτος C.
 ἀπότακτον ἡμεραι A.

CRITIAS

“This too is an established custom and practice in Sparta, that they drink from the same cup of wine, and not that the one naming the toast gives the cup to his neighbor or passes it around to the right in the circle of the company.

A Lydian hand, Asia-born, invented jars, and passing healths around to the right, and calling out beforehand the name of him whose health is to be drunk. Besides, such drinking loosens tongues for shameful stories, and makes the body vague in its movements; an obscuring mist settles on the eyes; forgetfulness melts away memory from the wits; the mind stumbles. Slaves show an impudent manner, and extravagance falls on the household.

But the Spartan youths drink only so much as to bring all hearts into a gay hopefulness, the tongue into comradeship and moderate mirth. Such drinking profits alike the body, the understanding, and the estate. It beautifully befits the works of Aphrodite and sleep, that harbor from toils, and Health, to mortals the most pleasing of the gods, and Moderation, Piety's neighbor.

For drinking beyond measure from the wine-cup brings immediate pleasure, but distress for all time to come, whereas the Spartan manner lies evenly—to eat and drink measurably so as to be able to think and toil. There is no day appointed for intoxicating the body with unmeasured drinking.”

VI (7)—(Schol. Eurip., *Hippolytus* 264; Diog. L. I, 41)

ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος, Χίλων σοφός, ὃς τάδ' ἔλεξε·
μηδὲν ἄγαν· καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά.

“It was a Lacedaemonian, Chilon the wise, who said: Nothing too much; there is a season for all good things.”

VII (8)—(Plutarch, *Cimon* 10)

πλοῦτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

“The wealth of the Scopads, the generosity of Cimon, the victories of Arcesilaus the Lacedaemonian.”

VIII(9)—(Stobaeus, III, 29, 11)

ἐκ μελέτης πλείους ἢ φύσεως ἀγαθοί.

“More men are made good by practice than by nature.”

VII:

(2) Ἀρκεσίλα—Westerman from Paus. VI, 2, 1.,
Mss—ἀγησίλα, ἀγεσιλάου.

VIII: ἦ (κ) Morel.

CRITIAS

The eulogy of Anacreon is a serviceable piece as illustrating qualities we shall frequently find repeated, and can therefore assume are typical.¹ This is the work not of a seer, but of a poetaster, a versifier of great technical skill and facility. Its form is accurate and careful, following everywhere the customary structure of hexameter verse, following too the customary treatment for such an encomium. The thought is quite formal but easy to follow, lacking complexity and conscious ornamentation. The prosody is strictly according to rule, with no unusual handling of quantity or accent. (Note the hephthemimeral caesura in lines 1 and 9, the predominance of masculine penthemimeral caesura in the remaining lines [4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10] over feminine penthemimeral [2 and 3], the complete absence of hiatus, and the predominance of the dactylic first foot.) The rhythm is smooth but uninspired. The diction is that of daily life and in no sense "poetic." The only figure of speech, *πλάστιγξ θ' ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ*, is striking but not strained. And yet there is an element of the unconventional in the fact that we should have expected to find the piece in elegiac meter. It may be, of course, that in material it is not typical of the entire work, to which the hexameter may have been suitable.

~~It may be, of course, that in material it is not typical of the~~

In view of the episode at the death of Theramenes (chapter I), a word about the cottabus is perhaps not too irrelevant. In its simplest form it consisted of flinging out the final drops of wine so as to strike ringingly against a metal bowl, at the same time uttering a toast. Various complicated forms arose at fashionable symposia; the one here referred to includes a small image (usually floating in a bowl of water) over which was suspended a balance scale. The object was to strike the scale-pan so as to make it strike the image.²

The second fragment too seems to us to be in the wrong form; this didactic list of the characteristic products of various cities would, to modern ears at least, sound better in prose. We find again the same directness and clarity. The only attempts at ornamentation are the descriptive phrases, *ἔναλος πόλις Ὀινοπίωνος* and *ἄλος ταμίαι*, and the periphrasis for Athens in line 15; all three are deft but in no case does the diction soar above that of daily life. The one striking word—if indeed it is correct—

¹Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 203n. thinks this fragment is the work of the elder Critias, whose relations with Anacreon are noted supra, Ch. I. While this is possible, I see no reason for denying it to the Tyrant. Certainly his grandfather's friendship with Anacreon would be to him a source of pride and an appropriate topic for a youthful attempt at poetic eulogy.

²Fragment I is quoted in Athenacus, *Deipnos*. XIII—600d cf. Suetonius *Lud. Hist.* 183.

CRITIAS

is the coined ἀλεξίλογα, sharp and apt, adding a certain pungency to the prosaic flatness of its neighbors. The catalogue effect is heightened by the simple repetition of δέ as a connective.³ The weak spot is line 6, too obviously obeying the necessities of the meter in εἰναίου λέχους.

Both I and II are probably compositions of his young manhood, when Critias was living up to the traditions of his family⁴ and trying his hand at the various accomplishments of the cultured, well-bred Athenian gentleman.

If III and IV are portions of the same work, as I think likely, we have a poem (Hephaestion⁵ refers to III as ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐλεγεία) reflecting not only the early friendship of the two men but the political association into which it grew. The work dates at least after 411, when Critias carried in the ecclesia the removal from Alcibiades of the sentence passed in 415, and probably after May 407, when it may have been a part of the general rejoicing among Alcibiades' friends on his return to Athens. Although now active in politics, Critias has retained his interest in verse composition. But here the unconventional quality is more evident. His daring liberty with the elegiac distich can serve as a commentary on his belief⁶ that the true gentleman carries his law within himself. Of course, Critias did have a precedent for his iambic line; the *Margites* contains an occasional iambic line, Xenophanes has at least one iambic line among his hexameters,⁷ and that great rebel Archilochus composed in "original combinations in which the aristocratic dactyl and the plebeian iambus were strangely mated."⁸ Hephaestion says that the one way by which Critias could have worked Alcibiades' name into the elegiac meter—the contraction of two short syllables into one—ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰρίσκειται μέτροις . . . ἐν δέ τοῖς ἔπεσι σπανίως. It seems that, confronted with the necessity of choosing between two types of metrical irregularity, he rejected a technical point of prosody to err on the side of musical quality.

Besides Archilochus, Critias had read Theognis, who also "sets his seal" on his work by using the name of his friend Cynus.

Κίρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' ὄνποτε κλεπτόμενα.

It seems that Critias means that his use (possibly in an unusual rhythm) of his friend's name will identify his work.

³Athenaeus quotes the entire piece in *Epistle I* and the first distich in *Deipn.* XV 666 B. Photius notes ἀλεξίλογα in A 73.3.

⁴Plato—*Charmides* 156 A.

⁵2, 3 (περὶ συνεκφωνήσεως).

⁶*Infra* Fr. XIX.

⁷Fragment 14.

⁸Rose, *Greek Literature*, p. 90.

CRITIAS

σφραγίς, the Attic form of the word, seems to have meant a signet or seal-ring. Herodotus (I, 195) Aristophanes (*Frogs* 309, *Birds* 560, *Thesm.* 415), and Plato (*Hipp. Maj.* 368 C) use the word in this sense. In the *Frogs* (397) it means public seal of state. Herodotus had also used it to mean the gem or stone of a ring. The law of Solon (Diog. L. I, 57), Sophocles (*Trachiniae* 615), Euripides (*Iphigenia in Aulis* 155), and Thucydides (I, 129) use it to mean the impression of the seal. The metaphorical sense employed by Critias has a shorter history. Theognis (19) uses it as a warrant "*σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω τοῖσδε*". The Palatine Anthology (10, 42) has Critias' own phrase: *γλώσση σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω*. The 34th Orphic Hymn addresses the Creator, *ἄχεις κόσμον σφρηγίδα τυπῶτιν*.

Plutarch,⁹ in introducing IV, implies that Critias hoped his partisanship of Alcibiades would be profitable to him: *ὑπομνηστικῶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην τῆς χάριτος*. This public alignment with his volatile friend bore fruit: Alcibiades brought Critias down with him when he fell from favor in December, 407.

It is Philoponus¹⁰ who tells us that Critias *τὸν γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα μὴδὲ γεγραφέναι ἄλλο τι πλὴν πολιτείας ἐμμέτρους*. This term, "verse constitutions," is, to judge from the extant portions, not a happy one to describe compositions (there are also some in prose) in which Critias relates some small but characteristic peculiarities of the institutions of various Greek states. They seem in reality to be not political works but "travel books" without the practical aim such books have in modern times. In them Critias again appears as the innovator. Certainly Herodotus had a "flair" for such writing, but an entire composition of this type is unheard of before. It is relevant here to anticipate the fragments from prose "constitutions"¹¹ in noting their immediate influence on Xenophon and the more remote one on Plato and Aristotle. The Xenophontic treatise, *On the Constitution of Lacedaemon*, seems to resemble Critias' in method, although there is no trace in the Critias fragments of Xenophon's attribution of all customs and laws to Lycurgus. Critias' influence on Xenophon is seen most clearly in the passage about the Spartiate's custom of always carrying his spear. A comparison of Critias, Fr. XL, with Xenophon XII, 3, will show how closely Xenophon imitated Critias while falling far short of him in clarity. See the discussion *infra*, Fr. XL. Other echoes of Critias are to be found in Xenophon I, 3, 4, 6 on the necessity of healthy parents for healthy children, and V, 4 on moderation in drinking, which is a feeble echo of Critias V. It is evidently from this passage that Xenophon realized the common meals of the Spartiates were a social more than a political or military institution.

⁹*Alcibiades* 33.

¹⁰on Aristotle, *Anima*, 89.8.

¹¹Cf. *infra*, Chap. 5.

CRITIAS

Plato's *Laws* seems to use Critias' rather than Xenophon's account, and while Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* differs from both Critias' and Xenophon's in being really a history of constitutional changes, it still is a member of a train set in motion by Critias. It is, of course, possible, that Critias' work contained definite political material.

Our fragments indicate the alert powers of observation and the absence of provincialism that distinguish the appreciative traveler. That Critias visited Sparta seems indicated; if so, he must have done so between the Peace of Nicias and 415.

An admiration of Spartan simplicity and austerity was, of course, natural among the Athenian conservatives. The excesses induced by the undisciplined freedom of Athenian life repelled especially the aristocratic moderates. And moderation is the theme of this long elegiac fragment. The Socratic ideal appears in its most attractive form, and one is inclined to agree with Xenophon that the young Critias was a man of prudence while still influenced by the wisdom of Socrates. The slight "preachiness" in several places evidences the lofty maxims whereby Athenian youths were encouraged on the paths of virtue.

With this, however, goes a simple but lucid account of the customs of the symposium and a suspiciously vivid and convincing description of the effects of intemperance in drinking.¹²

Fragment VI is probably from the same *Constitution of Lacedaemon* and is again on the theme of moderation.¹³

Reference has already been made to the admiration for Sparta which Critias would naturally acquire from his family and circle of friends and acquaintances. "Vanter ce qu'elles (sc. Spartan customs) avaient de simple et de digne, en embellissant même plus ou moins la réalité était devenu pour eux (sc. the Athenian aristocrats) un lieu commun. Mais les éloges de Critias possèdent un certain caractère qui paraît bien lui appartenir en propre. Les Spartiates sont moins pour lui des modèles de sobriété que de mesure; loin de blâmer comme Platon¹⁴ leur fâcheuse inexpérience de la boisson, il montre qu'ils sont, au contraire, capables d'en faire un usage plein de sagesse."¹⁵

The foregoing quotation leads Ollier to ask, "Is Critias describing the real Sparta?" Critias' company of genial Spartans at a symposium sounds, he thinks, more like "une troupe délicate d'Epicuriens." Is not Critias imputing to the Spartans manners

¹²Athenaeus quotes the passage as *ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις*, *Deip.* X 432 D.

¹³The distich is quoted by the scholiast on Euripides' *Hippolytus*, 264, by Diogenes Laertius, I, 41, and in *Anth. Pal.* IV 122. Chilon was included among the Sages by Dicaearchus and Hermippus.

¹⁴*Laws*, 637 b ff.

¹⁵Ollier, *La Mirage Spartiate*, Chap. VI, p. 171.

CRITIAS

which to him seem ideal rather than admiring the Spartans because they possess them?

Although it would be foolish to deny that Critias, like his fellow *καλοὶ κ'ἀγαθοί*, was inclined to idealize Spartan customs, morals, and even political theories, I cannot go the whole way with Ollier. His phrase "une troupe délicate d'Épicuriens" indicates he envisions a Spartan drinking party somewhat like Plato's or Xenophon's "Symposium." I find nowhere in the fragments a suggestion of delicacy or daintiness. Critias is praising Spartan moderation. Athenian moderates doubtless possessed refined manners and tastes, and doubtless too, Critias hoped they would retain them if the general life at Athens showed more of the Spartan austerity. It is surely to misunderstand Critias to think he is picturing a refined and "Epicurean" life at Sparta for the emulation of Athenians.

Ollier continues that what Critias most admired in Sparta was "la force d'une oligarchie dont le défiance et l'activité ne s'endormaient jamais, et qui savait prévenir ou réprimer durement toute tentative de rébellion. Terroriste, il se jouissait du terrorisme étouffant qui lui paraissait caractériser Sparte."

But this is anticipating, at least so far as the elegies are concerned, for Ollier himself surmises, correctly it seems to me, that "leur ton et leur sujet, qui ne sont pas ceux d'une oeuvre écrite sous l'influence de violentes passions politiques, portent à croire qu'elles étaient antérieures au bannissement de Critias." I doubt that the constitutions, verse or prose, should be made to bear any great political significance. Judged from the extant fragments, they were concerned rather with his traveler's observations of the curious customs of the state. Surely it will not be maintained that the *Constitution of Thessaly* was intended as propaganda for revolution in Athens? Nor was Critias political prophet enough to foresee a time when terror and tyranny would be the handmaidens of a laconized government in Athens. Before 411, he was merely an admirer of Sparta for its moderation, austerity, and tenet of the strong influence of "the best men."

Plutarch¹⁶ relates at length and in detail the large-handed generosity of Cimon to the poor of Athens, and adds that when Critias became one of the Thirty Tyrants he wished for (as we may read)

*πλοῦτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου*

The neatness of the distich is obvious, the parallel structure that of a methodical thinker.

The verse in VIII, attributed to Critias by Stobaeus,¹⁷ is the "pentameter" line of an elegiac distich, and is attributed to the

¹⁶*Cimon* 10.

¹⁷III, 29, 11.

CRITIAS

Constitution of Lacedaemon because it can be construed as praise for a state built rather on strict discipline than on belief in the essential virtue of man. It is a theory which Critias cannot have failed to see in operation in Sparta, and which he attempted to put into practice in Athens in 403. We observe again its neat, epigrammatic character, the skillful placing of the key-words in an even balance at beginning and end.

Critias' poems, then, lack the pointed antithesis and the figures of speech one would have expected in a pupil of Gorgias. His language is plain, with an occasional striking word or phrase. There is no fire or brilliance in his line, but rather a pleasant graciousness. His rhythms are easy, smooth, and unconstrained, his structure orderly and lucid, the frequent asyndeton producing terseness rather than abruptness. His thoughts are usual and sober but dressed in an attractive form. He has talent rather than genius, charm rather than power, and is painstaking rather than creative. For all his versatility and arbitrary disregard of traditional forms, his is an urbane but pedestrian Muse.

CHAPTER III

CRITIAS AS DRAMATIST

FRAGMENTS—Dramatic.

Tennes:

IX (12)—(Stobaeus, III, 2, 15)

φεῖ· οὐδὲν δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ νῦν γένει.

“Alas! There is no just dealing in the race of today.”

Rhadamanthus:

X (13)—(Antiatt, Bekk. 94, 1)

οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμᾶς (ὅστις) ἐξαιρήσεται.

“For there is no one who will deprive us of—.”

XI (14)—(Strabo, VIII, 356)

οἱ γῆν ἔχουσ' Εὐβοίδα πρόσχωρον πόλιν.

“Who hold as their land the neighboring Euboean city.”

XII (15)—(Stobaeus, II, 8, 12; II, 61; IV, 20)

ἔρωτες ἡμῖν εἰσὶ παντοῖοι βίου·

ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν ἰμείρει λαβεῖν,

τῷ δ' οὐχὶ τούτου φροῦίς, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων

πολλῶν κεκληῖσθαι βούλεται πάτωρ δόμοις·

ἄλλῳ δ' ἀρέσκει μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐκ φρενῶν

5

λέγοντι πείθειν τοὺς πέλας τόλμη κακῇ·

οἱ δ' αἰσχρὰ κέρδη πρόσθε τοῦ καλοῦ βροτῶν·

ζητοῦσιν· οὕτω βίος ἀνθρώπων πλάνη.

ἐγὼ (δὲ) τούτων οὐδενὸς χρήζω τυχεῖν,

δόξαν δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν εὐκλείας ἔχειν.

10

“For we have in life all sorts of loves: one longs to have high birth, while another cares nothing for this but wishes to possess

X:

[ὅστις]—van Dam.

XII:

(2) *ἰμείρει* flor. SM.

ἰμέρει A.

ἰμείρεται ecl.

(4) *πάτωρ* Dindorf.

πατήρ Stob. ecl. (II) and flor. (IV), and schol. Euripides, *Orestes*, 1197.

δόμοις—flor.

δ' ὅμως—ecl.

δόμων—schol. Euripides.

(6) *λέγοντα*—ecl.

(9) and (10) missing in flor.

(9) [δὲ] Grotius.

great riches as the owner of estates. No sanity of mind pleases a third who speaks in the spirit of evil daring to persuade his neighbors. Some men seek shameful rather than honest gain. Thus is the life of man all adrift. As for me, I desire none of these, but would rather choose to have a fair repute of glory."

Peirithous :

XIII (16)—Hermogenes (Johannes Diaconos and Gregory of Corinth)

<p>ἔα, τί χρεῖμα ; δέρκομαι σπουδῇ τινα δευρ' ἐγκονοῦντα καὶ μάλ' εὐτόλμῳ φρενί. εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, ὦ ξέν (ε), ὅστις ὦν τόπους εἰς τούσδε χρίμπτη καὶ καθ' ἦντιν' αἰτίαν. οὐδεὶς ὄκνος πάντ' ἐκκαλύψασθαι λόγον·</p>	5
<p>ἐμοὶ πατὴρ μὲν Ἄργος, ὄνομα δ' Ἡρακλῆς, θεῶν δὲ πάντων πατὴρ ἐξέφυγ' Διὸς· ἐμῇ γὰρ ἦλθε μητρὶ κεδνὸν εἰς λέχος Ζεὺς, ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπο. ἦκω δὲ δεῦρο πρὸς βίαν Εὐρυσθέως</p>	10
<p>ἀρχαῖς ὑπέικων, ὅς μ' ἔπεμψ(ε) Ἄιδου κῦνα ἄγειν κελεύων ζῶντα πρὸς Μυκηνίδας πύλας, ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐ θέλων, ἄθλον δέ μοι ἀνήνυτον τόνδ' ὦετ' ἐξηνυκέναι. τοιόνδ' ἰχνεύων πρᾶγος Εὐρώπης κύκλω Ἀσίας τε πάσης ἐς μυχοὺς ἐλήλυθα.</p>	15

(Aeacus speaks) :

"Ha, what is this? I see some one coming here in haste and with quite venturesome spirit. Tell us truly, stranger, who you are that you approach these regions, and why you come."

(Heracles) :¹

XIII:

- (1) ἔα Vat. 2228, and Esc.
 εἶα Vat. 105.
- (4) χρίμπτη Esc. and Vat. 105.
 insert between 4 and 5 missing Vat. 2228.
- (7) θεῶν, Reiske—θεοῦ, Mss.
 δὲ missing in Vat. 2228.
 πατὴρ πάντων Vat. 105.
- (8) ἐμοὶ Vat. 105.
 κεδνὸν εἰς λέχος Dobree.
 κεδνῇ πρὸς λέχος Vat. 2228 and Vind.
 κεδνῇ (without πρὸς λέχος) Vat. 105 and Esc.
- (10) missing in Vat. 105 and Esc.
- (11-16) missing in Vat. 2228.
- (14) ἀνήνυτον Rabe—ἀνήνυστον Vat. 2228.
 Stahl (*Rhein. Mus.*), 63, 1908. 626.—δέδωκεν Rabe; τον δῶκεν ἑξηνυκέναι, Ms;
- (15) Εὐρώπης Rabe—εὐρώπην Vat. 2228.
¹Diels inserts here εἶτα Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς αὐτόν (Nauck, Euripides frag. 591).

“No hesitation shall obscure my speech. Argos is my native land, Heracles my name. I am the son of Zeus, father of all the gods. Zeus came to the dutiful couch of my mother, as has been truthfully told. I come hither under the compulsion of Eurystheus, submitting to his commands; for he has sent me to bring alive to the gates of Mycenae the hound of Hades (although he does not wish to see it!) But he gave me a task which seemed to him a hopeless one. Still, on the track of this exploit I have traveled the circuit of Europe and the innermost recesses of all Asia.”

XIV (17)—(Athenaeus, *Deip.* XI, 496a)

ἵνα πλημοχόας τάσδ' εἰς χθόνιον
χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν.

“That we may pour out these plemochoe into earth's chasm in holy silence.”

XV (18)—(Clem., *Strom.* V, 35; Schol. Aristoph., *Birds* 179)

ἄκάμας τε χρόνος περί τ' ἀενάῳ
ῥεύματι πλήρης φοιτᾷ τίκτων
αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, δίδυμοί τ' ἄρκτοι
ταῖς ὠκυπλάνοις πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς
τὸν Ἀτλάντειον τηροῦσι πόλον.

5

“Untiring Time goes on in an ever-flowing stream, constantly in its fullness reproducing itself, and the Twin Bears of the Northern Sky, with the swift rush of wings, watch over the vault of Atlas.”

XVI (19)—Clem., *Strom.* II, 403.

σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυῆ, τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ
ῥύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ',
ὃν πέρι μὲν φῶς, πέρι δ' ὄρφναία
νύξ αἰολόχρως ἄκριτός τ' ἄστρων
ὄχλος ἐνδελεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει.

5

“O Thou, the Self-creator, Who wove the nature of the universe in aerial whirl, about whom dance continuously light, and dusky spangled night, and the countless throng of the stars.”

XIV:

(2) προχέωμεν Casaubon—προσχέωμεν Ms.

XV:

(1) τ' Schwartz——γ' Ms.

(5) τηροῦσι Clem.

φρουροῦσι Herwerden from Schol. Aristophanes.

XVI:

(1) αὐτοφυᾶ Dindorf.

τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ—πάντων θεῶν αἰθέρα Schol. Apollodorus.

(2) ῥύμβῳ Satyr., Schol. Eur., Ap., Hesych. αἰθέριος ῥύμβος:

ῥόμβῳ Eus. XIII p. 681 B.

ἄμβρω Clem.

XVII (20)—(Plutarch, *De Amic. Mult.* 7, 96C.)

αἰδοῦς ἀχαλκεύτοισιν ἔζευκται πέδαις

“He is bound in fetters not of bronze but of shame.”

XVIII (21)—(Stobaeus, II, 8, 4)

*ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν οὐκ ἀγυμνάστῳ φρενί
ἔρραψεν, ὅστις τόνδ' ἐκαίνισεν λόγον,
ὡς τοῖσιν εὖ φρονοῦσι συμμαχεῖ τύχη.*

“He first spoke with a not untrained mind putting forth the idea, the man who invented the saying that Fate aids the well-disposed.”

XIX (22)—(Stobaeus, III, 37, 15)

*τρόπος δὲ χρηστὸς ἀσφαλέστερος νόμου·
τὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν διαστρέψαι ποτέ
ῥήτωρ δύναιτο, τὸν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
λόγοις ταρύσσων πολλάκις λυμαίνεται.*

“A wholesome character is more stable than a law. For the former no public speaker can distort, but the latter he can turn topsy-turvy and outrage by constant agitation.”

XX (23)—(Stobaeus, IV, 53, 23)

οὐκ οἶν τὸ μὴ ζῆν κρείσσόν ἐστ' ἢ ζῆν κακῶς;

“For it is not true that not to live is better than to live ill?”

XXI (24)—(Euripides, fr. 857)

φήμη τὸν ἐσθλὸν κἂν μυχοῖς δείκνυσι γῆς.

“Report brings to light the good man even in the innermost parts of the earth.”

XXII (24)—(Euripides, fr. 930)

οὐκ· ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔμπνον Ἀΐδης μ' ἐδέξατο.

“No, but Hades took me still breathing.”

XXIII (24)—(Euripides, fr. 392)

*ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν
εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφορῆς τ' ἐβαλλόμεν,
φυγῆς τ' ἑμαυτῷ προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς
θανάτους τ' ἀώρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς,
ἴν' εἴ τι πάσχοιμ' ὦν ἐδόξαζον φρενί,
μή μοι νεῶρες προσπεσὸν μάλλον δάκοι.*

5

“But I, having learned these things from some wise man, took to heart reflections and circumstances, and considered in addition

XVII:

πέδαις Plutarch 482, 533.

πόδας Plutarch 96.

XVIII:

(1) *ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν*—abbreviation of Stobaeus. See Willamowitz *Anal.* Eur. 165.

(3) *τύχη* Menand. monost. 462.

ψυχῆ Stob.

for myself exile from my fatherland, untimely deaths, and other ways of evil, in order that, if I should suffer any of these which I had guessed at, I should not be taken unaware by the bite of evil."

XXIV (24)—(Photius, ἀμήτορος)

Ἄφιδνε Γαίας υἱὲ τῆς ἀμήτορος.

"Aphidnos, son of the Earth that is no mother."

Sisyphus:

XXV (25)—(Sext. Emp. IX, 54; Aetian I, 7, 2)

ἦν χρόνος ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος
καὶ θηριώδης ἰσχύος θ' ὑπέρτης,
ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἄθλον οὔτε τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν ἦν
οὔτ' αὖ κόλασμα τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγένετο.
κᾶπειτά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀνθρωποὶ νόμους 5
θέσθαι κολαστάς, ἵνα δίκη τύραννος ἦ
(ὁμῶς ἀπάντων) τήν θ' ὕβριν δούλην ἔχη·
ἐζημιούτο δ' εἴ τις ἐξαμαρτάνοι.
ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ μφανῆ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
ἀπείργον αὐτοὺς ἔργα μὴ πρᾶσσειν βία 10
λάθρα δ' ἔπρασσον, τηρικαυτά μοι δοκεῖ
(πρῶτον) πυκνός τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ [γινῶναι]
(θεῶν) δέος θνητοῖσιν ἐξευρεῖν, ὅπως
εἴη τι δαίμου τοῖς κακοῖσι, κἂν λάθρα
πρᾶσσωσιν ἢ λέγωσιν ἢ φρονῶσί (τι). 15
ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο,
ὡς ἔστι δαίμων ἀφθίτῳ θάλλων βίῳ,
νόμῳ τ' ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων, φρονῶν τ' ἄγαν
προσέχων τε ταῦτα, καὶ φύσιν θεῖαν φορῶν,

XXV (25):

- (2) θ' missing in N.
(3) ἄθλον Barnes—ἄεθλον Mss.
(7) (γένους βροτείου) Grotius.
(τὴν τ' ἰσχίῳ ἄγχη) Mekler.
ἔχη δούλην Mss.
(10) ἀπείργον Normann, ἀπῆγον Mss.
(11) ἔπρασσον [πολλά] Pierson, ἔπρασσον [ἄδικα] Bach.
(12) [πρῶτον] Enger.—lacuna of 4 letters in N.
πυκνός τις [ἄλλος] Grotius, πυκνός τις [ὁντως] Normann.
[γινῶναι] variant of γνώμην.
(13) δέος θνητοῖσιν N. δὲ δὲ θνητοῖσιν I.E.S.
[θεῶν] δέος Wecklein, γινῶνα θεοῖς Köchly.
ἐξευρεῖν Monac.—ἐξευρῶν Mss.
(15) [τι] Grotius.
(18) δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούει καὶ βλέπει φρονεῖ τ' ἄγαν,
paraphrasing Aetion (Z 10).
τῷ νῶ F. G. Schmidt, τ' ἄγαν Aët., τε καὶ Sext., τ' ἀεὶ Bach.
(19) προσέχων θ' ἑαυτῷ Apelt.—παρέχων τε ταῦτα Gomperz.
προσέχων τὰ πάντα Grotius—συνέχων ἅπαντα Matthiae.

ὄς πᾶν τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκούσεται, 20
 (τὸ) δρώμενον δὲ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.
 εἴαν δὲ σὺν σιγῇ τι βουλευῆς κακόν,
 τοῦτ' οὐχὶ λήσει τοὺς θεοὺς· τὸ γὰρ φρονοῦν
 (ἄγαν) ἔνεστι. τούσδε τοὺς λόγους λέγων 25
 διδαγμάτων ἥδιστον εἰσηγήσατο
 ψευδεῖ καλύψας τὴν ἀλήθειαν λόγῳ.
 ναίειν δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθ' ἵνα
 μάλιστ' ἂν ἐξέπληξεν ἀνθρώπους λέγων,
 ὅθεν περ ἔγνω τοὺς φόβους ὄντας βροτοῖς 30
 καὶ τὰς ὀνήσεις τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ βίῳ,
 ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς, ἵν' ἀστραπὴς
 κατείδεν οὔσας, δεινὰ δὲ κτυπήματα
 βροντῆς τό τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ δέμας,
 Χρόνου καλὸς ποίκιλμα τέκτονος σοφοῦ,
 ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρος στείχει μύδρος, 35
 ὃ θ' ἕγρὸς εἰς γῆν ὄμβρος ἐκπορεύεται.
 τοίους δὲ περιέστησεν ἀνθρώποις φόβους,
 δι' οὓς καλῶς τε τῷ λόγῳ κατόκισεν
 τὸν δαίμον(α) οὐ(τος) κἂν πρέποντι χωρίῳ 40
 τὴν ἀνομίαν τε τοῖς νόμοις κατέσβεσεν.
 οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον οἶομαι πείσαι τινα
 θνητοὺς νομίζειν δαιμόνων εἶναι γένος.

- (20) *ὄς πᾶν* Normann—*ὕφ' οὐ πᾶν μὲν* NLEBV. *ἐφ' οὐ πᾶν μὲν* A.
ὄς δὴ βροτοῖσι πᾶν τὸ μὲν λεχθὲν κλύειν Gomperz.
ἀκούσεται Normann—*ἀκούεται* Mss.
- (21) [τὸ] Normann.
- (22) *σὺν σιγῇ* Mss.—*σιγῇ* N.—*κἂν σιγῇ* Nauck.
- (24) [ἄγαν]
 [θεοῖς] Normann—[τούτοις] Hermann—*ἔνεστι* [παντί] Gomperz.
 —*τούσδε τις λόγους* Musgrave—.
- (25) *διδαγμα* τοι F. G. Schmidt—*μέγιστον* Schmidt—*κέρδιστον* Nauck.
- (26) *καλύψας* Sext.—*καλύψαι* E.—*τυφλώσας* Aet. (320, 10).
- (27) *ναίειν* Pierson—*αιεὶ* Mss.
- (28) *μάλιστ' ἂν* Toup. *μάλιστα* Mss.—*ἐκπλήξειεν* Grotius.
λέγων Grotius—*ἄγων* Mss.
- (30) *ὀνήσεις* Musgrave—*πονήσεις* Mss.
- (32) *κατείδε φύσας* Schmidt.
- (33) *τὸν ἀστε οὐρ σέλας* Aet.
- (34) *χρόνον* Aet.
- (35) *ἀστέρος ἡλίου* Nauck—*διάπιρος* Herwerden.
στίλβει Wecklein, *σπέρχει* Musgrave.
- (36) *εἰσπορεύεται* Grotius.
- (37) *τοιούσδε* Grotius—*τοιούτους δὲ* Mss.—*τοίους* Meineke.
παριέσειεν Diels (4 ed.)—*περιέστησεν* Mss.—*πέριξ ἔστησεν* Meineke.
φόβου στοιχείους Musgrave.
- (38) *τῷ λόγῳ* cf. v. v. 23.26.
- (39) *δαίμον' οὐ* [τος] *κἂν*—*δαίμονα οὐκ ἐν* Mss.
δαίμονα καὶ ἐν ed. Gen.—*δαίμον' οἰκοῦντ' ἐν* Pierson.
- (40) *νόμοις* Mss.—*φόβοις* Schmidt—*βροτοῖς?* Diels.
- (41) *τινας* N.
- (42) *δαιμόνων εἶναι* NLE, *εἶναι δαιμόνων* S.

CRITIAS

“Time was when the life of man was unordered and beast-like, a servant to strength, when there was neither a prize to be won by the good nor punishment devised for the wicked. And then, I think, men established laws as punishment, that right should rule (equally over all) and have insolence enslaved. If any one sinned, he was punished. Then, since the laws restrained men from doing deeds of open violence, but they still did them secretly, then, I think, some man both shrewd and wise conceived for men the fear of the gods, so that evil men might be afraid if, even in secret, they should do or speak or think evil. For this reason, then, he invented divinity—the idea of a divine force, abounding in imperishable life, and, with its mind, hearing, seeing, and thinking everything, and exceeding wise, a force clothed in a divine nature which is sure to hear everything spoken among mortals and is able to see every act done. ‘If, even in silence, you plan some sin,’ he said, ‘your sin will not escape the notice of the gods, for they are exceeding wise.’ By these arguments he introduced this most pleasant of doctrines, concealing the truth with his lying speech. And he said that the gods dwell in that place by the mention of which he would most easily terrify men—that place whence he knew come men’s fears and their profits too in this wretched life—from that revolving vault above, where he saw the lightnings and the dire crashes of thunder, the starry frame of the heavens, the lovely broidery of Time, the wise artificer—that place whence shoots the gleaming mass of the meteor, whence proceeds the moist rain upon the earth. With these fears would he compass men, by means of this discourse he beautifully housed the gods in an appropriate dwelling-place, and extinguished lawlessness by law. And thus, I believe, a man first persuaded mortals to accept the existence of the gods.”

From Unnamed Dramas.

XXVI (26)—Stobaeus, I, 8, 11.

μετὰ τὴν σκὴν τάχιστα γηράσκει χρόνος

“Time grows old almost as fast as does a shadow.”

XXVII (27)—Stobaeus, III, 14, 2.

*ὅστις δὲ τοῖς φίλοισι πάντα πρὸς χάριν
πράσσειν ὁμιλεῖ, τὴν παραυτίχ’ ἡδονὴν
ἔχθραν καθίστησ’ εἰς τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον.*

“Whoever in his associations with his friends does everything he can to please turns present pleasure into future hatred.”

XXVIII 28—Stobaeus, III, 23, 1.

δεινὸν δ’ ὅταν τις μὴ φρονῶν δοκῆ φρονεῖν.

“It is dreadful when one who cannot think, thinks he thinks.”

XXIX (29)—Stobaeus IV, 33, 10.

σοφῆς δὲ πενίας σκαιότητα πλουσίαν
κρείσσον σύννοικόν ἐστιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν;

“Is stupid wealth a better comrade to have in your house than wise poverty?”

The anonymous biographer of Euripides¹ says of the plays *τούτων νοθεύεται τρία*: Τέννης, Ῥαδάμανθος, Πειρίθους. Athenaeus² refers to ὁ τὸν Πειρίθου γραφάς, εἴτε Κριτίας ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος ἢ Εὐριπίδης. It seems, then that even in antiquity there was some doubt about the authorship, some confusion between Euripides and Critias. When we come to discuss the individual plays, we shall get some glimpses of the cause of this confusion and uncertainty. Here it is pertinent to remark that the plays are not Euripidean. Wilamowitz³ has studied the problem carefully. He rejects the Euripidean authorship not only on philological grounds—like *ἐνδελεχῶς*, the use of *Αἴδης* as a Cretic in iambic trimeter, and *πρόσχωρον* “Aeschyle Sophoclique frequens vocabulum ab Euripide constanter vitatum est”—but because the opinions and thoughts are foreign to Euripides. As we shall see in Chapter IV, our fragments show the strong influence of Anaxagoras. Now Euripides, as Welcher⁴ has proved, did not follow Anaxagoras. The poet recognized two elements, earth and aether, and maintained that *οὐρανός τε γαῖα τ’ ἦν μορφή μία*;⁵ Anaxagoras that *ὁμοῦ ἦν τὰ πάντα*, even the opposites are the same. Euripides follows with *ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα*, Anaxagoras with *νόος ἐπελθὼν διέκρινε καὶ διεκόσμησεν*. Diodorus,⁶ who quotes the Euripides fragment, assumes that *ἔοικε δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως οὐδ’ Εὐριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητῆς ὢν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ*. Euripides, says Wilamowitz, “diligenter examinatis priorum philosophorum placitis novam atque suam protulit doctrinam, neque hac laude frustrandus est, quia tragoediis maluit quam pedestri libro quae sentiret exponere Atque ab Anaxagora quidem id mutuatus est, mixtione quadam omnes huius mundi res notas esse. At mixtionem longe aliam esse voluit—omnibus corporibus unam subesse credidit ἀρχήν, eamque rem certo nomine definiendam—quam terram vocavit.” He goes on to prove that Euripides believed aether the sole source of all life. The human mind is a particle of the divine spirit, which he clothes in a personality called Zeus.

The body, according to Euripides, is mean and abject, earthly life of no value, but the true home of the soul, to which it will return after death, is heaven. Certainly Euripides’ cosmology

¹p. 135, 33—This is Diels, Frag. 10.

²*Deip.* II, 496 B.

³*Analecta Euripidea* Ch. II.

⁴*de Anaxagorae Euripides*.

⁵Frag. VI (488) of *Melan. Phil.*

⁶I, 7.

CRITIAS

does not agree with Anaxagoras'. But, as we shall see below,⁷ that of the author of the *Peirithous* does. Clement,⁸ who quotes Frag. XVI, says *αὐτοφυῆ* means *δημιουργῆν νοῦν*—neither of these concepts was known to Euripides.

Wilamowitz further proves that the moral philosophy of Euripides and Socrates differed. Euripides believed that men, even though they wish to act justly, are driven unwillingly to evil. Socrates, on the other hand, held that right thoughts lead only to right deeds. The common proverb that "Fortune favors the brave," subscribed to by both Aeschylus⁹ and Euripides,¹⁰ is transposed in Fr. XVIII to conform to Socrates' tenet. Critias' conformance with Socrates is not surprising.

Now Aelian¹¹ says Euripides produced a satyr-play called *Sisyphus* in 415. Suidas' reference to a passage from this play¹² Wilamowitz thinks corrupt because it is addressed to Heracles, who has no place in the Sisyphus story. The long forty-two line fragment (XXV) is attributed by Plutarch,¹³ Aetios,¹⁴ and Galen¹⁵ to Euripides, by Sextus Empiricus¹⁶ to Critias. Wilamowitz concludes that "Critiam docuisse tetralogiam *Τέννην Παδάμανθον Πειρίθων Σίσυφον*, posteriore tempore, cum partim casu partim invidia fama eius obliterata esset, Euripidi attributam esse tetralogiam illam, Alexandrinis tandem grammaticis tragoedias quidem uno ore ei restituisse in satyrica paullo haesisse, quia eius nominis fabulam, re vera, perditam, ab Euripide doctam esse sciret."

The seemingly autobiographic details in XXIII¹⁷ have caused Wilamowitz to attribute this chastened piece to Critias. It is just barely possible to suppose that Critias is referring to his own banishment. To do so, however, we must assume either that Critias composed the drama after his exile in 407 or that he had composed it previously to 407 and inserted the passage after his exile. In either case, the drama would have been produced after his departure from Athens, but before the production of the *Frogs* at the Lennaea of 405. If this is true, it is easy to see why the play was not produced under Critias' name. Of course, the same chronology would be valid for Euripides, who left Athens for Macedon in 408 or 407. The absence of the two men and their residence in neighboring states would account for the original

⁷Chap. IV.

⁸*Strom.* V. 35.

⁹*Pers.* 741.

¹⁰*Elect.* 80.

¹¹*V. H.* II, 8.

¹²Fr. 674.

¹³*Plac.* 1, 6, 7.

¹⁴I, 7, 2.

¹⁵*Hist. Philos.* 8.

¹⁶*Adv. Math.* IX, 54.

¹⁷This is Euripides frag. incert. 964.

CRITIAS

confusion between them—especially if somehow the rumor was abroad in Athens that the play had come from the north of Greece, as it must have done no matter which of the two was author.

The passage would be another reason for preferring Critias to Euripides as author. The latter's visit to Archelaus can hardly be called *φυγάς . . . πατρός ἐμῆς*. It is also tempting to suppose that the *σοφοῦ τινος* is Socrates, to whom Critias' thoughts turned in his misfortune.

Aetios¹⁸ gives us one further clue to the origin of the confusion between Critias and Euripides: ἀποκαλύψασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησε δεδοικὸς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον, and accordingly put his ideas into the mouth of *Sisyphus*.

Faint traces of the confusion are to be seen in the *Sisyphus*.

The reference to Sisyphus in the *Acharnians* can easily be to our play. In lines 389-391, after Aristophanes has referred to his own *Babylonians*, the chorus procures Ἰερωνόμου (the tragic poet) σκοτοδασυπυκνότηριχά τιν' Ἄϊδος κυνῆν and μηχανὰς τὰς Σισύφου.

The fact that only the author of the *Sisyphus* is left unnamed is understandable if the audience or Aristophanes was unaware of its authorship. This must be true, for Aristophanes' practice is to ridicule not dramas but dramatists. In this context the anonymity of the play is unique. It is interesting to note that, fortified by these two dramatic "properties," Dicaeopolis proceeds with the task in hand—to summon Euripides.

It is easy to see why Critias (or Euripides) was unwilling to have his name associated with the sentiments of the play. This rationalistic theory of religion far exceeds the religious heterodoxy of Euripides. Critias would have the additional motives of his youth (the *Acharnians* was produced in 426) and political ambition for withholding his name. So bold a denial of the gods would have been fatal to his thirst for δόξαν εὐκλείας (Fr. XII).

These four plays, then, are not by Euripides. We see why the author's name—at least in two cases—was suppressed, and whence arose the confusion between Euripides and Critias. Since the alternative to Euripides is Critias, and since there is no warrant for denying them to Critias, and some evidence that he wrote them, I think we must assume his authorship.

Let us, then, proceed to an examination of the fragments.

The action of the *Tennes* has been identified by Diels (this is his Fr. 11) with the twenty-eighth book of *Conon* as related by Photius.¹⁹

Ἡ κή ὡς Τέννης καὶ Ἡμιθέα παῖδες ἦσθην Κύκνῳ βασιλεῖ Τρωάδος, καὶ Κύκνος ἀποθανούσης αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἑτέραν ἐπεισάγεται· ἡ δ' ἐπιμανεῖσα Τέννη καὶ μὴ τυγχάνωσα καταψεύδεται τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἑαυτῆς· καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀκρίτως εἰς λάρνακα Τέννην κατακλείει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἡμιθέαν

¹⁸I, 7, 2, This is repeated by Eusebius *P. E.* 753C.

¹⁹186, 19b.

CRITIAS

περιαλοῦσαν τ' ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀφίησι τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἡ δ' εἰς νῆσον ἐκφέρεται, καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὴν λάρνακα ἀνακομίζονταί, καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἔχουσι Τέννης καὶ Ἡμιθέα, καὶ ἡ νῆσος Τένεδος ἀντὶ Λευκόφρυος ὠνομάσθη. ὁ δὲ Κύκνος μεταγνὸς καὶ ὀρμισάμενος πρὸς τὴν νῆσον, εἶδε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἀμνηστίαν ἔχειν. ὁ δέ, ὡς μὴ ἐπιβαίῃ τῆς νήσου, πέλεκυν ἀράμενος τὰ πείσματα τῆς νεῶς διακόπτει· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀποτόμου πράγματος τὸν Τέννου πέλεκυν ἐπιλέγουσιν.

Whether the cynicism of IX²⁰ is Critias' or the character's is, of course, impossible to say. Certainly the sentiment is not alien to the Critias of 420 and later. If Stobaeus has copied this line correctly, we have again Critias, the daring innovator. The line is iambic trimeter but for φεῦ, which is patently an extra syllable. If it is the last word of the preceding line, transposed here because in thought if not in rhythm it is a part of our line, the effect is harsh, to say the least.

“Alas!

There is no just dealing in the race today.”

Of the contents of the *Rhadamanthus* no ancient writer gives us a hint. Of course we think of Rhadamanthus as the just judge of the underworld, but there is another possibility. Nowhere on the Greek mainland is there a cult of Rhadamanthus but in Boeotia. At Ocalia²¹ he is the husband of Alcmene, and graves of both were shown in antiquity. Both Attica and Boeotia contained in pre-Greek times proper names in—νθ. In the *Odyssey*²² the Phaeacian sailors carried Rhadamanthus (presumably from Corcyra) to Euboea. Legend has it that a group of the Νόστωι founded a colony in Corcyra, and later moved to Euboea. In 734 when Corinth (another proper name in—νθ) founded Corcyra, she expelled a Euboeic colony. Frag. XI indicates our guess may be correct; if so, it is possible the *Rhadamanthus* had nothing to do with the underworld.

Note the regularity of the alternate spondees and iambs in the trimeter line X.²³ (The addition of ὄστις is almost certainly correct.) It is, of course, the proper name that has caused the dactyl in XI.²⁴

An examination of XII²⁵ and XIII²⁶ will show that Critias sparingly availed himself of the substitutes for the iambic foot. Spondees are fairly common (always in their usual positions—first, third, or fifth foot), but XII and XIII contain only one tribrach and one dactyl each; in XIII both are occasioned by the use of a proper name.

²⁰Quoted by Stobaeus III, 2, 15.

²¹Apoll. II, 70; III, 6; Schol. Lycophr. 50.

²²VII, 321 ff.

²³Antiatt. Bekk. p. 94, 1.

²⁴Quoted by Strabo VIII, 356.

²⁵Quoted three times by Stobaeus II, 12; IV, 20; II, 61.

Fragment XII presents us two striking exceptions to Critias' use of the vocabulary of daily life. The first is the rare word *πάτωρ*, restored (correctly, it seems to me) for *πατήρ* by Dindorf. The phrase *πάτωρ δόμοις* coming so close on the heels of *χρημάτων πολλῶν κεκλήσθαι* is the first roughness in the usual smooth handling, and the first evidence of the Gorgian fondness for synonyms so lacking in Critias' fragments and so evident in his speeches in Plato. The other is *βίσιος*, found not infrequently in tragedy and even comedy, but never in Attic prose as equivalent to *βίος*.

The sentiment in XII is quite consistent both with Greek tradition and with Critias' thoroughly Greek political ambition. Its laudable gnomic character extends back to Hesiod and is echoed as lately as Shakespeare:

"Some glory in their birth, some in their skill,
Some in the wealth, some in their bodies' force—"

According to Wilamowitz²⁷ Critias' version of the *Peirithous* (which Clement²⁸ calls a *τραγωδία φυσιολογοῦσα*) showed Heracles liberating not Theseus but Peirithous from Hades, thus following the myth common both before and after the Athenians piously altered it in favor of Theseus. Both Joannes Diaconus and Gregory of Corinth give us a clue to the handling of the familiar story. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Πειρίθου ὑπόθεσις ἔστιν αὕτη· Πειρίθου ἐπὶ τῇ Περσεφόνῃς μνηστεία μετὰ Θησεῶς εἰς Αἴδου καταβάς τιμωρίας ἔτυχε τῆς πρεπούσης· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀκινήτῳ καθέδρῳ πεδηθεὶς δρακόντων ἐφρουρεῖτο χάσμασιν, Θησεὺς δὲ τὸν φίλον ἐγκαταλείπειν αἰσχυρὸν ἡγούμενος βίου εἴλετο τὴν ἐν Αἴδου ζώην. ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποσταλαῖς ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως τοῦ μὲν θηρίου βία περιεγένετο, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Θησεά χάριτι τῶν χθονίων θεῶν τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐξέλιπεν μᾶ πράξει καὶ τὸν ἀνθιστάμενον χειρωσάμενος καὶ παρὰ θεῶν χάριν λαβὼν καὶ δυστιχοῦντας ἐλέησας φίλους. εἰσάγεται γοῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι Αἰακὸς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα λέγων·

Wilamowitz has great admiration for the skill of this treatment of the story by Critias, "qui Theseum non sceleris sed amicitiae consortio cum Peirithoo coniunctum esse, Herculem non fabulosam bestiam sed torvum iuris infernalis defensorem vincere, sceleris poenam non abrumpi novo sceleri voluerit, sed condonari, postquam Tartareum regem duplex firmissimae amicitiae exemplum misericordiae permovit." He adds "vel magis autem laetatus sum, cum talem poetam se dignum sculptorem invenisse vidi."

Gregory of Corinth tells us that the opening lines of XIII were spoken by Aeacus. Now this station of Aeacus as judge of the underworld is no part of the more familiar myth, but Aristophanes in the *Frogs*²⁹ represents Aeacus as a slave-janitor who

²⁶Gregory of Corinth (Walz VII, 1312) and Joannes Diaconus—commentary on Hermogenes, V, 28.

²⁷*Op. cit.*

²⁸*Strom* V, 35.

²⁹l. 464 ff.

CRITIAS

answers the knock of Dionysus (disguised as Heracles) on the gates of the underworld.

Aeacus

ὦ βδελυρὲ κ' ἀναιίσχυντε καὶ τολμηρὲ συ
καὶ μιαρὲ καὶ ταμμίαρε καὶ μιαρῶτατε,
ὅς τὸν κύν' ἡμῶν ἐξελάσας τὸν Κέρβερον
ἀπῆξας ἄγχων κάποδρὰς ὄχου λαβών,
ὄν ἐγὼ ἐφύλαττον. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔχει μέσος

Later,³⁰ Aeacus, unable to tell which is the god, Dionysus or Xanthias, suggests Pluto and Persephone will know.

Fragment XIV is still more helpful. This anapestic bit is, of course, the close of a choral recitative.³¹ Athenaeus, who quotes it³² explains that this form of libation is used ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τῇ τελευταία τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρα, ἣν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας.

The inference seems inevitable that the chorus was composed of mystae. These facts bring us again to the *Frogs* and the conclusion that the *Peirithous* was produced before 405, the date of the *Frogs*. These echoes of Critias' drama cannot be inadvertent.

In XIV the sonorousness, weighted by the spondees, imparts the dignity expected of a choral recitative.

I consider XV³³ and XVI³⁴ the finest among the fragments. The *Peirithous*, to judge from these too-brief passages, was rich in thoughtful reflexion on nature and the soul. The "quasi-philosophical dicta"³⁵ are, however, too close to the idiom of the philosophers and too deficient in the fire in which a great poet's spirit would have transmuted that idiom. One is almost tempted to say that in capable hands great poetry could be made of them in translation. They are material for poetry rather than poetry itself; the spirit is poetry, but the flesh confining it is prose. In XV, despite the rather poetic ἀενάω and the coined ὠκυπλάνοις, the vocabulary is decidedly technical. The passage is again an anapestic recitative, with a proceleusmatic in the third position of the first line. (I have reserved the discussion of the cosmology of these passages for Chapter IV).

The same general verdict must be passed on XVI, which Norwood³⁶ calls a "superb apostrophe to the Creator." The passage is quoted as Euripidean in Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*.³⁷ The

³⁰l. 668.

³¹This assumes, naturally, that the second line is complete as it stands and therefore catalectic.

³²*Deip.* XI, 496A.

³³Quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* V, 35 and by the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds* I. 179.

³⁴Clement, *Strom.* II, 403 quotes the entire passage; the scholiast on Apollodorus IV, 143 and the scholiast on Euripides *Orestes* quote lines 1 and 2; Satyr. *Vit. Eurip.* 140, quotes lines 1-4.

³⁵Norwood, *Greek Tragedy* Chap. I p. 29.

³⁶*Op. cit.*

³⁷Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* IX, 124 ff.

CRITIAS

anapests with occasional trochees (but note the dactyl in the first position of line 3) have an impressive sweep. Although one can easily pick out the vocabulary of philosophy, there is dignity in the opening verses and undeniable beauty in ὄρφναία νύξ αἰολόχρως. Ὀρφναῖος is invariably a poetic word, as is ἄκριτος in this sense; the coined compound αἰολόχρως is forceful and not un-Aeschylean.

The cosmology seems to be that of Anaxagoras (see *infra* Chap. IV) especially if Eusebius³⁸ is correct in saying that after having mentioned τὸν μὲν αὐτοφνῆ τὸν δημιουργὸν νοῦν εἴρηκεν τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τάσσεται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἱ ἐναντιότητες φωτός τε καὶ σκοτούς. (Eusebius is obviously referring to Anaxagoras' lists of opposites—warm and cold, light and dark, dry and moist, fr. 12, although one thinks also of Heraclitus' quick and dead, waking and sleeping, young and old, straight and crooked, cold and warm, dry and moist, good and ill, frs. 39, 50, 57, 78, etc.)

In XVII³⁹ and XVIII⁴⁰ we return to the dramatic portions of the play. The iambs in XVII evidently refer to Peirithous; XVIII may well have been spoken by him in his disillusionment.

In XIX⁴¹ there speaks the true conservative, placing reliance on the individual rather than on legislation, and bitter at seeing the orator distort assembly-made laws. In XX⁴² and XXI⁴³ we meet again the gnomic philosopher with the gift of simple but terse utterance. XXII⁴⁴ seems to be spoken by Peirithous to Heracles.

XXIV, which is ascribed by Photius⁴⁵ to Euripides, probably comes from the *Peirithous* because of the reference to Aphidnos.

We come now to the satyr-play *Sisyphus*, which, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must assume followed the traditional story. It presents us with XXV⁴⁶ the longest and best known of all the Critias fragments. On it rests the charge of

³⁸PE, 681 B.

³⁹Quoted by Plutarch, *de amic. mult.* 7, 96 C.

⁴⁰Quoted by Stobaeus II, 8, 4.

⁴¹Quoted by Stobaeus III, 37, 15. I see no justification for Wilamowitz' statement (*Neue Jahrb.* 1908, p. 57, that the use of τρόπος as ἦθος is too late for Euripides.

⁴²Quoted by Stobaeus IV, 53, 23.

⁴³This is Euripides frag. incert. 857 attributed to the *Peirithous* by Welcker.

⁴⁴This the Euripides frag. incert. 930 attributed to the *Peirithous* by Welcker. Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 810.

⁴⁵P. 91 in Reitzenstein (1907) *My* XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV are combined by Diels as frag. 24.

⁴⁶Quoted in its entirety by Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* IX, 54 and in parts by Aetios I. 7, 2, and by Plutarch, *Plac.* I, 7, 2.

CRITIAS

atheism hurled at him by Plutarch,⁴⁷ μήτε τινα δαιμόνων μήτε θεῶν νομίζειν, and by Sextus Empiricus. In one sense this particular form of atheism was by no means original with him. Democritus had declared natural those phenomena which brought men fear from the skies. Prodicus had identified the gods with the benefits to men. Now Critias hardly took any theory direct from Democritus, but he knew Protagoras, who not only was a fellow-Abderite and a reputed pupil of Democritus, but had also advanced the theory (contrary to the general belief) that society had evolved from a chaotic state.⁴⁸ And yet we can hardly believe that any of these three denied the existence of the gods. Democritus stated fire was divine, and admitted the popular gods existed since we dream of them. Certainly Protagoras, probably Prodicus, did not deny the existence of the gods.

Drachmann⁴⁹ thinks these authors the probable source of Critias' theory and adds "It is obvious that the author of the fragment (or his source) was versed in the most modern wisdom." It seems to me that, along with the mixed iambic and hexameter, his rejection of the state gods is also an inheritance from Xenophanes.

Hippias and Plato's Calicles (who is certainly not Critias⁵⁰) support the theory of conventional morality; religion is the political device of an individual leader who uses the mass instinct to strengthen his own authority while he himself is above religion as well as law. Yet the fact remains that Critias' is the first extant statement of the theory. Sextus Empiricus arraigns Critias, Diagoras of Melos, and Theodorus the Cyrenaic as atheists, and quotes our fragment. It probably was the only clear statement of

⁴⁷*de superstitione*, 13.

⁴⁸The great problem of the state of primitive man and the emergence of law and civilization from chaos was an absorbing one to Greek thinkers and was given a variety of treatments. It is not surprising that it should frequently be cast into the form of a myth. Aeschylus' *Prometheus* (447-468) details how the Titan brought not only fire but also the crafts, augury, science, language, and mathematics to man. The magnificent myth of the *Protagoras* joins the gift of fire to the "social contract" and the establishment of cities, a subject handled in careful detail in the *Republic* (II). Sophocles devotes a chorus of the *Antigone* (332-375) to the formation of the cosmos, while Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants* (195 ff.) praises the god, "whoever he was," who brought men reason, language, navigation, and augury. The problem found a place also in comedy—in the *Agrioi* of Pherecrates (Koch, fr. 5), in lyric poetry—in Moschion (Nauck, fr. 6), and in oratory—in three references by Isocrates (*Nicocles* 5-9 *Antidosis* 253-257, and *Panegyric* 28-50). The rule of the stronger, so characteristic of Critias and the sophists (like Thrasymachus in the *Republic*) finds its most practical application in the Melian conference in Thucydides (V, 84 ff.) where it is boldly proclaimed by the Athenian delegates.

⁴⁹*Atheism in Pagan Antiquity*, 44 ff.

⁵⁰Cron, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des platonischen Gorgias* pp. 1-25, advanced this theory. As Drachman (*op. cit.*) has observed, Plato used Critias' name outright when he wished to refer to him, and treated him with respect.

the theory known to later antiquity, since it appears in no quotation from the philosophers.

Was Critias an atheist? In the ancient use of the term, denial of the state gods, yes. In our use of the term, no more than were Xenophanes, Democritus, Anaxagoras, and Heracleitus. We have seen in the *Peirithous* a belief in an impersonal First Cause.

Further it is always dubious practice to attribute to a dramatist the thoughts of his characters. The *Sisyphus* was a satyr-play, enjoying a license almost as great as that of comedy. Moreover, since the lines were spoken by Sispyhus,⁵¹ they are quite in character, for he was the "type of crafty criminal whose forte it was to do evil and elude punishment."⁵² Critias was never charged with *ἀσεβεια*, never called by his country men *ἄθεος*, and his enemies would scarcely have overlooked such an opportunity. If it be argued that his authorship of this play was unknown, it is the more evident that this theory was confined to the one play or this one character and not a part of his normal creed.

One phase of the theory we can feel sure was his sincere belief—the conventionality of law. With the sophistic school, he found the world based on *νόμος*, not *φύσις*, and subscribed to the doctrine of the right of the stronger, the *Übermensch*, a doctrine he consistently carried over into his political thinking.

As philosophy, the passage is clear and forceful, as verse it is very indifferent. Even the lines describing the home of the gods, obviously intended as poetic embellishment, are leaden. The rather solid monotony of the meter is broken by two anapests (lines 1 and 19), three amphibrachs (lines 6, 31, and 37), and a dactyl (line 40).

The final dramatic fragments cannot be assigned to any play. XXVI⁵³ has again the apt and terse smoothness which has been noted before. If the manuscripts of Aechylus are correct, that poet wrote *χρόνος . . . παρήβησε (ν)*,⁵⁴ a probable source of *γηράσκει χρόνος*.

XXVII⁵⁵ is again flavored by bitterness, a bitterness which is perhaps the result of the fiasco of Alcibiades. XXVIII⁵⁶ is especially neat—and supercilious. XXIX⁵⁷ is the younger and more ingenuous Critias, virtuously didactic.

The theory (mentioned in Wilamowitz *supra*) that the four plays constitute a tetralogy is naturally tempting. Three of the titles suggest even more—an "underworld tetralogy." I cannot

⁵¹Aetion I, 7, 2.

τὸν γὰρ Σίσυφον εἰσήγαγε προστάτην ταίτης τῆς δόξης καὶ συνηγόρησεν αὐτοῦ ταύτη τῇ γνώμῃ.

⁵²Drachmann, *op. cit.*

⁵³Quoted by Stobaeus I, 8, 11 and joined by him with I, 8, 10.

⁵⁴*Agamemnon* 983.

⁵⁵Quoted by Stobaeus III, 14, 2—assigned to Κριτίου.

⁵⁶Quoted by Stobaeus III, 23, 1—assigned to Κ----ου.

⁵⁷Quoted by Stobaeus IV, 33, 10—assigned to Κ---ου.—Cf. *Aes. Prom.* 385.

think our evidence warrants such a conclusion. If the action of the *Tennes* is, as Wilamowitz and Diels suppose (and as I see no reason to doubt), the story told by Photius, it is difficult to fit this play into such a scheme. There is, as I have shown, some doubt about the *Rhadamanthus*, although it may have shown the hero in both worlds. Moreover, if the *Sisyphus* was produced before 426 and the *Peirithous* after 407, certainly they were not members of a tetralogy produced on the same day.

How did Critias come to write dramas at all?

The popularity of the tragic drama as a vehicle for the expression of thought is mentioned by Müller.⁵⁸ "About this time (440-400) the tragic stage received a great influx of poets, which, however, does not prove that a great advance had taken place in the art of tragic poetry. Aristophanes speaks of a thousand tragedy-making prattlers more garrulous by a good deal than Euripides; he calls their poems muses' groves for swallows, comparing their trifling and insignificant attempts at polite literature with the chirping of birds (*Frogs*, 89⁵⁰); happily these dilettanti were generally satisfied with presenting themselves *once* before the people as tragic poets. There was such a taste for the composition of tragedies that we find among those who wrote for the stage men of the most different pursuits and dispositions, such as Critias, the head of the oligarchic party at Athens, and Dionysius the First, tyrant of Syracuse. . . . Such men were fond of availing themselves of tragedy, in the same way that Euripides did, as a vehicle for bringing before the public in a less suspicious manner their speculations on the political and social interests of their auditors. In the drama called *Sisyphus* there was a development of the pernicious doctrine of the sophists that religion was an ancient political institution, designed to sanction the restraints of law by superadding the fear of the gods."

Rose⁶⁰ has correctly placed works of this caliber as a transition between the popular tragedies of the Great Three and the "closet-dramas" composed by what Aristotle calls "reading-authors"—*ἀναγνωστικοί*.⁶¹

⁵⁸*Geschichte der Gr., Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 506.

⁵⁹Heracles: οὐκουν ἕτερ' ἔστ' ἐνταῦθα μεираκύλλια
τραγωδίας ποιῶντα πλείν ἢ μύρια,
Εὐριπίδου πλείν ἢ σταδίῳ λαλίστερα;

Dionysus: ἐπιφυλλίδες ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ στωμύλματα,
χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωρηται τέχνης,
ἃ φροῦδα θᾶπτον, ἦν μόνον χορὸν λάβη.
ἅπαξ προσουρήσαντα τῇ τραγωδίᾳ.
γόνιμον δὲ ποιητὴν ἂν οὐχ εὐροῖς ἔτι
ζητῶν ἂν, ὅστις ῥῆμα γενναῖον λάκοι.

⁶⁰*Greek Lit.*, p. 211.

⁶¹*Rhet.* 1413 b 12 ff.

CHAPTER IV

CRITIAS AS PHILOSOPHER

XXX (39).—Galen, Comm. on Hippoc., *de offic.* I, 1.

μήτε ἅ τῶ ἄλλῳ σώματι αἰσθάνεται μηδὲ ἅ τῇ γνώμῃ γινώσκει.

.....
γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἰθισμένοι ὑγιαίνειν τῇ γνώμῃ.

Neither those things which he perceives with the rest of his body nor those which he knows with his mind.

.....
Men who are normally healthy understand with the mind.

XXXI (40).—Galen *aO* line 21.

εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀσκήσειας, ὅπως γνώμῃ ἔση ἱκανός, ἥκιστα ἂν οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἂν ἀδικηθείης.

If you train yourself so that you may be adequate in mind, you will be least likely to be wronged by others.

XXXII (41).—Herodianus, π. μον. λεξ 40, 14.

ὁρσότης
assault.

XXXIII (42).—Galen, *loc Hippoc.* XIX 94k.

δυσάνιος δέ ἐστιν, ὅστις ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς ἀνιάται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι ἢ πλείω χρόνον.

He is *δυσάνιος* who is distressed over small things, and over large things more intensely or for a longer time than other men are.

The philosophy of Critias must be viewed from three not always consistent angles: (1) practical philosophy, (2) philosophy in the technical (for fifth century Greece physiological and cosmological) sense, and (3) theories derived from the sophists, applicable to public life.

His practical philosophy (to use the familiar term synonymous with "good sense" or "wisdom") is to be noted in certain didactic or gnomic passages that have the ring of maxims. It is the natural

XXX, *εἰθισμένοι*
ἔθει ὁ μὲν P
εἴ τις μὲν Chart.
ὑγιαίνειν P
ὑγιαίνει Chart.

ἅ τῶ Chart.
αὐτῶ PM.

XXXI, *γνώμη σῆ* P
γνώμη ἦ Chart.

ικανῶς P—*ικανός* Ausgg.
αὐτῶν (i. e. *τῶν αἰσθήσεων*) *αὐτοῦ* M. Ausgg.
ἀδικηθείης Ausgg. *ἀδικη θ'* MP.

XXXIII, *δυσανίως* L(aur 74, 3) ²and M(arc V, 15), *δυσήμιος* L¹.

off-spring of his childhood's training—for the Greeks laid heavy emphasis on the efficacy of maxims in education—and of his youthful contact with Socrates. We have seen it in Fragments VIII, IX, XX, XXI, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXIX. Although our fragments do not show it, the books of *Aphorisms* must have contained many such.

Galen, who quotes XXX¹ implies more than one book of *Aphorisms* since our passage appears ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Ἀφορισμῶ. In subject this statement is concerned with our second heading "philosophy proper," under which it will, therefore, be discussed.

Again according to Galen,² there were several books of *Homilies*—ἐν Ὀμιλιῶν προτέρῳ . . . καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ τῶν Ὀμιλιῶν. I think we may safely ascribe to these "Conversations" an influence on the Platonic dialogues; probably they represent a transition between Hippias' *Trojan Dialogue* and Plato.

XXXI, although quoted by Galen³ to illustrate a point of his philosophy proper, is quite typical of the gnostic Critias. Adequacy of mind is the armour to be donned against the malice of the world.

Concerning XXXII⁴ there is nothing to note but the tendency to coin words. This one is not only, as Herodianus says, παράσημον but useless.

Galen is the only writer to mention Critias' περὶ φύσεως ἔρωτος ἢ ἀρετῶν, from which he quotes XXXIII.⁵ The definition here seems to me apt and exact, a fine example of the logical mind at work, a worthy precursor of the type of characterization so well written later by Theophrastus. In its turn it is a spiritual descendant of Semonides' clever bit of misogyny.⁶

As a philosopher in the narrower sense of the word Critias was an eclectic, and a very superficial one. To discover his philosophy we shall scrutinize XV, XVI, and XXV of the dramatic fragments, XXX from the *Aphorisms* and XXXI from the *Homilies*. In these fragments we can detect traces of Xenophanes, Heracleitus, Parmenides, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras.

His cosmology is a fusion of the doctrines of Empedocles and Anaxagoras.⁷ Like Anaxagoras, he seems to have envisioned a

¹Commentary on Hippoc. *de offic.* I, 1.

²*Op.* line 21.

³*Op. cit.*

⁴Quoted by Herodianus, π. μον. λεξ 40, 14.

⁵*lex. Hippocr.* XIX 94 K.

⁶Suidas says that *δυσάνιος* was used by Antiphon, Hippocrates, and Menander, but misspells the word (*δυσάνισος*), Aristotle, *Physiogn.* 31 and 149 uses *δυσανίης* as opposed to τῷ εὐθύμῳ. The word is a compound of *δυσ* and *άνια* (used by Sappho and Theognis). In Homer *άνιη* is active (*Od.* 17, 446 and *Od.* 12, 223).

⁷Satyrus, *Life of Euripides*, quotes XVI with the comment that the poet ἀκριβῶς ἄλως περιέληφεν τὸν Ἀναξ[α]γόρειον [διὰ] κόσμον [ἐν] τρισὶν περι[όδοις].

universe at first chaotic (XXV). Both XV and XXV portray the heavens as a vault. In common with both philosophers he conceived of the universal sphere as revolving (XVI and XXV). He follows Anaxagoras in attributing the cause of this rotatory movement to a divine force without the whirl. This divine force Eusebius⁸ tells was identical with the *δημιουργὸς νοῦς*. *Nous* according to both Anaxagoras and Critias (and to Xenophanes), hears, sees, thinks, and knows all (XXV), and is the source of all motion. It is uncreated (*αὐτοφυῆ*); with Xenophanes and Anaxagoras, Critias cannot think of gods as being born.

From Anaxagoras (and through him, from Heraclitus), comes the emphasis on *ἐναντιότητες*. The passage from Eusebius reads *ἐνταῦθα* (with frag. XVI) *γὰρ τὸν μὲν αὐτοφυῆ τὸν δημιουργὸν νοῦν εἶρηκεν, τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τάσσεται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἱ ἐναντιότητες φωτὸς τε καὶ σκότους.*

According to Heraclitus these opposites (of which he lists day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger, the straight and the crooked, good and ill, cold and warm, wet and dry, justice and injustice, mortal and immortal, quick and dead, waking and sleeping, young and old) are the same—united into the *κόσμος* by the hidden harmony of the divine Fire. According to Anaxagoras, the whirl of the *κόσμος* separated out the opposites, (warm and cold, light and dark, dry and moist), and all contain portions of their opposites, since there is a portion of everything in everything.

In quoting XXX, Galen⁹ introduces what seems to be a startling theory of Critias. Hippocrates is discussing the difference between sense perception and mind. Galen notes the earlier lack of distinction between them. Certainly Aristotle¹⁰ had said that Empedocles makes no distinction. In XXX the distinction is clear: Perception (*αἰσθάνεται*) is through the body (*τῆ ὄψει καὶ τῆ ἀφῆ καὶ τῆ ἀκοῇ τῆ ῥινὶ καὶ τῆ γλώσση*—in Galen's words), but knowledge (*γιγνώσκει*) is through the mind (*τῆ γνώμῃ*). In quoting XXXI, Galen repeats the comment with a curious addition: *καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ τῶν Ὀμιλιῶν ἀντιδιαίρων ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τὴν γνώμην πολλακίς εἶρηκεν ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν.*

At first sight Galen seems inaccurate. Heraclitus (fr. 4, Bywater), seems to have condemned the evidence of the senses as untrustworthy. Scoon¹¹ thinks it undubitable that "he meant to distinguish understanding from mere sense experience, that he connected the former directly with the soul, and that he thought of it as superior to the latter." He admits, however, that there is "no warrant for attributing to him any more definite psychology than that."

⁸PE, XIII, 681 B.

⁹Commentary on Hippocr., *de. offic.* I, 1.

¹⁰*de Anima* B 7. 418 b.

¹¹*Greek Philosophy Before Plato*, Ch. IV.

To me it seems incredible that so significant a discovery should have been lost or obscured through the thinkers on whom Heraclitus exercised a direct influence. Scon's statement implies that Heraclitus (even though dimly) conceived an immaterial soul, a concept utterly foreign to the early thinkers, and disproved by other fragments of Heraclitus (68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76). Neither Parmenides nor Empedocles makes the distinction, and Anaxagoras' distinction is between animate and inanimate.

Of course, it is always possible to assume that if we had more fragments of the early thinkers, we should find more reason to believe the distinction had been stated by them. And yet, does Galen's mention of Antiphon suggest that possibly the sophists made the discovery? Galen, who was conversant not only with philosophies, but with the technical terminology of philosophy, should have been able to find better evidence than Antiphon, had such evidence existed. It is at least possible to infer that the precision of definition and terms insisted on by the sophists (and unfortunately neglected by the earlier philosophers) led to at least a clarification if not the discovery of the distinction. Certainly our first clear statement is in the words of Critias.

We come now to the well-substantiated statement that Critias held the soul to be blood. We are informed by Porphyrius¹² that Empedocles said the soul is blood. *αἵματος ἐν πελάγεσσι τετραμμένη ἀντιθόροντος τῇ τε νόημα μάλιστα κυκλίσκεται ἀνθρώποισιν· αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιον ἐστὶ νόημα.*

Theophrastus¹³ tells us that Empedocles taught *τῷ αἵματι μάλιστα φρονεῖν ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα κεκρᾶσθαι ἔστι τὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν μερῶν.* From Aristotle¹⁴ we learn that *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ κινεῖσθαι τὸ ἐμψυχον ἀπέβλεψαν, οὔτοι τὸ κινήτικώτατον ὑπέλαβον τὴν ψυχὴν· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γιγνώσκειν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, οὔτοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὰς ἀρχάς, οἱ μὲν πλείους ποιοῦντες, οἱ δὲ μίαν ταύτην, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων πάντων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἕκαστον ψυχὴν τούτων.*

Aristotle continues that in the former class (those who direct their attention to the motion of the animate being and thus conceive soul as that which is capable of causing motion) are Democritus and the atomists, the Pythagoreans, and Anaxagoras, while in the latter (those who stress its knowledge and perception and so identify soul with the ultimate principles) are Empedocles and Plato.¹⁵

Philoponus¹⁶ seems to intend the same distinction when he mentions two classes of philosophers who make the soul *σύνθετον*—those *οἱ μὲν ἐκ συνημμένων σωμάτων* (Critias) and those *οἱ δὲ [ἐξ]*

¹²apud Stobaeus *Eclogae physicae* 1026.

¹³*De Sensu* II, 10.

¹⁴*De Anima* I, 2, 6.

¹⁵It is hardly necessary to note that Empedocles did not believe in an incorporeal soul.

¹⁶Introduction to Commentary on Aristotle, *De Anima* 9, 3.

CRITIAS

δουνάπτων (Democritus and the atomists). That Aristotle has misinterpreted Empedocles has been proved by Zeller.¹⁷ "Aristotle concludes in his usual manner that according to Empedocles the soul is composed of all the four elements, an assertion which is then repeated by his commentators. It is, however, incorrect. Empedocles did not hold that the soul is composed of the elements: but what we call the activity of the soul he explained by the elementary composition of the body; a soul distinct from the body he did not assume. Thought, like all other vital activities, arises from and depends upon the admixture of substances in the body. . . . It is in the blood especially, because there the elements are most completely mingled, that thought and consciousness have their chief seat, and particularly in the blood about the heart. But other parts of the body are not excluded from participation in thought, provided the elementary particles are tightly compressed and mixture is homogeneous. If the right admixture is limited to certain parts, the result is sense-organs and their special endowment." Hicks¹⁸ further explains that "What Empedocles meant is best seen in the case of the special senses. As our sense-organs are composed of the very same elements as the objects outside the organism, knowledge of these objects is obtained through these organs. Thus the fire in the eye enables us to see fire, and so on."

Unlike Critias, Empedocles made no distinction between thought and perception. "The chief seat of perception," according to Empedocles "was the blood, in which the four elements are most evenly mixed, and especially the blood near the heart. This does not, however, exclude the idea that other parts of the body may perceive also; indeed, Empedocles held that all things have their share of thought. But the blood was especially sensitive because of its finer mixture."^{18a}

Critias XXX proves that he did make the distinction between thought and perception, that he attributed the former to the mind, the latter to the entire body. (Mind, of course, is still not distinct from soul. That he believed the soul to be blood is stated by Aristotle,¹⁹—"ἕτεροι δ' αἷμα (sc. τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι λέγουσι)· καθάπερ Κριτίας, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι ψυχῆς οἰκειότατον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν τοῦ αἵματος φύσιν. Simplicius, in commenting on this passage, says, ὁ δὲ τὸ αἷμα τὴν ψυχὴν θέμενος Κριτίας εἶτε ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενος εἶς εἶτε σοφιστῆς τις οὐδὲν ἡμῖν διοίσει. The statement is repeated by Galen²⁰ (αἷμά φησι εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Κριτίας), by Tertullian²¹ (nec illos solos dico qui eam [animam] de manifestis corporalibus effingunt, ut Hipparchus et Heraclitus ex igni, ut Hippon et Thales

¹⁷*Pre-Socratics* II, 167 ff.

¹⁸*Aristotle, De Anima*.

^{18a}Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* V, p. 249.

¹⁹*De Anima* I, 2, 19.

²⁰V, 283 (Kühn).

²¹*De Anima*, 5.

ex aqua, ut Empedocles et Critias ex sanguine), and by Macrobius²² (Plato dicit animam essentiam se moventem . . . Empedocles et Critias sanguinem).

There remains the question—Is it Critias the tyrant who held this theory? The source of the confusion is evident in the above quotation from Simplicius. On it, on a statement by Alexander, as well as—perhaps—some other source, Philoponus²³ based his statement that Κριτίαν είτε τὸν ἕνα τῶν τριάκοντάδῃς καὶ Σωκράτους ἠκροάσατο, ἢ καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ λέγει, οὐδὲν διαφερόμεθα. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον Κριτίαν γεγονέναι σοφιστήν, οὗ καὶ τὰ φερόμενα συγγράμματα εἶναι, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος λέγει· τὸν γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα μηδὲ γεγραφέναι ἄλλο τι πλὴν Πολιτείας ἐμμέτρους.

It is easy to see that Philoponus and Alexander did not believe a man capable of the versatility shown by Critias. Thus they separated the politician from the Sophist,²⁴ attributing to the former only such works as have a political flavor. Now we know from Plato (who certainly knew the truth!) that the politician and sophist were one. The commentator on Plato's *Timaeus*,²⁵ knew it too, for it is to him we owe the famous remark, ὁ δὲ Κριτίας ἦν μὲν γενναίος καὶ ἀδρᾶς φύσεως, ἤπτετο δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφων συνοουσιῶν, καὶ ἐκαλείτο ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ἰδιώταις. ἐτυράννευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ἰ γεγονώς.

Since we cannot deny to Critias certain other philosophical theories, there is no reason to assign this one theory to his grandfather. Except for Plato's *Timaeus* and *Critias*, we have absolutely no evidence of philosophical activity on the part of the elder Critias. Furthermore, both Anaxagoras and Empedocles were the latter's juniors and he belonged to a generation not likely to be seriously affected by the natural philosophers. That the statement about Critias being a layman among philosophers and a philosopher among laymen refers to the Critias of the *Timaeus* does not invalidate this conclusion, since the distinction between the Critias of the *Timaeus* and *Critias* and the Critias of the *Charmides* and *Protagoras* was not made by the ancients.

To philosophy's step-child, sophism, Critias owed much, particularly his political principles and the *Weltanschauung* of his maturity. Although he was a pupil of Gorgias and an acquaintance (at least according to Plato) of Protagoras, he does not completely share their skepticism. He seems to subscribe to Protagoras' famous dictum that "man is the measure of all things." Protagoras' distinction between the "weaker" and the "stronger" and his championship of Law against any attempts to follow Nature as well as Gorgias' doctrine that Might is Right, and that Right is

²²*Somnium Scip.* I, 14, 20.

²³Commentary on Aristotle, *De Anima* 89, 8.

²⁴As, later, Seneca the philosopher was separated from Seneca the poet.

²⁵20 a.

CRITIAS

the interest of the strong, and his continuance of the opposition between Law and Nature are clearly evident in his political theories.

If we have grasped the surprising versatility of Critias, we shall not find unreasonable this combination of natural philosophy, traditional conservatism, political reactionism, and the popular sophistry.

CHAPTER V

CRITIAS AS ORATOR AND PROSE WRITER

Constitution of the Thessalians

XXXIV (31).—Athen., XIV, 662F.

ὁμολογοῦνται δ' οἱ Θετταλοὶ πολυτελέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενῆσθαι περὶ τε τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὴν δίαιταν· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐζηλωκόσι τὴν τούτων τρυφήν καὶ πολυτέλειαν.

“And all agree that the Thessalians, as Critias says, are the most luxurious of the Greek in dress and style of living. This was their reason for bringing the Persians against Greece, that they admired the luxury and extravagance of the Persians.

Constitution of Lacedaemon

XXXV (32).—Clem., *Strom.* VI, 9, II.

ἄρχομαι δέ τοι ἀπὸ γενετῆς ἀνθρώπου· πῶς ἂν βέλτιστος τὸ σῶμα γένοιτο καὶ ἰσχυρότατος; εἰ δὲ φυτεύων γυμνάζοιτο καὶ ἐσθίει ἐρρωμένως καὶ ταλαιπωροῖ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσσεσθαι ἰσχυροὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνάζοιτο.

“I begin from the hour of man's birth. How can he become best and strongest in body? If his father trains and eats vigorously and works his body hard, and if the mother before the child's birth is also strong in body and exercises.”

XXXVI (33).—Athen., XI, 463E.

ὁ μὲν Χίος καὶ Θάσιος ἐκ μεγάλων κυλίκων ἐπὶ δεξιά, ὁ δὲ Ἀττικὸς ἐκ μικρῶν ἐπὶ δεξιά ὁ δὲ Θετταλικὸς ἐκπώματα προπίνει ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται μεγάλα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ἕκαστος πίνει, ὁ δὲ παῖς ὁ οἰνοχόος (ἐπιχει) ὅσον ἂν ἀποπίη.

ὁμολογοῦνται δ' οἱ Θετταλοὶ ὡς καὶ Κριτίας φησί, πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολυτελέστατοι γεγενῆσθαι περὶ τε τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας, ζηλώσαντας τὴν τούτων τρυφήν καὶ πολυτέλειαν.

“The Chian and the Thasian drink a health out of large cups from left to right, the Athenian out of small cups from left to right, while the Thessalian pledges in large cups to whomever he wishes. But the Lacedaemonians drink each from his own cup separately, and the slave-boy who pours the wine fills up again with as much as he can drink.”

XXXIV—Athen., XII, 527A.

XXXVI.

βούλωνται A—βούληται E'

[ἐπιχει] Meineke.

XXXVII (34).—Athen., XI, 483B.

χωρίς δὲ τούτων τὰ σμικρότατα ἐς τὴν δίαιταν, ἵποδήματα ἄριστα Λακωνικὰ (καὶ) ἱμάτια φορεῖν ἡδίστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα· κώθων Λακωνικὸς ἔκπωμα ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς στρατείαν καὶ εὐφορώτατον ἐν γυλιῶ· οὐ δὲ ἔνεκα στρατιωτικόν, (δηλώσω· στρατιώτῃ) πολλάκις ἀνάγκη ὕδωρ πίνειν οὐ καθαρὸν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ μὴ ἥϊαν κατάδηλον εἶναι τὸ πόμα· εἴτα ἄμβωνας ὁ κώθων ἔχων ὑπολείπει τὸ οὐ καθαρὸν ἐν αὐτῷ.

“Apart from these things the smallest details of their daily life (are commendable): Lacedaemonian shoes are the best; their cloaks are the pleasanter and most convenient to wear; the Lacedaemonian kothon is a drinking-vessel most suitable for military service and most easily carried in a knapsack. It is adapted to military purposes because it is often necessary to drink water that is not pure. In the first place, it is useful in that the water drunk could not be too clearly seen; and in the second place, since the kothon has an inward-curving rim, it retains a residue of the impurities inside it.”

XXXVIII (35).—Athen., XI, 486E, Harpocr., Λυκιουργεῖς.

κλίη Μιλησιουργῆς καὶ δίφρος Μιλησιουργῆς, κλίη Χιουργῆς καὶ τράπεζα Ῥηναιοεργῆς.

“A Milesian-made couch and a Milesian-made stool, a Chian-made couch and Rhenaean-made table (clogs).”

XXXIX (36).—Eustathius, 376, p. 1601; Athen., XIV, 629D.

ἀναπηδήσαντες εἰς ὕψος πρὸ τοῦ κατενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ γῆν παραλλαγὰς πολλὰς τοῖς ποσὶν ἐποίουν, ὃ δὴ θερμαῦστρίζειν ἔλεγον.

“After leaping up into the air they went through many dance-motions before the tumbling down to the ground—this they call the ‘tong-dance’.”

XL (37).—Liban., *Orationes* 25, 63.

μάλιστα δοῦλοὶ τε ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι.

. . . ἀπιστίας εἶνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰλωτας τούτους ἐξαιρεῖ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης οἴκοι τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν πόρπακα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς στρατείας ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ δεῖν πολλάκις ὀξύτητος, τὸ δόρυ ἔχων αἰεὶ περιέρχεται. ὡς κρείττων γε ταύτῃ τοῦ εἰλωτος ἐσόμενος, ἦν ἀπὸ μόνῃς νεωτερίζῃ τῆς ἀσπίδος. μεμηχάνηται δὴ καὶ κλείδας, ἃς οἶονται τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλῆς ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι.

“And especially the slaves in Lacedaemon and the free men . . . And because of his lack of faith in the helots, the Spartan takes

XXXVII.

[καὶ] Kaibel.

κώθων Casaubon—καθ’ ὧν Ms.

πρῶτον: sc. ἐπιτηδεῖον ἐστὶν εἰς στρατείαν=στρατιωτικόν.

κατάδηλον Ms.—κατάδηλον Ed. Bas.

ὑπολείπει Stephanus—ὑπολείπειν Ms.

XXXVIII.

τράπεζα—κρούπεζα, Kaibel.

(cf. Poll. VII, 93—ἐμβαθρα Ῥημιουργῆ).

the handle out of his shield when in the house. And not being able to do this when on campaigns because he must often act speedily, he always walks about carrying his spear, so that in this way he may always be stronger than the helot if the latter should attempt revolt with the shield alone. And the Spartans have even fashioned bolts which they think are too strong for any plots of the helots."

From Unnamed Constitution

XLI (38).—Poll. VII, 59.

σκελέας

"breeches".

From Unnamed Prose Works

XLII (44).—Aelian, *V. H.* X, 13.

εἰ γὰρ μή, ἐκείνος τοιαύτην δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπυθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὔτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς υἱὸς ἦν τῆς δούλης οὔθ' ὅτι καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἦλθεν εἰς Θάσον οὔθ' ὅτι ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετο οὔδ' ἔτι ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις (ἢ δ' ὅς) οὔτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἦν, ἠδ' αἰνεῖται ἂν, εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθόντες, οὔτε ὅτι λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής, καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων αἰσχιστον, ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Ἀρχιλοχὸς μάρτυς ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτον κλέος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ τοιαύτην ἑαυτῷ φήμην.

"If Archilochus had not published such an account of himself abroad in Greece, we should never have found out that he was the son of the slave-woman Enipo, nor that through poverty and perplexity he left Paros for Thasos, nor that after he arrived there he quarreled with the inhabitants, nor that he spoke ill of friends and enemies alike; and more we should not know, had he not told us himself, that he was an adulterer and lecherous, and wantonly violent, nor, most disgraceful of all, that he threw away his shield; and thus Archilochus was certainly not a good witness in his own behalf, leaving all this evil fame behind him."

XLIII (45).—Aelian, *V. H.* X, 17.

Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους πρὶν ἢ ἄρξασθαι πολιτεύεσθαι τρία τάλαντα ἔχειν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πατρῴαν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν προέστη, εἶτα ἔφυγε καὶ ἐδημείθη αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, κατεφωράθη ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πλείω οὐσίαν ἔχων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κλέωνα πρὸ τοῦ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντων τὸν οἶκον ἀπέλιπεν.

(It is said that) Themistocles, son of Neocles, before he began his political career, had three talents as a heritage from his father. But after he had become the head of the commonwealth, and was

XLII.

οὔτε μὴν Hercher.

αἰσχίον Hercher.

XLIII.

Κλέωνι Perizonius.

εἶναι—σχεῖν?

CRITIAS

exiled and his property confiscated, he was found to possess an estate of more than one hundred talents. In like manner, too, Cleon, before he entered public life, did not have his personal belongings free of debt, but later left an estate of fifty talents."

XLIV (46).—Aristeides, *Ars Rhet.* II, 2, 7.

δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοι γε

"Yes, but I think—".

XLV (47).—Aristeides, *Ars Rhet.* II, 3, 15.

ὄσοι μὲν τοὺς τοιούτους ἐγλέγονται, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσιν ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ τοιαύταις δυνάμεσι πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπεραίροντας οὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν.

"Those men who select for their own such persons as they see excelling others in offices, in honors, and in such forms of power, do not seem to me to be acting correctly."

XLVI (48).—Dio Chrysost. XXI, 3.

ὅτι κάλλιστον (ἔφη) εἶδος ἐν τοῖς ἀρρεσι τὸ θῆλυ, ἐν δ' αὖ ταῖς θηλείαις τοῦναντίον;

"That the most beautiful form in males is the feminine, and in the feminine, contrariwise, (the masculine)?"

XLVII (49).—Pseudo-Dionys, *Ars Rhet.* 6, p. 25.

βέβαιον μὲν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ τό τε καταθανεῖν γενομένῳ καὶ ζῶντι μὴ οἶόν τε ἐκτὸς ἄτης βαίνειν.

"There is nothing certain except that when a man is born he must die, and when he lives he cannot go without diaster."

XLVIII (51).—Planud. in Hermog. *Rhet.* V 484.

τῷ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγῶνι.

"To the Pythian games."

XLIX (52).—Plutarch, *Cimon* 16.

Κύμωνα (φῆσι Κριτίας) τὴν τῆς πατρίδος αὔξησιν ἐν ὑστέρω θέμενον τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων συμφέροντος ἀναπέσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἐξελθεῖν βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

"Cimon put the growth of his native land second to the advantage of the Lacedaemonians and persuaded the demos to go to their aid with many hoplites."

L (53).—Pollux, II, 58.

διοπτεύειν—to watch accurately, look into.

XLV.

ἐγλέγονται—Gomperz.

συλλέγονται Spengel.

XLVII.

μὴ ὅτι καὶ τὸ θανεῖν.

εἰ stands after ζῶντι in Ms.

εἰ λέγονται, Mss.

εἶναι λέγονται, Ald.

CRITIAS

- LI (54).—Pollux, II, 122.
λογεύς—speaker.
- LII (55).—Pollux, II, 148.
ταχύχειρ—quick of hand, nimble.
- LIII (56).—Pollux, III, 116.
ῥυπαρία—dirt, sordidness.
- LIV (57).—Pollux, IV, 64.
προσψόδιος—accompanying song.
- LV (58).—Pollux, IV, 165.
διδραχμαῖοι—with pay of two drachmas a day
- LVI (59).—Pollux, VI, 31.
ἐπικωθονίζεσθαι—to go on drinking.
- LVII (60).—Pollux, VI, 38.
ὄψωνίας—purchase of fish.
ὄψωνεῖν—to buy fish.
ὄψονομεῖν—to be one who watches the price of fish
- LVIII (61).—Pollux, VI, 152.
ψευδομάρτυρες—false witnesses.
ψευδομάρτυς—false witness.
ψευδομαρτυρεῖν—to bear false witness.
- LIX (62).—Pollux, VI, 194.
διαπεφορῆσθαι—to be dispersed or plundered
- LX (63).—Pollux, VI, 195.
ἐπὶ τό γε [ἐπὶ τὸ] χρηστοῦς εἶναι—to be so far good
- LXI (64).—Pollux, VII, 78.
ἱματιοπῶλαι—dealers in clothes.
- LXII (65)—Pollux, VII, 91.
ποδεῖα—socks.
- LXIII (66).—Pollux, VII, 108.
δακτυλιογλύφοι—engravers of gems.
- LXIV (67).—Pollux, VII, 154.
χορδοπόλης—dealer in musical strings.
- LXV (68).—Pollux, VII, 177.
μυρεψός—perfumer.
- LXVI (69).—Pollux, VII, 179.
κεκρυφαλοπλόκος—netting.

CRITIAS

LXVII (70).—Pollux, VII, 196.

χαλκοπῶλαι—dealers in brass.
 σιδηροπῶλαι—dealers in iron.
 λαχανοπῶλαι—green-grocers.
 τυροπῶλαι—cheese mongers.
 συρμαιοπῶλαι—sellers of emetics.
 στυππειοπῶλαι—dealers in oakum.
 ἐριοπῶλαι—dealers in wool.
 λιβανωτοπῶλαι—dealers in frankincense.
 ῥίζοπῶλαι—dealers in roots.
 σιλφιοπῶλαι—dealers in silphium.
 κανλοπῶλαι—green grocers.
 σκευοπῶλαι—sellers of clothes.
 σπερμολόγοι—gossipers? .
 σπερματοπῶλαι—seedsmen.
 χυτροπῶλαι—pot sellers.
 φαρμακοπῶλαι—druggists.
 βελονοπῶλαι—needle-sellers.
 πινακοπῶλαι—sells of small plucked birds.
 ὀρνιθοκαπήλους—dealers in birds.

LXVIII (71).—Pollux, VIII, 25.

ἄποδικάσαι—acquit.
 διαδικάζειν—spend a lot of time at court.

LXIX (72).—Pollux, IX, 17.

ἄστυτριψ—always living in the city.

LXX (73).—Pollux, IX, 161.

εὐξενεσία—shrewdness.

LXXI (74).—Plato, *Repub.* II, 368A.

παῖδες Ἀρίστωνος, κλεινοῦ θεῖον γένος ἀνδρός—sons of Ariston, whose race from a glorious sire is god-like.

Critias wrote both verse and prose *Constitutions*, a general discussion of both being included in Chapter II above. In XXXIV¹ we see what Hermogenes² meant by saying that Critias was σαφῆς ἅμα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ εὐκρινῆς. This *Constitution of the Thesabians*, written during the years of his exile, shows the results of his training as a public speaker. There is here a definite attempt at poetic adornment but without poetic diction. Note δίαιταν . . . αὐτοῖς αἴτιον and τὴν τούτων τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν.

LXVIII—ἀποδικῆσαιC.

¹Quoted twice by Athenaeus: XIV 662F. (where the passage is credited to Cratinus, corrected to Critias by Casaubon), and XII 527 A.

²*Rhet. Gr.* II, 415.

XXXV³, from the *Constitution of Lacedaemon* was imitated by Xenophon in his work of the same name,⁴ and by Philostratus.⁵ Critias' admiration for the rigor of the Lacedaemonian constitution is put into his own mouth by Xenophon.⁶ The fragment is noteworthy for the use of *φυτεύων* for *πατήρ* and *γενετῆς* for *γενοῦ*, showing again a fondness for the unusual and unexpected word.

From the same work comes XXXVI⁷, in which we see again the accurate observation of the intimate details of life. Rhetorically we must note the easy shift from singular to plural, and back to singular. In XXXVII⁸ the asyndeton is striking, serving to break the connection between the general statements and the specific detail with its concisely stated reasons. In diction we note the archaism *σμικρότατα* and the variant *στρατιωτικόν*.

Harpocration⁹ in XXXVIII is criticizing Didymus' use of *Λυκιοῦργεῖς* to denote the bowls made by Lycius son of Myron. Critias, he implies, has used the ending *οὔργης* correctly as compounded with cities' and nations' but not with persons' names.

Eustathius¹⁰ and Athenaeus¹¹ quote XXXIX, Critias' description of a Spartan dance.

XL¹² casts startling illumination on the helot situation in Sparta, and brings us very close to that constant danger. Xenophon's imitation of the passage¹³ is poor, showing not only infelicity of expression but ignorance of the purpose of the custom. (Libanius takes Critias to task for calling men free who go about in constant fear of their own slaves: *οὐς οὖν ἀριστοποιουμένους καὶ καθεύδοντας καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι βυδίζοντας τὸ δαῖμα τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀπλίξει, πῶς ἂν οὔτοι γε, ὦ παῖ Καλλαίσχρον, καθαρᾶς ἀπολαύσειαν τῆς ἐλευθερίας;*)

I confess I am curious to know how Critias came to mention *σκελέας* and inclined to wonder whether it does not appear in his *Constitution of the Thessalians* in connection with the Persians. Pollux, who quotes the word, says merely that Critias used it *ἐν ταῖς Πολιτείαις*¹⁴.

Mallius Theodorus¹⁵ says "metrum dactylicum hexametrum inventum primitus ab Orpheo Critias adserit." This statement could

³Quoted by Clement, *Strom.* VI, 9 II.

⁴I, 4.

⁵*Gymnasticus* II, 275, 11.

⁶*Hellen.* II, 3, 34.

⁷Quoted by Athenaeus, *Deip.* XI, 463 E.

⁸Quoted by Athenaeus *Deip.* XI, 483 B and paraphrased by Plutarch *Lycurgus* 9. (Pollux VI, 97 mentions the shape of the *κώθων*).

⁹*Λυκιοῦργεῖς*. Also quoted by Athenaeus, *Deip.* XI, 486 E.

¹⁰Θ 376 p. 1601, 25.

¹¹*Deip.* XIV, 629 D.

¹²Quoted by Libanius *Or.* 25, 63.

¹³*Const. of Lac.* XII, 3.

¹⁴VII, 59.

¹⁵*Gram. Lat.* 6, 2, 589 K. This is Diels 3.

be used to substantiate the theory of Blass¹⁶ that Critias wrote a series of prose βίοι of great poets. He is led to this belief by the wording in the preface of Philostratus' βίοι σοφιστῶν:¹⁷

Τοὺς φιλοσφήσαντας ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς οὕτω κυρίως προσρηθέντας σοφιστὰς ἐς δύο βιβλία ἀνέγραψά σοι, γινώσκων μὲν ὅτι καὶ γένος ἐστί σοι πρὸς τὴν τέχνην ἐς Ἡρώδην τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀναφέροντι, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχϊαν σπουδασθέντων ποτὲ ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ σοφιστῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δαφναίου ἱερῷ. πατέρας δὲ οὐ προσέγραψα, μὰ Δί' οὐ, πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπ' εὐδοκίμων· οἶδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν σοφιστὴν οὐκ ἐκ πατέρων ἀρξάμενον, ἀλλὰ Ὀμήρου δὴ μόνου σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιμνησθέντα, ἐπειδὴ θαῦμα δηλῶσειν ἔμελλε πατέρα Ὀμήρω ποταμὸν εἶναι.

Philostratus, then, in writing biographies of the sophists, will usually omit the patronymics, for he knows he has a precedent: Critias *also* omitted them as a rule. This certainly sounds as if Philostratus was under the impression that Critias wrote biographies. His mention of Homer's patronymic suggests lives of the poets, a suggestion strengthened by two other references: that relating to Orpheus just quoted, and that relating to Archilochus (fr. XLII). Further, these biographies usually began by a mention of the name of his subject's father. We have sufficient indication for the title of three of them: Orpheus, Homer, and Archilochus.

The passage referring to Archilochus¹⁸ is spoken by the true conservative. Critias found the poet's ingenuous lack of reticence offensive to his taste and breeding; his inclination to austerity and orderliness was shocked by the poet's loose life; and his gentleman's traditions found the cowardice the worst offense of all. But underneath his statements we feel that what shocked him most was not the immorality or the cowardice, but the ill-bred frankness. In the light of Critias' later reputation, the last words are naïvely ironic. Meanwhile the formalist in morals and manners is calling fame the rare and poetic word "κλέος".

Fragment XLIII¹⁹ must be dated at least after the death of Cleon in 422, and comes obviously from some work charging the democratic leaders with venality. μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἐλείθερον εἶναι is awkward.

Aristeides,²⁰ referring to ἄλλ' ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ in Xenophon's *Symposium* says the form δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοι γε is more characteristic of Critias (Frag. XLIV). Fragment XLV is in the same connection.²¹ Xenophon (I, 4) says μᾶλλον τοῖσδε ὡς εἰ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ σπουδάρχαις. Aristeides transposes the smoothness

¹⁶ *Attische Beredsamkeit*, Vol. I, p. 263 ff.

¹⁷ *Vit. Sophist.* 479-80. The final sentence is Diels fr. 50.

¹⁸ Quoted by Aelian *V. H.* X, 13.

¹⁹ Aelian *V. H.* X, 17.

²⁰ *Ars. Rhet.* II, 2, 7.

²¹ *Ars. Rhet.* II, 3, 15.

CRITIAS

of Xenophon's thought into another more dignified which he says is more like Critias or *τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων σοφιστῶν*. Here is the younger Critias again, rejecting utilitarian aims in friendship.

XLVI²² presents us with the only originality in thought which we shall find in Critias.

It is interesting to compare this theory with the modern one that genius in man results from a strong feminine admixture in his nature. Dio's disapproval leads him to say that the Athenians' choice of Critias as *νομοθέτην* was not *δικαίως*. I think we cannot assume that Critias bore this title officially; the Thirty were to make and did make alterations in the laws, and the democratic title was useful to signify this fact.

The gloomy tone of XLVII²³ suggests a late date—some time after 407. XLVIII is another passage saved to us for its word—order. Planudes²⁴ remarks that *τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Πυθίων* is *κουδὸν καὶ εὐτελές*, but that Critias, turning it about, says *τῷ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγῶνι*, implying that the phrase gains grace.

The rebuke of Cimon in XLIX²⁵ fits the moderate-party views of Critias and Alcibiades alike, and proves again that the former became an extremist only at the last. His admiration of Sparta did not extend to the point of serving her interests rather than those of his native land.

We come now to a long list of words and brief phrases cited by Pollux on philological grounds. Some of these words are not so unusual as Pollux thought. L,²⁶ *διοπτρεύειν*, had been used by Homer and Sophocles. Some seem to be coinages by Critias: LII *ταχύχειρ*²⁷ and LXIX *ἀστύτριψ*²⁸ are especially harsh. The long compounds in--*πωλης* (Frag. LXI,²⁹ LXIV,³⁰ and LXVII³¹) were probably in common use, even though they make only rare appearances in literature. Seven of them are employed by Aristophanes: *τυροπῶλαι*, *συρμαιοπῶλαι*, *στιππειοπῶλαι*, *λιβανωτοπῶλαι* (in the verb form), *φραμακοπῶλαι*, *βελονοπῶλαι* and *πινακοπῶλαι*. It may be that Critias coined some of the others, but I doubt it. They are probably common trade names, not mentioned in literature because no other author would have much need for them. *σπερμολόγοι* (if it means "babblers, gossipers,") is common. LI,

²²Quoted by Dio Chrysost. XXI, 3.

²³Quoted by Pseudo-Dionysius *Ars. Rhet.* 6, p. 25.

²⁴Hermog. *Rhet.* V. 484.

²⁵Quoted by Plutarch, *Cimon* 16.

²⁶Pollux II, 58.

²⁷Pollux II, 148.

²⁸Pollux IX, 17.

²⁹Pollux VII, 78.

³⁰Pollux VII, 154.

³¹Pollux VII, 196, 197.

CRITIAS

λογεύς for ῥήτωρ,³² LIII ῥυπαρία,³³ LXII ποδεία,³⁴ and LXV μυρεψός³⁵ appear elsewhere, but only in Hellenistic or Roman times. In LV³⁶ the regular form is δίδραχμος. προσωδίας, LIV³⁷ is unique in the sense of "song accompanied by the harp", as is διαπεφορηῆσθαι in LIX.³⁸ ἐπικωθωνίζεσθαι (LVI),³⁹ δακτυλιογλύφοι (LXIII),⁴⁰ and κεκρυφαλοπλόκος (LXVI)⁴¹ seem to be coinages by Critias. εὐξενεσία (LXX)⁴² was also used by Aristotle.

Several groups are interesting. In LVIII⁴³ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν is the regular form, ψευδομάρτυς was used by Plato, but the plural is unique with Critias. In LVII,⁴⁴ the classical form is, of course, ὄψωνεῖν, ὄφονομεῖν post-classical. In LXVIII⁴⁵ Critias is the only writer who uses ἀποδικάζω with δίκην, while διαδικάζειν is used only by Critias in the sense, "spend a whole year in law-courts."

I think Diels is correct in thinking that the passages in Ryssel's *Greco-Syrische Sammlung*⁴⁶ are not by Critias. In no case is there a definite attribution to Critias; in no case has the material any connection with the known titles of Critias' works.

In Plato's *Republic*⁴⁷ is a line of verse which I have not included among the verse fragments, but shall append here with a few remarks. Socrates speaks: καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας αἰεὶ μὲν δὴ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ τε Γλαύκωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀδειμάντου ἡγάμην, ἀτὰρ οἷν καὶ τότε πάνυ γε ἦσθην καὶ εἶπον· Οὐ κακῶς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐλεγείων ἐποίησεν ὁ Γλαύκωνος ἐραστής, εὐδοκίμησαντας περὶ τὴν Μεγαροῖ μάχην, εἰπὼν·

παῖδες Ἀρίστωνος, κλεινοῦ θεῖον γένος ἀνδρός.

τοῦτό μοι, ὦ φίλοι, εὖ δοκεῖ ἔχειν.

Now, not only have we no evidence that Glaucon was the recipient of this type of affection, but such a fact is unlikely. It is true that on the score of chronology it is not impossible. If Plato's brothers participated in the battle of Megara in 409 at the earliest probable age of Glaucon, who was the younger, the association of the latter with Critias would date at about 415, when Critias was 45 or slightly older. It is the kinship which makes me doubt the

³²Pollux II, 122.

³³Pollux III, 116.

³⁴Pollux VII, 91.

³⁵Pollux VII, 177.

³⁶Pollux IV, 165.

³⁷Pollux IV, 64.

³⁸Pollux VI, 194.

³⁹Pollux VI, 31.

⁴⁰Pollux VII, 108.

⁴¹Pollux VII, 179.

⁴²Pollux IX, 161.

⁴³Pollux VI, 152.

⁴⁴Pollux VI, 38.

⁴⁵Pollux VIII, 25.

⁴⁶*Rhein. Mus.* 51, 531, ff.

⁴⁷368A.

CRITIAS

possibility that Critias wrote the lines. So far as I know, it would be the only case on record, and certainly we should have heard of it from one of Critias' many enemies. A reproof from Socrates for this affair would have been forthcoming with more justification than we can see for the reproof he did administer.^{47a}

We come now to Critias the orator, for whom we have no direct evidence in the way of actual words, but no lack of indirect evidence from the pens of later writers. These passages have been quoted above:⁴⁸ According to Hermogenes,^{48a} Critias was almost as stately as Antiphon, and contrived to combine dignity with clear directness. He was polished but not poetic, using ornament with taste and refinement but not to pall. It is Hermogenes, too, who tells us that Critias wrote (or spoke?) *Δημηγορικὰ Προίμια*. In spite of the accumulation of sentences, continues Hermogenes, he retained clarity, uniting forthrightness and smoothness. He is placed by Hermogenes immediately after the *Ten*.

According to Dionysius⁴⁹ he was clever in invention and the forceful manner of his speech. His style was pure and based on the Attic not of Plato and Thucydides but of the everyday speech of his time; it was terse and closely-reasoned.

"Critias and Andocides stand together as cultivated amateurs of the phase when the earlier manner of Antiphon and Thucydides was already felt to be too rigid for practical life, but when, nevertheless, an alternative manner had not been artistically shaped. Critias, like Andocides, appears to have avoided the poetical diction as well as the figures of Gorgias, and is named along with Andocides as a witness to the currency of the idiom used by Lysias."⁵⁰

In view of the generous praises of Critias' oratorical style, it is surprising to find Andocides included among the *Decad*, while Critias takes a position immediately after the famous *Ten*. Critias might be supposed to have had the stronger claims. Perhaps his having been one of the odious *Thirty* stood in his way, but this does not entirely account for his exclusion by later generations of writers unaffected by his political career. Jebb concludes that to them Andocides was of greater interest because of the subjects on which he spoke. His revealing glimpses of the life of the people and courts make him an indirect historian, whereas Critias' speeches went over ground so well covered by Thucydides and Xenophon.

Cicero⁵¹ characterizes Pericles, Alcibiades, and Thucydides as "subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiis, magis quam verbis abundantes"—skillful in the choice of words and in the subtle expression of

^{47a}Supra Ch. 1.

⁴⁸Ch. 2.

^{48a}περὶ ἰδεῶν, 388.

⁴⁹II, 415.

⁵⁰Jebb, *Attic Orators* Vol. II, p. 425.

⁵¹*De Oratore* II, 23.

CRITIAS

each thought, refined, concise and using more thoughts than words. On the contrary in the "Brutus"⁵² he classes Alcibiades along with Critias and Theramenes and says their style of oratory can be inferred from Thucydides: "grandes, verbis crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri"—stately, full of sententious remarks, and so exceedingly concise as to be sometimes obscure. While the descriptions are not contradictory as they stand, the confused alignment of Alcibiades is illuminating. This alignment seems to be political more than oratorical, and suggests that although some of Critias' works survived to Cicero's day, the Roman had no access to them—dicendi genus . . . ex Thucydidis scriptis . . . intellegi maxime potest."

We come finally to the Critias of Plato's *Charmides* and *Protagoras*. The proximity of the dramatic dates of these dialogues is interesting.

In the *Protagoras* we find that *χαρισιστάτην ἡβην εἶναι τοῦ ὑπηγήτου, ἣν νῦν Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχει.*

Since Alcibiades served at Potidaea in 431, this dialogue must date several years earlier to allow for some easier preliminary military training. Socrates would be about 36 or 37, Critias 25, and Alcibiades 19. It is also significant to note that Alcibiades and Critias enter together. At 334c the dialogue threatens to break up. Socrates has driven Protagoras into a corner from which he attempts to extricate himself by turning the discussion into other channels. Socrates discovers he has an engagement elsewhere, and only the intervention of the audience saves the discussion. Callias, as host, steps in immediately to prevent Socrates' departure and courteously suggests that Socrates adapt himself to Protagoras' method. Socrates professes himself unable, because of a short memory, to compete with his antagonist in long harangues. Alcibiades, who knows Socrates, un masks his pretext of short memory, but stands on his side with a veiled challenge to Protagoras: Is he unable to meet Socrates on the latter's ground?

μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, Κριτίας ἦν ὁ εἰπὼν· ὦ Πρόδικε καὶ Ἰππία, Καλλίας μὲν δοκεῖ μοι μάλα πρὸς Πρωταγόρου εἶναι, Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ αἰεὶ φιλόνομος ἐστὶ πρὸς ὃν ἂν ὁρμήσῃ· ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖ συμφιλιονικεῖν οὔτε Σωκράτει οὔτε Πρωταγόρα, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρων δεῖσθαι μὴ μεταξὺ διαλύσαι τὴν ξηνοσίαν·

Alcibiades relishes a "scrap"; Critias is not only polite enough not to side with either party to the dispute, but is eager to hear the discussion amicably continued. Without expressing an opinion, he knows he has much to learn from the intelligent argument of wiser men.

Several years later (Socrates has just returned from Potidaea) Critias takes a far greater part in the *Charmides*. He introduces to

⁵²VII.

CRITIAS

Socrates his young cousin, Charmides, who is now εὖ μάλα ἂν ἤδη μαιράκιον and is noted not only for his beauty but also for his σωφροσύνη. After a bit of playful introduction Socrates proceeds to his main question, "What is σωφροσύνη?" Charmides, like the well-bred lad he is, thinks of it as outward good behavior, quietness and respect. Socrates refutes the definition. Charmides, realizing his definition has been superficial, identifies it with αἰδώς. Again Socrates shows him his error. Once more Charmides goes deeper.

ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνεμνήσθην ὃ ἤδη του ἤκουσα λέγοντος, ὅτι σωφροσύνη ἂν εἴη τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν. σκοπεῖ οὖν τοῦτο εἰ ὀρθῶς σοι δοκεῖ λέγειν ὃ λέγων.

Socrates responds: ὦ μαρέ, Κριτίου τοῦδε ἀκήκοας αὐτὸ ἢ ἄλλου του τῶν σοφῶν.

Critias denies the authorship, and Charmides takes the hint by saying that it doesn't matter from whom he heard it. Socrates agrees but quickly reduces the definition to absurdity by showing that the carpenter, in making other men's shoes is not guilty of breach of σωφροσύνη. He deliberately tempts Critias into the argument to defend what he feels really *is* Critias definition.

Ἦνίττετο ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, ὃ λέγων τὸ τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν σωφροσύνην εἶναι· οὐ γάρ που οὕτω γε ἦν εὐήθης· ἢ τινος ἡλιθίου ἤκουσας τοῦτ' ἐλέγοντος, ὦ Χαρμίδη;

Ἦκιστά γε, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάνι ἐδόκει σοφὸς εἶναι.

Charmides confesses he does not understand the definition, and mischievously throws it into Critias, lap: ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐδὲν κωλύει μηδὲ τὸν λέγοντα μηδὲν εἰδέναι ὃ τι ἐνόει. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ὑπεγέλα τε καὶ εἰς τὸν Κριτίαν ἀπέβλεπεν.

Καὶ ὁ Κριτίας δῆλος μὲν ἦν καὶ πάλαι ἀγωνιῶν καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τε τὸν Χαρμίδην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἔχων, μόγις δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν κατέχων τότε οὐχ οἴός τε ἐγένετο.

Critias is angry ὥσπερ ποιητῆς ὑποκριτῆ κακῶς διατιθέντι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα. He looks in annoyance at Charmides and says,

Οὕτως οἶει, ὦ Χαρμίδη, εἰ σὺ μὴ οἴσθα ὃ τί ποτ' ἐνόει ὃς ἔφη σωφροσύνην εἶναι τὸ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, οὐδὲ δὴ ἐκείνον εἰδέναι;

Socrates defends Charmides: It is no wonder that, at his age, he cannot understand, but Critias, in view of his years and studies, will know. Besides, he would prefer to argue with Critias. Critias accepts. He draws a distinction between τὸ πράττειν and τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι. The cobbler, in "making" shoes for others, is "doing" his own work. This is a shrewd distinction, but Critias has not thought it out carefully, and gets off to a bad start. He distorts Hesiod's ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος,⁵³ which he refutes by declaring that there are base trades—like that of the pickle-seller. While this attitude can be partly justified by the Athenian economic system, it remains a superficial one. By assuming that Hesiod meant that

⁵³Works and Days 309.

CRITIAS

ποίησιν πράξεως καὶ ἐργασίας ἄλλο . . . καὶ ποίημα μὲν γίγνεσθαι ὄνειδος ἐνίοτε, ὅταν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ γίγνηται, ἔργον δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ὄνειδος· τὰ γὰρ καλῶς τε καὶ ὠφελίμως ποιούμενα ἔργα ἐκάλει, καὶ ἐργασίας τε καὶ πράξεις τὺς τοιαύτας ποιήσεις. φάναι δὲ γε χρὴ καὶ οἰκεία μόνον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ βλαβερὰ πάντα ἀλλότρια· ὥστε καὶ Ἡσίοδον χρὴ οἶεσθαι καὶ ἄλλον, ὅστις φρόνιμος, τὸν τὰ αὐτοῦ πρίττοντα τοῦτον σώφρονα καλεῖν he reveals himself as a sophist in the unhappy sense of that term. This subtle distinction between synonyms, this specious argument, which marks him so definitely the pupil of Prodicus, we search for in vain in his writings.

Socrates ignores the obvious weakness of this concept—that it presupposes a knowledge of “the good” and “the useful.” He proceeds instead to force Critias to declare that a man could have *σωφροσύνη* without being aware of it. But this contradicts a view to which Critias subscribes—that *σωφροσύνη* is self-knowledge. He says, *σχεδὸν γάρ τι ἔγωγε αὐτὸ τοῦτό φημι εἶναι σωφροσύνην, τὸ γινώσκειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ συμφέρομαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθέντι τὸ τοιοῦτον γράμμα.*

This faces Critias with certain questions: Is self-knowledge possible? Is it useful? What does self-knowledge know? What does it do?

Critias says self-knowledge has no object, no product: it is a speculative, not a practical science. He again confuses the issue. He assumes that a knowledge of one's own good and bad qualities is equivalent to psychology. He insists that while other sciences teach knowledge of something, self-knowledge is unique.

αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πᾶσαι ἄλλου εἰσὶν ἐπιστήμαι, ἑαυτῶν δ' οὐ, ἣ δὲ μόνη τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῇ ἑαυτῆς and rather pettishly adds *καὶ ταῦτά σε πολλοῦ δεῖ λεληθέναι, ἀλλὰ γάρ, οἶμαι, ὃ ἄρτι οὐκ ἔφησθα ποιεῖν, τοῦτο ποιεῖς· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖς ἐλέγχειν, εὔσας περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἐστίν.*

He is obviously aware that he is not showing well. Socrates quietly denies that his sole aim is to prove Critias wrong and insists that nothing matters but that they shall discover the truth.

His ruffled feathers smoothed, Critias agrees. Socrates pursues the previous line of argument. Sight and hearing see and hear objects, not themselves. It would be unique if this should prove an exception, a knowledge which is a knowledge of knowledge and of other knowledges. (If sight sees itself, sight must be colored.) Even if this were true, would self-knowledge be useful, as we admit *σωφροσύνη* is?

Socrates takes the next logical step. A knowledge of knowledge differs from a knowledge of what you know and what you do not know, and is therefore not Critias' *σωφροσύνη*. As Critias does not immediately comprehend, Socrates illustrates. The physician needs to know more than knowledge; he needs also to know what health is. He will not learn this from a science which is a science

CRITIAS

of itself but from the science of medicine. Epistemology is not enough; it is not useful. A man needs a knowledge of himself and his fellow-men; all the epistemologist knows is that he knows epistemology. The conclusion is that what Critias is defining could have no practical use in life. Charmides does not know now whether he has *σωφροσύνη*; not even his wise friends know what it is.

Critias concludes by advising Charmides *ἐπᾶδειν παρέχης Σωκράτει καὶ μὴ ἀπολείπη τούτου μήτε μέγα μήτε μικρόν*. Charmides promises.

It is easy to see that although Critias has indeed an extensive knowledge of both philosophers and the current philosophies, he is not in reality a philosopher; his skill in dialectic is limited, his logic faulty. He is not subtle, he misinterprets, is not quick to understand, and argues fallaciously. He comes near to losing his temper. Above all, he lacks the simple greatness of soul which prevents Socrates from mingling philosophy and personalities.

This, then, is our portrait of Critias. Well educated in the traditional manner, he joined the current trend toward the sophists' practical philosophy. Inspired by his political ambitions and his natural fineness of soul, he associated with Socrates throughout his youth, employing his not inconsiderable talents meanwhile in literary composition. He entered political life early, taking his stand with his friend Alcibiades in the moderate ranks. Driven finally to radical oligarchy by the turn of events, he attempted to put into execution his reverence for the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*, his sophistic theories of equity, and his inherited admiration for Spartan austerity. "Beim Sturz der Oligarchie durch Thrasybul sühnte Critias seine Vergehen, indem er im Kampf für die Sache starb, für die er gelebt hatte."⁵⁴ "The saying preserved by the scholiast on Plato . . . that he was a 'layman among philosophers and a philosopher among laymen' probably maligns an all-round man by calling him a dabbler."⁵⁵

Ungently handled by many writers from Lysias to Philostratus, who breaks a self-imposed rule not to pass moral judgment on his subjects, he is portrayed sympathetically by Plato and by Aristotle, who is the first to mention his literary work, who omits in his *Constitution of Athens* the odium heaped on him by Xenophon, and praises him generously in the *Rhetoric*.

⁵⁴Nestle, *Vorsokratiker* 96.

⁵⁵Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (Loeb) Introduction.

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