

# ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

## 9. ΕΥΑΓΟΡΑΣ

39] Ὅρων, ὦ Νικόκλεις, τιμῶντά σε τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἐπιφερομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἵππων τε καὶ τριήρων ἀμίλλαις, καὶ λείποντ' οὐδεμίαν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπερβολήν, ἠγησάμην Εὐαγόραν, εἴ τις ἐστὶν αἰσθησις τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων, εὐμενῶς μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ χαίρειν ὀρῶντα τήν τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, πολὺ δ' ἂν ἔτι πλείω χάριν ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, εἴ τις δυνηθείη περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀξίως διελθεῖν τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ τοὺς φιλοτίμους καὶ μεγαλοψύχους τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαινεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀποθνήσκειν εὐκλεῶς αἰρουμένους, καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς δόξης ἢ τοῦ βίου σπουδάζοντας; καὶ πάντα ποιῶντας, ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσιν. αἱ μὲν οὖν δαπάναι τῶν μὲν τοιούτων

# THE ORATIONS OF ISOCRATES

## IX. EVAGORAS

WHEN I saw you, Nicocles,<sup>a</sup> honouring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and beautiful offerings, but also with dances, music, and athletic contests, and, furthermore, with races of horses and triremes, and leaving to others no possibility of surpassing you<sup>b</sup> in such celebrations, I judged that Evagoras (if the dead have any perception of that which takes place in this world),<sup>c</sup> while gladly accepting these offerings and rejoicing in the spectacle of your devotion and princely magnificence in honouring him, would feel far greater gratitude to anyone who could worthily recount his principles in life and his perilous deeds than to all other men; for we shall find that men of ambition and greatness of soul not only are desirous of praise for such things, but prefer a glorious death to life, zealously seeking glory rather than existence,<sup>d</sup> and doing all that lies in their power to leave behind a memory of themselves that shall never die. Expenditure of money

<sup>a</sup> For Nicocles see Introd. to this discourse.

<sup>b</sup> A favourite expression of Isocrates; cf. *Panegy.* 5 and *De Bigis* 34.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Isocrates, *Aegin.* 42 and *Plat.* 61; also Plato, *Apology* 40 c.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *To Philip* 135.

οὐδὲν ἐξεργάζονται, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου σημείον εἰσιν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγωνίας ὄντες, οἱ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τὰς τέχνας ἐπιδειξάμενοι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐντιμοτέρους κατέστησαν· ὁ δὲ λόγος εἰ καλῶς διέλθοι τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, αἰμίμηστον ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειεν.

5 Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γεγεννημένους, ἵν' οἱ τε δυνάμενοι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα κοσμεῖν ἐν εἰδόσι

[190] ποιούμενοι τοὺς λόγους ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐχρῶντο περὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ τε νεώτεροι φιλοτιμοτέρως διέκειντο πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰδότες ὅτι τούτων εὐλογῆσονται μᾶλλον ὢν ἂν ἀμείνους σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχωσιν.

6 νῦν δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀθυμήσειεν, ὅταν ὄρα τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα γενομένους ὑμνουμένους καὶ τραγωδομένους, αὐτὸν δὲ προειδῆ, μηδ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετάς, μηδέποτε τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἀξιωθησόμενον; τούτων δ' αἷτιος ὁ φθόνος, ᾧ τοῦτο μόνον ἀγαθὸν πρόσεστιν, ὅτι μέγιστον κακὸν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐστίν. οὕτω γάρ τινες δυσκόλως πεφύκασιν, ὥσθ' ἥδιον ἂν εὐλογουμένων ἀκούοιεν οὐς οὐκ ἴσασι εἰ γεγονάσιν, ἢ τούτων, ὑφ' ὧν εἶ πεπονθότες αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν.

7 οὐ μὴν δουλευτέον τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας τοῖς οὕτω κακῶς φρονούσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἀμελητέον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐθιστέον ἀκούειν περὶ ὧν καὶ λέγειν δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς

can effect nothing of this kind, but is an indication of wealth only; and those who devote themselves to music and letters and to the various contests, some by exhibiting their strength and others their artistic skill, win for themselves greater honour. But the spoken words which should adequately recount the deeds of Evagoras would make his virtues never to be forgotten among all mankind.

Now other writers should have praised those who in their own time had proved themselves good men, to the end that those who have the ability to glorify the deeds of their contemporaries, by speaking in the presence of those who knew the facts might have employed the truth concerning them, and also that the younger generation might with greater emulation have striven for virtue, knowing well that they would be praised more highly than those whom they have excelled in merit. But as it is, who would not be disheartened when he sees those who lived in the time of the Trojan War, and even earlier,<sup>a</sup> celebrated in song and tragedy, and yet foresees that even if he himself surpass their valorous achievements he will never be thought worthy of such praise? The cause of this is envy, which has this as its only good—it is the greatest evil to those who feel it. For some are so ungenerous by nature that they would listen more gladly to the praise of men of whose existence they are uncertain rather than of those who may have been their own benefactors. Men of intelligence, however, should not let themselves be enslaved by men whose minds are so perverted; on the contrary, they should ignore such as these and accustom their fellows to hear about those whom we are in duty bound to praise,

<sup>a</sup> e.g., Heracles, Theseus, and the Argonauts.

ἐπιδόσεις ἴσμεν γιγνομένας καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων οὐ διὰ τοὺς ἐμμένοντας τοῖς καθεστῶσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐπανορθοῦντας καὶ τολμῶντας αἰεὶ τι κινεῖν τῶν μὴ καλῶς ἐχόντων.

- 8 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ὁ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν διὰ λόγων ἐγκωμιάζειν. σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν λέγειν τολμῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτ' αὐτῶν συγγράφειν ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἔχω συγγνώμην. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ποιηταῖς πολλοὶ δέ-  
9 δονται κόσμοι· καὶ γὰρ πλησιάζοντας τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἶόν τ' αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ διαλεγόμενους καὶ συναγωνιζομένους οἷς ἂν βουλευθῶσι, καὶ περὶ τούτων δηλῶσαι μὴ μόνον τοῖς τεταγμένοις ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ξένοις, τὰ δὲ καινοῖς, τὰ δὲ μεταφοραῖς, καὶ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι  
10 τοῖς εἶδεσι διαποικίλαι τὴν ποίησιν· τοῖς δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν ἔξεστι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ἀποτόμως καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς πολιτικοῖς μόνον καὶ  
[191] τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς πράξεις ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι χρῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν μετὰ μέτρων καὶ ῥυθμῶν ἅπαντα ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δ' οὐδενὸς τούτων κοινωνοῦσιν· ἂ τοσαύτην ἔχει χάριν, ὥστ' ἂν καὶ τῇ λέξει καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἔχη κακῶς, ὅμως αὐταῖς ταῖς εὐρυθμίαις καὶ ταῖς

<sup>a</sup> Really oratory and rhetoric; for the meaning of

especially since we are aware that progress is made, not only in the arts, but in all other activities, not through the agency of those that are satisfied with things as they are, but through those who correct, and have the courage constantly to change, anything which is not as it should be.

I am fully aware that what I propose to do is difficult—to eulogize in prose the virtues of a man. The best proof is this: Those who devote themselves to philosophy<sup>a</sup> venture to speak on many subjects of every kind, but no one of them has ever attempted to compose a discourse on such a theme.<sup>b</sup> And I can make much allowance for them. For to the poets is granted the use of many embellishments of language, since they can represent the gods as associating with men, conversing with and aiding in battle whomsoever they please, and they can treat of these subjects not only in conventional expressions, but in words now exotic, now newly coined, and now in figures of speech, neglecting none, but using every kind with which to embroider their poesy.<sup>c</sup> Orators, on the contrary, are not permitted the use of such devices; they must use with precision only words in current use and only such ideas as bear upon the actual facts. Besides, the poets compose all their works with metre and rhythm, while the orators do not share in any of these advantages; and these lend such charm that even though the poets may be deficient in style and thoughts, yet by the very spell of their rhythm and harmony

<sup>a</sup> "philosophy" in Isocrates see the General Introd., Vol. I, p. xxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Prose *encomia* existed before this time, but they were mostly *exercises* on mythical subjects written by Sophists.

<sup>c</sup> With this passage compare Arist. *Poetics* 1457 b.

- 11 *συμμετρίαις ψυχαγωγούσι τοὺς ἀκούοντας. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ἐκεῖθεν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν· ἦν γὰρ τις τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς διανοίας καταλίπη, τὸ δὲ μέτρον διαλύσῃ, φανήσεται πολὺ καταδεέστερα τῆς δόξης ἧς νῦν ἔχομεν περὶ αὐτῶν. ὅμως δὲ καίπερ τοσοῦτον πλεονεκτοῦσης τῆς ποιήσεως, οὐκ ὀκνητέον, ἀλλ' ἀποπειρατέον τῶν λόγων ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο δυνήσονται, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας εὐλογεῖν μηδὲν χεῖρον τῶν ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς καὶ τοῖς μέτροις ἐγκωμιαζόντων.*
- 12 *Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῆς Εὐαγόρου, καὶ τίνων ἦν ἀπόγονος, εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ προεπίστανται, δοκεῖ μοι πρέπειν καμὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι καλλίστων αὐτῷ καὶ μεγίστων παραδειγμάτων καταλειφθέντων οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων*
- 13 *παρέσχευ. ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀπὸ Διὸς εὐγενεστάτους τῶν ἡμιθέων εἶναι, τούτων δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν Αἰακίδας προκρίνειεν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις γένεσιν εὐρήσομεν τοὺς μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντας, τοὺς δὲ καταδεεστέρους ὄντας, οὗτοι δ' ἅπαντες ὀνομαστότατοι τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς*
- 14 *γεγόνασιν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Αἰακὸς ὁ Διὸς μὲν ἔκγονος, τοῦ δὲ γένους τοῦ Τευκριδῶν πρόγονος, τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν ὥστε γενομένων αὐχμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφθαρέντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὑπερέβαλλεν, ἦλθον οἱ προεστώτες τῶν πόλεων ἰκετεύοντες αὐτόν, νομίζοντες διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐκείνου τάχιστ' ἂν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν*

they bewitch their listeners.<sup>a</sup> The power of poetry may be understood from this consideration; if one should retain the words and ideas of poems which are held in high esteem, but do away with the metre, they will appear far inferior to the opinion we now have of them. Nevertheless, although poetry has advantages so great, we must not shrink from the task, but must make the effort and see if it will be possible in prose to eulogize good men in no worse fashion than their encomiasts do who employ song and verse.

In the first place, with respect to the birth and ancestry of Evagoras,<sup>b</sup> even if many are already familiar with the facts, I believe it is fitting that I also should recount them for the sake of the others, that all may know that he proved himself not inferior to the noblest and greatest examples of excellence which were of his inheritance. For it is acknowledged that the noblest of the demigods are the sons of Zeus, and there is no one who would not award first place among these to the Aeacidae; for while in the other families we shall find some of superior and some of inferior worth, yet all the Aeacidae have been most renowned of all their contemporaries. In the first place Aeacus,<sup>c</sup> son of Zeus and ancestor of the family of the Teucridae, was so distinguished that when a drought visited the Greeks and many persons had perished, and when the magnitude of the calamity had passed all bounds, the leaders of the cities came as suppliants to him; for they thought that, by reason of his kinship with Zeus and his piety, they would most quickly obtain from

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 601 B.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Nicoles* 42.

<sup>c</sup> Aeacus, son of Zeus and Aegina, was renowned for his piety.

- 15 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆν. σωθέντες δὲ καὶ τυχόντες ὧν ἐδεήθησαν, ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατεστήσαντο κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐπὲρ ἐκεῖνος
- [192] ἐποιήσατο τὴν εὐχὴν. καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τε τὸν χρόνον ἕως ἦν μετ' ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καλλίστης ὧν δόξης διετέλεσεν· ἐπειδὴ τε μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, λέγεται παρὰ Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρῃ μεγίστας τιμὰς ἔχων παρεδρεύειν ἐκείνοις.
- 16 Τούτου δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν Τελαμῶν καὶ Πηλεὺς, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντα στρατευσάμενος ἀριστείων ἠξιώθη, Πηλεὺς δ' ἐν τε τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἀριστεύσας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύνους εὐδοκμήσας Θέτιδι τῇ Νηρέως, θνητὸς ὧν ἀθανάτη, συνώκησε, καὶ μόνου τούτου φασὶ τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑπὸ θεῶν
- 17 ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὑμέναιον ἀσθῆναι. τούτου δ' ἑκατέρου, Τελαμῶνος μὲν Αἴας καὶ Τεῦκρος ἐγενέσθην, Πηλέως δ' Ἀχιλλεύς, οἱ μέγιστον καὶ σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον ἔδοσαν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πόλεσι μόνον ἐπρώτευσαν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς κατώκουν, ἀλλὰ στρατείας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης, καὶ πολλῶν
- 18 μὲν ἑκατέρων ἀθροισθέντων, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀπολειφθέντος, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κινδύνοις Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν ἀπάντων διήνεγκεν. Αἴας δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἠρίστευσε, Τεῦκρος δὲ τῆς τε τούτων συγγενείας ἄξιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς χείρων γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ Τροίαν συνεξείλεν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κύπρον Σαλαμῖνά τε κατώκισεν, ὁμώνυμον

<sup>a</sup> This was the Aiakeion, described by Pausanias ii. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Persephonê.

the gods relief from the woes that afflicted them. Having gained their desire, they were saved and built in Aegina a temple <sup>a</sup> to be shared by all the Greeks on the very spot where he had offered his prayer. During his entire stay among men he ever enjoyed the fairest repute, and after his departure from life it is said that he sits by the side of Pluto and Korê <sup>b</sup> in the enjoyment of the highest honours. <sup>c</sup>

The sons of Aeacus were Telamôn and Peleus; Telamôn won the meed of valour in an expedition with Heracles against Laomedon, <sup>d</sup> and Peleus, having distinguished himself in the battle with the Centaurs and having won glory in many other hazardous enterprises, wedded Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, he a mortal winning an immortal bride. And they say that at his wedding alone, of all the human race who have ever lived, the wedding-song was sung by gods. To each of these two were born sons—to Telamôn Ajax and Teucer, and to Peleus Achilles, and these heroes gave proof of their valour in the clearest and most convincing way; for not alone in their own cities were they pre-eminent, or in the places where they made their homes, but when an expedition was organized by the Greeks against the barbarians, <sup>e</sup> and a great army was assembled on either side and no warrior of repute was absent, Achilles above all distinguished himself in these perils. And Ajax was second to him in valour, and Teucer, who proved himself worthy of their kinship and inferior to none of the other heroes, after he had helped in the capture of Troy, went to Cyprus and founded Salamis,

<sup>e</sup> Aeacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthys were reputed to be the judges in the world of the dead.

<sup>d</sup> Laomedon, with the help of Poseidon, built Troy.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.*, the Trojans.

ποιήσας τῆς πρότερον αὐτῷ πατρίδος οὔσης, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ νῦν βασιλευόν καταέλιπεν.

- 19 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Εὐαγόρα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ὑπάρξαντα τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς πόλεως κατοικισθείσης κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οἱ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Τεύκρου τὴν βασιλείαν εἶχον, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἀφικόμενος ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνὴρ φυγὰς καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος καὶ μεγάλας δυναστείας λαβὼν οὐ χάριν  
20 ἔσχε τούτων, ἀλλὰ κακὸς μὲν γενόμενος περὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον, δεινὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλεονεκτῆσαι, τὸν μὲν εὐεργέτην ἐξέβαλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχευεν. ἀπιστῶν δὲ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῶς κατασκευάσασθαι τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν τὴν τε πόλιν ἐξεβαρβάρωσε καὶ τὴν νῆσον  
[193] ὅλην βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ κατεδούλωσεν.

21 Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστῶτων καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων τῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων Εὐαγόρας γίνεταί· περὶ οὗ τὰς μὲν φήμας καὶ τὰς μαντείας καὶ τὰς ὄψεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις γενομένας, ἐξ ὧν μειζόνως ἂν φανείη γεγονὼς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπου, αἰροῦμαι παραλιπεῖν, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσι ποιήσω φανερὸν ὅτι τοσούτου δέω πλασάμενος εἰπεῖν τι περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφήμι τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ ὧν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐπίστανται καὶ μὴ πάντες οἱ πολῖται συνίσασιν. ἄρξομαι δ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

22 Παῖς μὲν γὰρ ὧν ἔσχε κάλλος καὶ ῥώμην καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἅπερ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρεπωδέστατα τοῖς

giving to it the name of his former native land <sup>a</sup>; and he left behind him the family that now reigns.

So distinguished from the beginning was the heritage transmitted to Evagoras by his ancestors. After the city had been founded in this manner, the rule at first was held by Teucer's descendants; at a later time, however, there came from Phoenicia a fugitive, who, after he had gained the confidence of the king who then reigned, and had won great power, showed no proper gratitude for the favour shown him; on the contrary, he acted basely toward his host, and being skilled at grasping, he expelled his benefactor and himself seized the throne. But distrustful of the consequences of his measures and wishing to make his position secure, he reduced the city to barbarism, and brought the whole island into subservience to the Great King.<sup>b</sup>

Such was the state of affairs in Salamis, and the descendants of the usurper were in possession of the throne when Evagoras was born. I prefer to say nothing of the portents, the oracles, the visions appearing in dreams, from which the impression might be gained that he was of superhuman birth, not because I disbelieve the reports, but that I may make it clear to all that I am so far from resorting to invention in speaking of his deeds that even of those matters which are in fact true I dismiss such as are known only to the few and of which not all the citizens are cognizant. And I shall begin my account of him with the generally acknowledged facts.

When Evagoras was a boy he possessed beauty, bodily strength, and modesty, the very qualities that

<sup>a</sup> The island Salamis near Athens.

<sup>b</sup> The king of Persia, Artaxerxes.

τηλικούτοις ἐστίν. καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο, τῆς μὲν σωφροσύνης τοὺς συμπαιδευθέντας τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦ δὲ κάλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἰδόντας, τῆς δὲ ῥώμης ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγῶνας<sup>1</sup> ἐν  
 23 οἷς ἐκείνος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐκρατίστευσεν. ἀνδρὶ δὲ γενομένῳ ταῦτά τε πάντα συνηυξήθη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀνδρία προσεγένετο καὶ σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ μέσως οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἑτέροις τισίν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς ὑπερβολήν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς  
 24 ἀρεταῖς διήνεγκεν, ὥσθ' ὅποτε μὲν αὐτὸν ὀρῶεν οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες, ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἡγουμένους οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἰδιώτου μέρει διαγαγεῖν, ὅποτε δ' εἰς τοὺς τρόπους ἀποβλέψειαν, οὕτω σφόδρα πιστεύειν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος τολμῶη περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν, νομίζειν Εὐαγόραν αὐ-  
 25 τοῖς ἔσεσθαι βοηθόν. καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς δόξης παραλλαττούσης οὐδετέρου τούτων ἐψεύσθησαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὢν διετέλεσεν οὔτε περὶ ἐκείνους ἐξήμαρτεν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ὁ δαίμων ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὅπως καλῶς λήψεται τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥσθ' ὅσα μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν παρασκευασθῆναι δι'  
 26 ἀσεβείας, ταῦτα μὲν ἕτερος ἔπραξεν, ἐξ ὧν δ' οἷόν τ' ἦν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, Εὐαγόρα διεφύλαξεν. εἰς γὰρ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐπιβουλεύσας τὸν τε τύραννον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ συλλαβεῖν Εὐαγόραν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἡγούμενος οὐ δυνήσεσθαι κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ κάκεινον ἐκποδῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγῶνας ΓΔΕ. Blass added θεασαμένους before τοὺς.

are most becoming to that age. Witnesses could be produced for these assertions: for his modesty—fellow-citizens who were educated with him; for his beauty—all who beheld him; for his strength—all the contests<sup>a</sup> in which he vanquished his age-mates. When he attained to manhood not only did all these qualities grow up with him, but to them were also added manly courage, wisdom, and justice, and that too in no ordinary measure, as is the case with some others, but each of these characteristics in extraordinary degree. So surpassing was his excellence of both body and mind, that when the kings of that time looked upon him they were terrified and feared for their throne, thinking that a man of such nature could not possibly pass his life in the status of a private citizen, but whenever they observed his character, they felt such confidence in him that they believed that even if anyone else should dare to injure them, Evagoras would be their champion. And although opinions of him were so at variance, they were mistaken in neither respect; for he neither remained in private life, nor did them injury; on the contrary, the Deity took such thought for him that he should honourably assume the throne, that all the preparations which necessarily involved impiety were made by another, while he preserved for Evagoras those means whereby it was possible for him to gain the rule in accordance with piety and justice. For one of the princes,<sup>b</sup> starting a conspiracy, slew the tyrant and attempted to arrest Evagoras, believing that he would not be able to retain the rule himself unless he should get him out

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, the official records of winners in the contests sanctioned by the state. <sup>b</sup> Abdemon; *cf.* Diodorus xiv. 98.

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 27 ποιήσαιτο. διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ σωθεὶς εἰς Σόλους τῆς Κιλικίας οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχε τοῖς ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περιπίπτουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κὰν ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐκπέσωσι, διὰ τὰς παρούσας τύχας ταπεινοτέρας τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν· ἐκείνος δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον μεγαλοφροσύνης ἦλθεν, ὥστε τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἰδιώτης ὢν, ἐπειδὴ φεύγειν  
 28 ἠναγκάσθη, τυραννεῖν ὤθη δεῖν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλάνους τοὺς φυγαδικούς καὶ τὸ δι' ἐτέρων ζητεῖν τὴν κάθοδον καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ χεῖρους ὑπερείδεν, λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ἀφορμὴν, ἦνπερ χρὴ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους, ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ μὴ προτέρους ὑπάρχειν, καὶ προελόμενος ἢ κατορθώσας τυραννεῖν ἢ διαμαρτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, παρακαλέσας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς οἱ τοὺς πλείστους λέγοντες, περὶ  
 29 τὴν κάθοδον. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἣν εἶχε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεωρήσειεν· μέλλοντος γὰρ πλεῖν μετὰ τοσοῦτων ἐπὶ τηλικαύτην πράξιν<sup>1</sup> τὸ μέγεθος καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν πλησίον ὄντων οὐτ' ἐκείνος ἠθύμησεν οὐτε τῶν παρακληθέντων οὐδεὶς ἀποστήναι τῶν κινδύνων ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὥσπερ θεῶ συν-ακολουθοῦντες ἅπαντες ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ὠμολογημένοις, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἢ στρατόπεδον ἔχων κρείττον τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἢ προειδὼς τὸ συμβησόμενον οὕτω  
 30 διέκειτο τὴν γνώμην. δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· ἀποβὰς γὰρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον οὐχ ἠγήσατο δεῖν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν καταλαβῶν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> πράξιν ΔΘΛ vulg.: πόλιω Γ.

of the way. But Evagoras escaped this peril, and having saved himself by fleeing to Soli in Cilicia did not show the same spirit as those who are the victims of like misfortune. For other exiles from royal power are humbled in spirit because of their misfortunes, whereas Evagoras attained to such greatness of soul that, although until that time he had lived as a private citizen, when he was driven into exile he determined to gain the throne. The wandering life of an exile, the dependence upon the help of others in seeking his restoration and the paying of court to his inferiors—all these he scorned; but this he took as his guiding principle, which those who would be god-fearing men must take—to act only in self-defence and never to be the aggressor; and he chose either by success to regain the throne or, failing in that, to die. And so, calling to his side men numbering, according to the highest estimates, about fifty, with these he prepared to effect his return from exile. And from this venture especially the character of Evagoras and his reputation among his associates may be seen; for although he was on the point of sailing with so few companions for the accomplishment of so great a design, and although all the attendant dangers were near at hand, neither did he himself lose heart, nor did any of his companions see fit to shrink from these dangers; nay, as if a god were their leader, they one and all held fast to their promises, and Evagoras, just as if either he had an army superior to that of his adversaries or foresaw the outcome, held to his resolution. This is evident from his acts; for, when he had landed on the island, he did not think it necessary to seize a strong position, make sure of his own safety, and then to wait and see



στήσας περιιδεῖν εἴ τινας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν βοη-  
 θήσουσιν· ἀλλ' εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχε, ταύτης τῆς  
 νυκτὸς διελὼν τοῦ τείχους πυλῖδα καὶ ταύτη τοὺς  
 μεθ' αὐτοῦ διαγαγὼν προσέβαλλε πρὸς τὸ βασι-  
 31 λειον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν θορύβους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιού-  
 τοις καιροῖς γιγνομένους καὶ τοὺς φόβους τοὺς τῶν  
 ἄλλων καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις τὰς ἐκείνου τί δεῖ  
 λέγοντα διατρίβειν; γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν  
 περὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀνταγωνιστῶν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων  
 [195] πολιτῶν θεατῶν, δεδιότες γὰρ τοῦ μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν,  
 32 τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, οὐ πρότερον  
 ἐπαύσατο μαχόμενος καὶ μόνος πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ  
 μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς,<sup>1</sup> πρὶν ἐλεῖν  
 τὸ βασιλείον, καὶ τοὺς τ' ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμωρήσατο καὶ  
 τοῖς φίλοις ἐβοήθησεν, ἔτι δὲ τῷ γένει τὰς τιμὰς  
 τὰς πατρίους ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τύραννον αὐτὸν τῆς  
 πόλεως κατέστησεν.  
 33 Ἡγοῦμαι μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου μνησ-  
 θείην, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα καταλίπομι τὸν λόγον, ῥάδιον  
 ἐκ τούτων εἶναι γινῶναι τὴν τ' ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου  
 καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πεπραγμένων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι  
 γε σαφέστερον περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐκ τῶν  
 34 ἐχομένων οἶμαι δηλώσειν. τοσοῦτων γὰρ τυράν-  
 των ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ γεγενημένων οὐδεὶς  
 φανήσεται τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην κάλλιον ἐκείνου κτη-  
 σάμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὰς  
 πράξεις τὰς Εὐαγόρου παραβάλλοιμεν, οὐτ' ἂν ὁ  
 λόγος ἴσως τοῖς καιροῖς ἀρμόσειεν οὐτ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος  
 τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀρκέσειεν· ἦν δὲ προελόμενοι τοὺς  
 εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ τούτων σκοπῶμεν, οὐδὲν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἐχθρούς ΘΛ vulg. is bracketed by Blass.

if some of the citizens would rally to his aid; but immediately, just as he was, on that very night he broke through a little gate in the wall, and leading his followers through this opening, attacked the palace. The confusion attendant upon such occasions, the fears of his followers, the exhortations of their leader—why need I take the time to describe? <sup>a</sup> When the supporters of the tyrant opposed him and the citizens generally were observers (for they held their peace because they feared either the authority of the one party or the valour of the other), he did not cease from fighting, whether alone against many or with few opposing all the foe, until, having captured the palace, he had taken vengeance upon the enemy and had succoured his friends; furthermore, he restored its ancestral honours to his family <sup>b</sup> and established himself as ruler of the city.

I think that even if I should mention nothing more, but should discontinue my discourse at this point, from what I have said the valour of Evagoras and the greatness of his deeds would be readily manifest: nevertheless, I consider that both will be yet more clearly revealed from what remains to be said. For of all the many sovereigns since time began, none will be found to have won this honour more gloriously than Evagoras. If we were to compare the deeds of Evagoras with those of each one, such an account would perhaps be inappropriate to the occasion, and the time would not suffice for the telling. But if we select the most illustrious of these rulers and examine their exploits in the light of his, our investigation

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Panegy.* 97 for a similar passage in reference to the sea-fight at Salamis. In *To Philip* 93-94 Isocrates justifies such "autoplaiarism."  
<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Nicoles* 28.

χειρόν ἐξετώμεν, πολὺ δὲ συντομώτερον διαλεχθησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν.

- 35 Τῶν μὲν οὖν τὰς πατρικὰς βασιλείας παραλαβόντων τίς οὐκ ἂν τοὺς Εὐαγόρου κινδύνους προκρίνειεν; οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτω ῥάθυμος, ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο παρὰ τῶν προγόνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην παραλαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ κτησάμενος ὥσπερ
- 36 ἐκεῖνος τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ μὴν τῶν γε παλαιῶν καθόδων αὐταὶ μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἄς παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀκούομεν· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῶν γεγενημένων τὰς καλλίστας ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν καινὰς συντιθέασιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μεμυθολόγηκεν, ὅστις οὕτω δεινὸς καὶ φοβερὸς ποιησάμενος τοὺς κινδύνους εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ κατῆλθεν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλείστοι πεποιήνται διὰ τύχην λαβόντες τὰς βασιλείας, οἱ δὲ μετὰ δόλου καὶ τέχνης περιγεγόμενοι
- 37 τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γ' ἐπὶ τάδε γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων, Κῦρον τὸν Μήδων μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, Πέρσαις δὲ
- 196] κτησάμενον, καὶ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῷ Περσῶν στρατοπέδῳ τὸ Μήδων ἐνίκησεν, ὁ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ῥαδίως ἂν ποιήσειαν· ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὰ πλείστα
- 38 φαίνεται τῶν προειρημένων διαπραξάμενος. ἔπειτ' ἐκ μὲν τῆς Κύρου στρατηγίας οὕτω δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Εὐαγόρου κινδύνους ἂν ὑπέμεινεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἅπασι φανερόν, ὅτι ῥαδίως ἂν κάκεινους τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπεχείρησεν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
- 22.

will lose nothing thereby and our discussion will be much more brief.

Who, then, would not choose the perilous deeds of Evagoras before the fortunes of those who inherited their kingdoms from their fathers? For surely there is no one so mean of spirit that he would prefer to receive that power from his ancestors than first to acquire it, as he did, and then to bequeath it to his children. Furthermore, of the returns to their thrones by princes of ancient times the most renowned are those of which the poets tell us; indeed they not only chronicle for us those which have been most glorious, but also compose new ones of their own invention. Nevertheless, no poet has told the story of any legendary prince who has faced hazards so formidable and yet regained his throne; on the contrary, most of their heroes have been represented as having regained their kingdoms by chance, others as having employed deceit and artifice to overcome their foes. Nay, of those who lived later, perhaps indeed of all, the one hero who was most admired by the greatest number was Cyrus, who deprived the Medes of their kingdom and gained it for the Persians. But while Cyrus with a Persian army conquered the Medes, a deed which many a Greek or a barbarian could easily do, Evagoras manifestly accomplished the greater part of the deeds which have been mentioned through strength of his own mind and body. Again, while it is not at all certain from the expedition of Cyrus that he would have endured the dangers of Evagoras, yet it is obvious to all from the deeds of Evagoras that the latter would have readily attempted the exploits of Cyrus. In addition, while piety and justice characterized

- τῷ μὲν δόσιως καὶ δικαίως ἅπαντα πέπρακται, τῷ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβῶς ἔνια συμβέβηκεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπώλεσε, Κῦρος δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπέκτεινε. ὥστ' εἴ τινες βούλωντο μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμβάντων ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ἑκατέρου κρίνειν, δικαίως ἂν Εὐαγόραν καὶ τούτου  
 39 μᾶλλον ἐπαινέσειαν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ συντόμως καὶ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον μηδὲ δείσαντα τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλὰ παρρησίᾳ χρησάμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐδεὶς οὔτε θνητὸς οὔθ' ἡμίθεος οὔτ' ἀθάνατος εὐρεθήσεται κάλλιον οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον οὐδ' εὐσεβέστερον λαβῶν ἐκείνου τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ τούτοις ἐκείνως ἂν τις μάλιστα πιστεύσειεν, εἰ σφόδρα τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀπιστήσας ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσειεν, ὅπως ἕκαστος ἐτυράννευσεν. φανήσομαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου μεγάλη λέγειν προθυμούμενος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀλήθειαν· οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ θρασέως εἰρηκῶς.  
 40 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ μικροῖς διήνεγκε, τοιούτων ἂν καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτῷ προσῆκεν ἀξιοῦσθαι· νῦν δ' ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν τυραννίδα καὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μέγιστον καὶ σεμνότατον καὶ περιμαχητότατον εἶναι. τὸν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὄντων κάλλιστα κτησάμενον τίς ἂν ἦ ποιητῆς ἢ λόγων εὐρετῆς ἀξίως τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσειεν;  
 41 Οὐ τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις ὑπερβαλόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐρεθήσεται καταδεέστερος γενόμενος, ἀλλὰ

every act of Evagoras, some of the successes of Cyrus were gained impiously; for the former destroyed his enemies, but Cyrus slew his mother's father.<sup>a</sup> Consequently if any should wish to judge, not of the greatness of their successes, but of the essential merit of each, they would justly award greater praise to Evagoras than even to Cyrus. And if there is need to speak concisely, without reservation or fear of arousing ill-feeling, but with the utmost frankness, I would say that no one, whether mortal, demigod, or immortal, will be found to have obtained his throne more nobly, more splendidly, or more piously. Anyone would in the highest degree be confirmed in this belief if, distrusting completely what I have said, he were to set about examining how each gained royal power. For it will be manifest that it is through no desire whatever of grandiloquence, but because of the truth of the matter, that I have spoken thus boldly about Evagoras.

Now if he had distinguished himself in unimportant ways only, he would fittingly be thought worthy also of praise of like nature; but as it is, all would admit that of all blessings whether human or divine supreme power is the greatest, the most august, and the object of greatest strife. That man, therefore, who has most gloriously acquired the most glorious of possessions, what poet or what artificer of words<sup>b</sup> could praise in a manner worthy of his deeds?

Nor again, though he was a man of surpassing merit in these respects, will Evagoras be found deficient in all others, but, in the first place, although

<sup>a</sup> Astyages, father of Mandanê, who married Cambyses, father of Cyrus. That Cyrus slew Astyages is not stated by any other writer.

<sup>b</sup> λόγων εὐρετῆς is found also in *To Philip* 144. It means "prose-writer," and refers especially to composers of "set discourses" or "show-pieces."

<sup>a</sup> Astyages, father of Mandanê, who married Cambyses, father of Cyrus. That Cyrus slew Astyages is not stated by any other writer.

πρῶτον μὲν εὐφυέστατος ὢν τὴν γνώμην καὶ πλείστα κατορθοῦν δυνάμενος ὅμως οὐκ ᾤηθη δεῖν ὀλιγωρεῖν οὐδ' αὐτοσχεδιάζειν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν καὶ φροντίζειν καὶ [197] βουλευέσθαι τὸν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου διέτριβεν, ἡγούμενος μὲν, εἰ καλῶς τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν παρασκευάσειεν, καλῶς<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔξειν, θαυμάζων δ' ὅσοι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἕνεκα τῆς ψυχῆς ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτης 42 μὴδὲν τυγχάνουσι φροντίζοντες. ἔπειτα καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν εἶχεν· ὁρῶν γὰρ τοὺς ἄριστα τῶν ὄντων ἐπιμελουμένους ἐλάχιστα λυπουμένους, καὶ τὰς ἀληθινὰς τῶν ῥαθυμιῶν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἀργίαις ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις καὶ καρτερίαις ἐνούσας, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον παρέλειπεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἤδει καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστον ἐγίνωσκεν ὥστε μῆτε τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας αὐτῷ φθάνειν μῆτε τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ὄντας λανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τυγχάνειν τῶν προσηκόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἐτέρων ἤκουεν οὐτ' ἐκόλαζεν οὐτ' ἐτίμα τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς συνήδει τὰς κρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο περὶ αὐτῶν.

43 Ἐν τοιαύταις δ' ἐπιμελείαις αὐτὸν καταστήσας οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην προσπιπτόντων οὐδὲ περὶ ἐν πεπλανημένως εἶχεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω θεοφιλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως διώκει τὴν πόλιν ὥστε τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους μὴ μᾶλλον Εὐαγόραν τῆς ἀρχῆς ζηλοῦν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλείας· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσεν οὐδένα μὲν ἀδικῶν, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς τιμῶν, καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἀπάντων ἀρχων, νομίμως δὲ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> καλῶς Γ: ὁμοίως Blass.

gifted by nature with the highest intelligence and capable of successful action in very many fields, yet he judged that he should not slight any matter or act on the spur of the moment in public affairs; nay, he spent most of his time in inquiring, in deliberation, and in taking counsel, for he believed that if he should prepare his mind well, all would be well with his kingdom also<sup>a</sup>; and he marvelled at those who, while they cultivate the mind for all other ends, take no thought of the mind itself. Again, in public affairs he held to the same opinion; for, seeing that those persons who look best after realities are least worried, and that the true freedom from anxiety is to be found, not in inactivity, but in success, and patient endurance, he left nothing unexamined; on the contrary, so thoroughly was he cognizant of public affairs and so thorough was his knowledge of each of the citizens, that neither those who conspired against him took him unawares, nor did the good citizens remain unknown to him, but all got their deserts: for he neither punished nor honoured them on the basis of what he heard from others, but from his own knowledge he judged them.

When he had engaged himself in the care of such matters he made not a single mistake in dealing with the unexpected incidents which daily befell, but he governed the city so reverently and humanely that visitors to the island<sup>b</sup> did not so much envy Evagoras his office as they did the citizens their government under him; for throughout his whole life he never acted unjustly toward anyone but ever honoured the good; and while he ruled all his subjects with strictness, yet he punished wrongdoers in accordance with

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *To Nicocles* 10.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 51.

- 44 ἔξαμαρτόντας κολάζων· οὐδὲν μὲν συμβούλων δεόμενος, ὅμως δὲ τοῖς φίλοις συμβουλευόμενος· πολλὰ μὲν τῶν χρωμένων ἠττώμενος, ἅπαντα δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιγιγνόμενος· σεμνὸς ὢν οὐ ταῖς τοῦ προσώπου συναγωγαῖς ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ βίου κατασκευαῖς· οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἀτάκτως οὐδ' ἀνωμάλως διακείμενος, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογίας ὥσπερ τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις διαφυλάττων· μέγα φρονῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς διὰ τύχην ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δι' αὐτὸν γιγνομένοις· τοὺς μὲν φίλους ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις [198] ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιούμενος, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τῇ μεγαλοψυχία καταδουλούμενος· φοβερὸς ὢν οὐ τῷ πολλοῖς χαλεπαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πολὺ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν ὑπερβάλλειν· ἠγούμενος τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ὀλίγοις πόνοις πολλὰς ῥαστώνας κτώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ μικρὰς ῥαθυμίας μεγάλους πόνους ὑπολειπόμενος· ὅλως οὐδὲν παραλείπων ὢν προσεῖναι δεῖ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑκάστης τῆς πολιτείας ἐξελεγμένος τὸ βέλτιστον, καὶ δημοτικὸς μὲν ὢν τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ, πολιτικὸς δὲ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης διοικήσει, στρατηγικὸς δὲ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους εὐβουλία, τυραννικὸς<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῷ πᾶσι τούτοις διαφέρειν. καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι προσῆν Εὐαγόρα, καὶ πλείω τούτων, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν.
- 47 Παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐκβαρβαρωμένην καὶ διὰ τὴν Φοινίκων ἀρχὴν οὔτε τοὺς Ἕλληνας προσδεχομένην οὔτε τέχνας ἐπισταμένην οὔτ' ἐμπορίᾳ χρωμένην οὔτε λιμένα κεκτημένην ταῦτά τε πάντα

<sup>1</sup> τυραννικὸς ΘΛ: μεγαλόφρων ΓΔ.

the laws ; and while he was in no need of advisers, yet he sought the counsel of his friends. He yielded often to his intimates, but in everything dominated his enemies ; he inspired respect, not by the frownings of his brow, but by the principles of his life—in no thing was he disposed to carelessness or caprice, but observed his agreements in deed as well as word ; he was proud, not of successes that were due to Fortune, but of those that came about through his own efforts ; his friends he made subject to himself by his benefactions, the rest by his magnanimity he enslaved ; he inspired fear, not by venting his wrath upon many, but because in character he far surpassed all others ; of his pleasures he was the master and not their servant ; by little labour he gained much leisure, but would not, to gain a little respite, leave great labours undone ; in general, he fell in no respect short of the qualities which belong to kings, but choosing from each kind of government the best characteristic, he was democratic in his service to the people, statesmanlike in the administration of the city as a whole, an able general in his good counsel in the face of dangers, and princely in his superiority in all these qualities. That these attributes were inherent in Evagoras, and even more than these, it is easy to learn from his deeds themselves.<sup>a</sup>

After he had taken over the government of the city, which had been reduced to a state of barbarism and, because it was ruled by Phoenicians, was neither hospitable to the Greeks nor acquainted with the arts, nor possessed of a trading-port or harbour,

<sup>a</sup> In §§ 43-46 the strong influence of Gorgias is obvious in the long series of artificial antitheses and in the varied assonance.

διώρθωσε καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ χώραν πολλὴν προσεκτήσατο καὶ τείχη προσπεριεβάλετο καὶ τριήρεις ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς οὕτως ἠύξησε τὴν πόλιν ὥστε μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπολελείφθαι, καὶ δύνανται τοσαύτην ἐνεποίησεν ὥστε πολλοὺς φοβεῖσθαι τῶν πρότερον καταφρονούντων αὐτῆς. καίτοι τηλικαύτας ἐπίδοσεις τὰς πόλεις λαμβάνειν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἐστίν, ἢν μὴ τις αὐτὰς διοικῆ τοιούτοις ἤθεσιν οἷοις Εὐαγόρας μὲν εἶχεν ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπειράθην διελθεῖν. ὥστ' οὐ δέδοικα μὴ φανῶ μείζω λέγων τῶν ἐκείνῳ προσόντων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολὺ λίαν ἀπολειφθῶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐφίκοιτο τοιαύτης φύσεως, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον ὅλον τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ πραότητα καὶ μετριότητα προήγαγεν; πρὶν μὲν γε λαβεῖν Εὐαγόραν τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἀπροσοίστως καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τούτους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι βελτίστους οἷτινες ὠμότατα πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας διακείμενοι τυγχάνοιεν· νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον μεταπεπτώκασιν ὥστ' ἀμιλλᾶσθαι μὲν οἷτινες αὐτῶν δόξουσι φιλέλληνες εἶναι μάλιστα, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν γυναῖκας λαμβάνοντας παρ' ἡμῶν, χαίρειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κτήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, πλείους δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδευσιν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διατρίβειν ἢ παρ' οἷς πρότερον εἰωθότες ἦσαν. καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν Εὐαγόραν αἴτιον εἶναι προσομολογήσειεν.

Evagoras remedied all these defects and, besides, acquired much additional territory, surrounded it all with new walls and built triremes, and with other construction so increased the city that it was inferior to none of the cities of Greece. And he caused it to become so powerful that many who formerly despised it, now feared it.<sup>a</sup> And yet it is not possible that cities should take on such increase unless there are those who govern them by such principles as Evagoras had and as I endeavoured to describe a little before. In consequence I am not afraid of appearing to exaggerate in speaking of the qualities of the man, but rather lest I greatly fall short of doing justice to his deeds. For who could do justice to a man of such natural gifts, a man who not only increased the importance of his own city, but advanced the whole region surrounding the island to a régime of mildness and moderation? Before Evagoras gained the throne the inhabitants were so hostile to strangers and fierce that they considered the best rulers to be those who treated the Greeks in the most cruel fashion. At present, however, they have undergone so great a change that they strive with one another to see who shall be regarded as most friendly to the Greeks, and the majority of them take their wives from us and from them beget children, and they have greater pleasure in owning Greek possessions and observing Greek institutions than in their own, and more of those who occupy themselves with the liberal arts and with education in general now dwell in these regions than in the communities in which they formerly used to live. And for all these changes, no one could deny that Evagoras is responsible.

<sup>a</sup> See *Panegy.* 141 for the fleet and army of Evagoras.

- 51 Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς  
 οἰσιότητος τῆς ἐκείνου· τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ  
 καὶ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες  
 ἦλθον εἰς Κύπρον οἰκήσοντες, ἡγούμενοι κουφο-  
 τέραν καὶ νομιμωτέραν εἶναι τὴν Εὐαγόρου βασι-  
 λείαν τῶν οἴκοι πολιτειῶν· ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους  
 52 ὀνομαστὶ διελθεῖν πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη· Κόνωνα δὲ  
 τὸν διὰ πλείστας ἀρετὰς πρωτεύσαντα τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι δυστυχησάσης τῆς πόλεως<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐκλεξάμενος ὡς Εὐαγόραν ἦλθε, νομί-  
 σασ καὶ τῷ σώματι βεβαιοτάτην εἶναι τὴν παρ'  
 ἐκείνῳ καταφυγὴν καὶ τῇ πόλει τάχιστ' ἂν αὐτὸν  
 γενέσθαι βοηθόν· καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον ἤδη κατ-  
 ωρθωκῶς οὐδὲ περὶ ἐνὸς πώποτε πράγματος ἔδοξεν  
 53 ἄμεινον ἢ περὶ τούτου βουλευσασθαι· συνέβη γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν τὴν εἰς Κύπρον καὶ ποιῆσαι  
 καὶ παθεῖν πλείστ' ἀγαθὰ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἔφθασαν ἀλλήλοις πλησιάσαντες καὶ περὶ πλείονος  
 ἐποιήσαντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς πρότερον οἰκείους  
 ὄντας· ἔπειτα περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοροῦντες  
 ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡμε-  
 54 τέρας πόλεως τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχον· ὄρωντες  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐσαν καὶ μεγάλη  
 μεταβολῇ κεχρημένην λυπηρῶς καὶ βαρέως ἔφερον,  
 ἀμφοτέροι προσηκόντα ποιοῦντες· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἦν

<sup>1</sup> δυστυχησάσης τῆς πόλεως Γ<sup>2</sup>ΘΛ: δυστυχήσας, omitting  
 τῆς πόλεως, Γ<sup>1</sup>, Arist. *Rhet.* 1399 a 5, Blass.

<sup>a</sup> e.g., Andocides, the Athenian orator, who had an estate

The most convincing proof of the character and upright-ness of Evagoras is this—that many of the most reputable Greeks left their own fatherlands and came to Cyprus to dwell, because they considered Evagoras's rule less burdensome and more equitable than that of their own governments at home.<sup>a</sup> To mention all the others by name would be too great a task: but who does not know about Conon, first among the Greeks for his very many glorious deeds, that when his own city had met with ill-fortune,<sup>b</sup> he chose out of all the world Evagoras and came to him, believing that for himself Evagoras would provide the most secure asylum and for his country the most speedy assistance. And indeed Conon, although he had been successful in many previous ventures, in no one of them, it is believed, had he planned more wisely than in this; for the result of his visit to Cyprus was that he both conferred and received most benefits. In the first place, no sooner had Evagoras and Conon met one another than they esteemed each other more highly than those who before had been their intimate friends. Again, they not only were in complete harmony all their lives regarding all other matters, but also in matters relating to our own city they held to the same opinion. For when they beheld Athens under the domination of the Lacedaemonians and the victim of a great reversal of fortune, they were filled with grief and indignation, both acting fittingly; for Conon was a native in Cyprus (*cf.* Andoc. *On the Mysteries* 4), and other Greeks who were forced into exile.

<sup>b</sup> The Athenian fleet under Conon was defeated by the Spartans at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. After this "ill-fortune" Conon, with eight triremes, took refuge with Evagoras, where he remained until 397 B.C.

φύσει πατρίς, τὸν δὲ διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας  
 εὐεργεσίας νόμῳ πολίτην ἐπεποίητο. σκοπου-  
 μένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ὅπως τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτῆν  
 [200] ἀπαλλάξουσι, ταχὺν τὸν καιρὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 παρεσκεύασαν· ἄρχοντες γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ  
 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας  
 ἦλθον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐπεχεί-  
 55 ρησαν. λαβόντες δ' ἐκείνοι τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν  
 καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν βασιλέως ἀπορούντων ὅ τι  
 χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐδίδασκον αὐτοὺς μὴ  
 κατὰ γῆν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πό-  
 λεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, νομίζοντες, εἰ  
 μὲν πεζὸν στρατόπεδον καταστήσαιντο καὶ τούτῳ  
 περιγένοιτο, τὰ περὶ τὴν ἡπειρον μόνον καλῶς  
 ἔξειν, εἰ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν κρατήσειαν, ἅπασαν  
 56 τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς νίκης ταύτης μεθέξειν. ὅπερ  
 συνέβη· πεισθέντων γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ  
 ναυτικοῦ συλλεγέντος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν κατεναυ-  
 μαχήθησαν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερήθησαν, οἱ δ'  
 Ἕλληνες ἠλευθερώθησαν, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν τῆς τε  
 παλαιᾶς δόξης μέρος τι πάλιν ἀνέλαβε καὶ τῶν  
 συμμάχων ἡγεμῶν κατέστη. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη  
 Κόνωνος μὲν στρατηγοῦντος, Εὐαγόρου δὲ τοῦτό  
 τε παρασχόντος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν πλείστην  
 57 παρασκευάσαντος. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς  
 ἐτιμήσαμεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας  
 αὐτῶν ἐστήσαμεν οὐπὲρ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα τοῦ  
 σωτήρος, πλησίον ἐκείνου τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν,  
 ἀμφοτέρων ὑπόμνημα καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς εὐ-  
 εργεσίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

<sup>a</sup> This is attested by Demosthenes, *Philip's Letter* 10.

<sup>b</sup> Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was leader.

son of Athens, and Evagoras, because of his many  
 generous benefactions, had legally been given  
 citizenship by the Athenians.<sup>a</sup> And while they  
 were deliberating how they might free Athens from  
 her misfortunes, the Lacedaemonians themselves  
 soon furnished the opportunity; for, as rulers of the  
 Greeks on land and sea, they became so insatiate  
 that they attempted to ravage Asia<sup>b</sup> also. Conon  
 and Evagoras seized this opportunity, and, as the  
 generals of the Persian king were at a loss to know  
 how to handle the situation, these two advised them  
 to wage war against the Lacedaemonians, not upon  
 land but upon the sea, their opinion being that if  
 the Persians should organize an army on land and  
 with this should gain a victory, the mainland alone  
 would profit, whereas, if they should be victors on  
 the sea, all Hellas would have a share in the victory.  
 And that in fact is what happened: the generals  
 followed this advice, a fleet was assembled, the  
 Lacedaemonians were defeated in a naval battle<sup>c</sup>  
 and lost their supremacy, while the Greeks regained  
 their freedom and our city recovered in some measure  
 its old-time glory and became leader of the allies.  
 And although all this was accomplished with Conon  
 as commander, yet Evagoras both made the outcome  
 possible and furnished the greater part of the arma-  
 ment. In gratitude we honoured them with the  
 highest honours and set up their statues<sup>d</sup> where  
 stands the image of Zeus the Saviour, near to it and  
 to one another, a memorial both of the magnitude  
 of their benefactions and of their mutual friendship.

<sup>c</sup> Off Cnidus, 394 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> In front of the Zeus Stoa in the Agora; cf. Pausanias  
i. 3. 2.



Βασιλεὺς δ' οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μείζω καὶ πλείονος ἄξια κατειργάσαντο, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἔδεισεν αὐτούς. περὶ μὲν οὖν Κόνωνος ἄλλος ἡμῖν ἔσται λόγος· ὅτι δὲ πρὸς Εὐαγόραν οὕτως ἔσχεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς λαθεῖν  
 58 ἐζήτησεν. φαίνεται γὰρ μᾶλλον μὲν σπουδάσας περὶ τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεμον ἢ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, μείζω δὲ καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκείνῳ ἀνταγωνιστὴν νομίσας ἢ Κῦρον τὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφισβητήσαντα. μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀκούων τὰς παρασκευὰς τοσοῦτον κατεφρόνησεν ὥστε διὰ τὸ μὴ φροντίζειν μικροῦ δεῖν ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐπιστάς· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ περιδεῶς ἔσχεν, ὥστε μεταξὺ πάσχων εὖ πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρησε,  
 [201] δίκαια μὲν οὐ ποιῶν, οὐ μὴν παντάπασιν ἀλόγως  
 59 βουλευσάμενος. ἥπιστατο μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ ταπεινῶν καὶ φαύλων πραγμάτων μεγάλας δυναστείας κατεργασάμενους, ἠσθάνετο δὲ τὴν Εὐαγόρου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν γιγνομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνυπέβλητον ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν τύχην  
 60 αὐτῷ συναγωνιζομένην· ὥστ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγεννημένων ὀργιζόμενος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβούμενος, οὐδὲ περὶ Κύπρου μόνον δεδιώς, ἀλλὰ

<sup>a</sup> Isocrates gives a brief discussion of Conon's affairs in *To Philip* 62-64.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. for the famous expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes II. See *Panegy.* 145.

The king of Persia, however, did not have the same opinion of them; on the contrary, the greater and more illustrious their deeds the more he feared them. Concerning Conon I will give an account elsewhere<sup>a</sup>; but that toward Evagoras he entertained this feeling not even the king himself sought to conceal. For he was manifestly more concerned about the war in Cyprus than about any other, and regarded Evagoras as a more powerful and formidable antagonist than Cyrus, who had disputed the throne with him.<sup>b</sup> The most convincing proof of this statement is this: when the king heard of the preparations Cyrus was making he viewed him with such contempt that because of his indifference Cyrus almost stood at the doors of his palace before he was aware of him.<sup>c</sup> With regard to Evagoras, however, the king had stood in terror of him for so long a time that even while he was receiving benefits from him he had undertaken to make war upon him—a wrongful act, indeed, but his purpose was not altogether unreasonable. For the king well knew that many men, both Greeks and barbarians, starting from low and insignificant beginnings, had overthrown great dynasties, and he was aware too of the lofty ambition of Evagoras and that the growth of both his prestige and of his political activities was not taking place by slow degrees; also that Evagoras had unsurpassed natural ability and that Fortune was fighting with him as an ally. Therefore it was not in anger for the events of the past, but with forebodings for the future, nor yet fearing for Cyprus alone, but for

<sup>c</sup> The battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.) in which Cyrus was slain. The distance from Babylon, according to Xenophon, was 360 stades (c. 45 miles).

πολὺ περὶ μειζόνων ἐποίησατο τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτόν. οὕτω δ' οὖν ὤρμησεν ὥστ' εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην πλέον ἢ τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια κατηνάλωσεν.

- 61 Ἄλλ' ὅμως Εὐαγόρας πάσαις ἀπολελειμμένος ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀντιτάξας τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην πρὸς τὰς οὕτως ὑπερμεγέθεις παρασκευάς, ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐν τούτοις πολὺ θαυμαστότερον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προειρημένοις. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶων
- 62 εἰρήνην ἄγειν, τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν μόνην εἶχεν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, τοιοῦτος ἦν καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶχε Πνυταγόραν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ συναγωνιστὴν ὥστε μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε Κύπρον ἅπασαν κατασχεῖν, Φοινίκην δ' ἐπόρθησε, Τύρον δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, Κιλικίαν δὲ βασιλέως ἀπέστησε, τοσοῦτους δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλεσεν ὥστε πολλοὺς Περσῶν πενθοῦντας τὰς αὐτῶν συμφορὰς
- 63 μεμνησθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου· τελευτῶν δ' οὕτως ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ὥστ' εἰθισμένων τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τῶν βασιλέων μὴ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι πρὶν κύριοι γένοιτο τῶν σωμάτων, ἄσμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποίησαντο, λύσαντες μὲν τὸν νόμον τούτον, οὐδὲν δὲ κινήσαντες
- 64 τῆς Εὐαγόρου τυραννίδος. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τῶν καὶ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην ἐχόντων κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐντὸς τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν, Εὐαγόρα δὲ πολεμήσας ἔτη δέκα τῶν αὐτῶν κύριον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν, ὧν περ ἦν καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον·

reasons far weightier, that he undertook the war against Evagoras. In any case he threw himself into it with such ardour that he expended on this expedition more than fifteen thousand talents.<sup>a</sup>

But nevertheless, although Evagoras was inferior in all the resources of war, after he had marshalled in opposition to these extraordinarily immense preparations of the king his own determination, he proved himself in these circumstances to be far more worthy of admiration than in all those I have mentioned before. For when his enemies permitted him to be at peace, all he possessed was his own city; but when he was forced to go to war, he proved so valiant, and had so valiant an ally in his son Pnytagoras, that he almost subdued the whole of Cyprus, ravaged Phoenicia, took Tyre by storm, caused Cilicia to revolt from the king, and slew so many of his enemies that many of the Persians, when they mourn over their sorrows, recall the valour of Evagoras.<sup>b</sup> And finally he so glutted them with war<sup>c</sup> that the Persian kings, who at other times were not accustomed to make peace with their rebellious subjects until they had become masters of their persons, gladly made peace,<sup>d</sup> abandoning this custom and leaving entirely undisturbed the authority of Evagoras. And although the king within three years<sup>e</sup> destroyed the dominion of the Lacedaemonians,<sup>f</sup> who were then at the height of their glory and power, yet after he had waged war against Evagoras for ten years,<sup>g</sup> he left him lord of all that he had possessed before he entered upon the war. But the most amazing

<sup>a</sup> A talent of gold was worth about \$1200 or £300.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Isocrates, *Panegy.* 161.

<sup>c</sup> A Homeric reminiscence.

<sup>d</sup> For the actual facts see Diodorus xv. 9.

<sup>e</sup> 397-394 B.C.

<sup>f</sup> An exaggeration; it was the Spartan sea-power only that was destroyed.

<sup>g</sup> 390-380 (?) B.C.

[202] τὴν γὰρ πόλιν, ἣν Εὐαγόρας ἑτέρου τυραννοῦντος μετὰ πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν εἶλε, ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας τοσαύτην δύναμιν ἔχων οὐχ οἷός τ' ἐγένετο χειρώσασθαι.

65 Καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις τὴν ἀνδρίαν ἢ τὴν φρόνησιν ἢ σύμπασαν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου φανερώτερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ διὰ τοιούτων ἔργων καὶ κινδύνων; οὐ γὰρ μόνον φανεῖται τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡρώων ὑπερβαλόμενος, τὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμνούμενον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος Τροίαν μόνην εἶλον, ὁ δὲ μίαν πόλιν ἔχων πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπολέμησεν· ὥστ' εἰ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλήθος ἐγκωμιάζειν αὐτὸν ἠβουλήθησαν ὅσοι περ ἐκείνους, πολὺ ἂν μείζω καὶ τὴν  
66 δόξαν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. τίνα γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τῶν τότε γενομένων, εἰ τοὺς μύθους ἀφέντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν σκοποῖμεν, τοιαῦτα διαπεπραγμένον, ἢ τίνα τοσοῦτων μεταβολῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν αἴτιον γεγενημένον; ὃς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξ ἰδιώτου τύραννον κατέστησε, τὸ δὲ γένος ἅπαν ἀπεληλαμένον τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὰς προσηκούσας τιμὰς πάλιν ἐπανήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐκ βαρβάρων μὲν Ἑλληνας  
67 ἐποίησεν, ἐξ ἀνάνδρων δὲ πολεμικούς, ἐξ ἀδόξων δ' ὀνομαστούς, τὸν δὲ τόπον ἄμικτον ὄλον παραλαβῶν καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξηγριωμένον ἡμερώτερον καὶ πραότερον κατέστησεν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς ἔχθραν μὲν βασιλεῖ καταστάς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡμύνατο καλῶς ὥστ' αἰμίμηστον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν περὶ Κύπρον, ὅτε δ' ἦν αὐτῷ σύμμαχος, τοσοῦτῳ χρησιμώτερον αὐτὸν παρέσχε τῶν ἄλλων  
68 ὥστ' ὁμολογουμένως μεγίστην αὐτῷ συμβαλέσθαι

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Panegy.* 83.

thing of all is this : the city which, held by another prince, Evagoras had captured with fifty men, the Great King, with all his vast power, was unable to subdue at all.

In truth, how could one reveal the courage, the wisdom, or the virtues generally of Evagoras more clearly than by pointing to such deeds and perilous enterprises? For he will be shown to have surpassed in his exploits, not only those of other wars, but even those of the war of the heroes which is celebrated in the songs of all men. For they, in company with all Hellas, captured Troy only,<sup>a</sup> but Evagoras, although he possessed but one city, waged war against all Asia. Consequently, if the number of those who wished to praise him had equalled those who lauded the heroes at Troy, he would have gained far greater renown than they. For whom shall we find of the men of that age—if we disregard the fabulous tales and look at the truth—who has accomplished such feats or has brought about changes so great in political affairs? Evagoras, from private estate, made himself a sovereign; his entire family, which had been driven from political power, he restored again to their appropriate honours; the citizens of barbarian birth he transformed into Hellenes, cravens into warriors, and obscure individuals into men of note; and having taken over a country wholly inhospitable and utterly reduced to savagery, he made it more civilized and gentler; furthermore, when he became hostile to the king, he defended himself so gloriously that the Cyprian War has become memorable for ever; and when he was the ally of the king, he made himself so much more serviceable than the others that, in the opinion of all, the forces he contributed to the naval

δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κνίδον, ἧς γενομένης βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας κύριος κατέστη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡπειρον πορθεῖν περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν κινδυνεύειν ἠναγκάσθησαν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἀντὶ δουλείας αὐτονομίας ἔτυχον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπέδοσαν ὥστε τοὺς πρότερον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 69 δώσοντας. ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔροιτό με, τί νομίζω  
 [203] μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν Εὐαγόρα πεπραγμένων, πότερον τὰς ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξ ὧν τὰ προειρημένα γέγονεν, ἢ τὸν τελευταῖον πόλεμον, ἢ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς βασιλείας, ἢ τὴν ὅλην τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν, εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν ἂν κατασταίην· αἰεὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ μέγιστον εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστότατον καθ' ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσω τὴν διάνοιαν.

70 Ὡστ' εἴ τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων δι' ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατοι γεγόνασιν, οἶμαι κάκεινον ἠξιῶσθαι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς, σημείοις χρώμενος ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἐνθάδε χρόνον εὐτυχέστερον καὶ θεοφιλέστερον ἐκείνων διαβεβίωκεν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἡμιθέων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους εὐρήσομεν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντας, Εὐαγόρας δ' οὐ μόνον θαυμαστότατος ἀλλὰ καὶ μακαριστότατος  
 71 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὧν διετέλεσεν. τί γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν εὐδαιμονίας, ὃς τοιούτων μὲν προγόνων ἔτυχεν οἷων οὐδεὶς ἄλλος, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνω γέγονεν, τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκεν ὥστε μὴ μόνον Σαλαμῖνος

battle at Cnidus were the largest, and as the result of this battle, while the king became master of all Asia, the Lacedaemonians instead of ravaging the continent were compelled to fight for their own land, and the Greeks, in place of servitude, gained independence, and the Athenians increased in power so greatly that those who formerly were their rulers<sup>a</sup> came to offer them the hegemony. Consequently, if anyone should ask me what I regard as the greatest of the achievements of Evagoras, whether the careful military preparations directed against the Lacedaemonians which resulted in the aforesaid successes, or the last war, or the recovery of his throne, or his general administration of affairs, I should be at a great loss what to say in reply; for each achievement to which I happen to direct my attention seems to me the greatest and most admirable.

Therefore, I believe that, if any men of the past have by their merit become immortal, Evagoras also has earned this preferment; and my evidence for that belief is this—that the life he lived on earth has been more blessed by fortune and more favoured by the gods than theirs. For of the demigods the greater number and the most renowned were, we shall find, afflicted by the most grievous misfortunes, but Evagoras continued from the beginning to be not only the most admired, but also the most envied for his blessings. For in what respect did he lack utter felicity? Such ancestors Fortune gave to him as to no other man, unless it has been one sprung from the same stock, and so greatly in body and mind did he excel others that he was worthy to hold sway over

<sup>a</sup> A reference to the Lacedaemonians before the battle of Cnidus; see *Areop.* 65.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης ἄξιος εἶναι τυραννεῖν, κάλλιστα δὲ κτησάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν βίον διετελέσεε, θνητὸς δὲ γενόμενος ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμην κατέλιπε, τοσοῦτον δ' ἐβίω χρόνον ὥστε μήτε τοῦ γήρωσ ἄμοιρος γενέσθαι μήτε τῶν νόσων μετασχεῖν τῶν διὰ ταύτην τὴν  
 72 ἡλικίαν γιγνομένων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὃ δοκεῖ σπανιώτατον εἶναι καὶ χαλεπώτατον, εὐπαιδίας τυχεῖν ἅμα καὶ πολυπαιδίας, οὐδὲ τούτου διήμαρτεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων οὐδένα<sup>1</sup> κατέλιπεν ἰδιωτικοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορευόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν βασιλέα καλούμενον, τοὺς δ' ἄνακτας, τὰς δ' ἀνάσσας. ὥστ' εἴ τινες τῶν ποιητῶν περὶ τινος τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑπερβολαῖς κέχρηται, λέγοντες ὡς ἦν θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ δαίμων θνητός, ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ῥηθῆναι μάλιστ' ἂν ἀρμόσειεν.

73 Τῶν μὲν οὖν εἰς Εὐαγόραν πολλὰ μὲν οἶμαι  
 [204] παραλιπεῖν· ὑστερίζω γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, μεθ' ἧς ἀκριβέστερον καὶ φιλοπονώτερον ἐξείργασάμην ἂν τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν, οὐκ ἀνεγκωμίαςτός ἐστιν. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Νικόκλεις, ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ μὲν εἶναι μνημεῖα καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας, πολὺ μὲντοι πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξ-

<sup>1</sup> οὐδένα MSS. : οὐδὲν Γ<sup>1</sup> and Blass.

<sup>a</sup> Evagoras seized the power not later than 411 B.C., when the Athenian orator Andocides, in exile, found him reigning.

not only Salamis but the whole of Asia also ; and having acquired most gloriously his kingdom he continued in its possession all his life ; and though a mortal by birth, he left behind a memory of himself that is immortal, and he lived just so long that he was neither unacquainted with old age, nor afflicted with the infirmities attendant upon that time of life.<sup>a</sup> In addition to these blessings, that which seems to be the rarest and most difficult thing to win—to be blessed with many children who are at the same time good—not even this was denied him, but this also fell to his lot. And the greatest blessing was this : of his offspring he left not one who was addressed merely by a private title ; on the contrary, one was called king,<sup>b</sup> others princes, and others princesses. In view of these facts, if any of the poets have used extravagant expressions in characterizing any man of the past, asserting that he was a god among men, or a mortal divinity, all praise of that kind would be especially in harmony with the noble qualities of Evagoras.

No doubt I have omitted much that might be said of Evagoras ; for I am past my prime of life,<sup>c</sup> in which I should have worked out this eulogy with greater finish and diligence. Nevertheless, even at my age, to the best of my ability he has not been left without his encomium. For my part, Nicocles, I think that while effigies of the body are fine memorials, yet likenesses of deeds and of the character are of far greater value. He died in 374-373 B.C. Isocrates, in his depiction of the happy lot of the king, naturally must ignore the fact that Evagoras seems to have been assassinated !

<sup>b</sup> A reference to Nicocles.

<sup>c</sup> Isocrates was perhaps seventy years of age when he wrote the *Evagoras*.

εων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἂν τις  
 74 μόνον τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσι θεωρήσειεν. προκρίνω  
 δὲ ταύτας πρῶτον μὲν εἰδῶς τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος  
 σεμνυνομένους ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ  
 φιλοτιμουμένους· ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τύπους ἀναγ-  
 καῖον παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μόνοις, παρ' οἷς ἂν στα-  
 θῶσι, τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἐξενεχθῆναί θ' οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καί, διαδοθέντας ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὖ  
 φρονούντων διατριβαῖς, ἀγαπᾶσθαι παρ' οἷς κρεῖτ-  
 τόν ἐστιν ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν εὐδοκιμεῖν.  
 75 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πεπλασμένοις καὶ τοῖς  
 γεγραμμένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν  
 ὁμοιώσειε, τοὺς δὲ τρόπους τοὺς ἀλλήλων καὶ τὰς  
 διανοίας τὰς ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐνούσας ῥαδίον ἐστι  
 μιμῆσθαι τοῖς μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν αἰρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ χρη-  
 76 στοῖς εἶναι βουλομένοις. ὦν ἔνεκα καὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἐπεχείρησα γράφειν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡγούμενος  
 καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς  
 ἀπ' Εὐαγόρου γεγονόσι πολὺ καλλίστην ἂν γενέσθαι  
 ταύτην παράκλησιν, εἴ τις ἀθροίσας τὰς ἀρετὰς  
 τὰς ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ λόγῳ κοσμήσας παραδοίῃ θεω-  
 77 ρεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ συνδιατρίβειν αὐταῖς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ  
 ἄλλους προτρέπομεν ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐτέρους  
 ἐπαινοῦντες, ἵνα ζηλοῦντες τοὺς εὐλογουμένους τῶν  
 αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιθυμῶσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασι  
 χρώμενος ἀλλ' οἰκείοις παρακαλῶ, καὶ συμβουλεύω

value,<sup>a</sup> and these are to be observed only in discourses  
 composed according to the rules of art. These I pre-  
 fer to statues because I know, in the first place, that  
 honourable men pride themselves not so much on  
 bodily beauty as they desire to be honoured for their  
 deeds and their wisdom; in the second place, because  
 I know that images must of necessity remain solely  
 among those in whose cities they were set up, whereas  
 portrayals in words may be published throughout  
 Hellas, and having been spread abroad in the gather-  
 ings of enlightened men, are welcomed among those  
 whose approval is more to be desired than that of  
 all others; and finally, while no one can make the  
 bodily nature resemble moulded statues and portraits  
 in painting, yet for those who do not choose to be  
 slothful, but desire to be good men, it is easy to  
 imitate the character of their fellow-men and their  
 thoughts and purposes—those, I mean, that are  
 embodied in the spoken word. For these reasons  
 especially I have undertaken to write this discourse  
 because I believed that for you, for your children, and  
 for all the other descendants of Evagoras, it would be  
 by far the best incentive, if someone should assemble  
 his achievements, give them verbal adornment, and  
 submit them to you for your contemplation and study.  
 For we exhort young men to the study of philosophy<sup>b</sup>  
 by praising others in order that they, emulating those  
 who are eulogized, may desire to adopt the same  
 pursuits, but I appeal to you and yours, using as  
 examples not aliens, but members of your own family,  
 and I counsel you to devote your attention to this,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *To Nicocles* 36.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Vol. I, *Intro.* pp. xxvi and xxvii for the "philosophy" of Isocrates.

προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν μηδεὶς ἤττον δυνήσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

- 78 Καὶ μὴ νόμιζέ με καταγιγνώσκεις, ὡς νῦν ἀμελείς, ὅτι πολλάκις σοι διακελεύομαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ οὐτ' ἐμὲ λέληθας οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους  
 [207] ὅτι καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφαίς ὄντων φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πονεῖν ἐπικεχείρηκας, οὐδ' ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ποιήσεις ζηλώσαντας τὴν σὴν παιδευσιν τούτων τῶν διατριβῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀφεμένους ἐφ' οἷς νῦν  
 79 λῖαν χαίρουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ποιῶ καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτόν ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ θεαταί· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρακελεύονται τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις.  
 80 Ἐμὸν μὲν οὖν ἔργον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ἐξ ὧν μέλλομέν σε παροξύνειν ὀρέγεσθαι τούτων, ὧν περ καὶ νῦν τυγχάνεις ἐπιθυμῶν· σοὶ δὲ προσήκει μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκεῖν, ὅπως ἄξιός ἔσει καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων. ὡς ἅπασιν μὲν προσήκει περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν φρόνησιν, μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν τοῖς πλείστον καὶ μεγίστων κυρίοις οὖσιν. χρὴ δ' οὐκ ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ τῶν παρόντων τυγχάνεις ὧν ἤδη κρείττων, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν, εἰ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὧν αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν, γεγονὼς δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ Διός, τὸ δ' ὑπογυιότατον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου τὴν ἀρετὴν, μὴ πολὺ διοίσεις καὶ

that you may not be surpassed in either word or deed by any of the Hellenes.

And do not imagine that I am reproaching you for indifference at present, because I often admonish you on the same subject.<sup>a</sup> For it has not escaped the notice of either me or anyone else that you, Nicocles, are the first and the only one of those who possess royal power, wealth, and luxury who has undertaken to pursue the study of philosophy, nor yet that you will cause many kings, in emulation of your cultivation of these studies, to abandon the pursuits in which they now take too great pleasure. Although I am aware of these things, none the less I am acting, and shall continue to act, in the same fashion as spectators at the athletic games; for they do not shout encouragement to the runners who have been distanced in the race, but to those who still strive for the victory.

It is my task, therefore, and that of your other friends, to speak and to write in such fashion as may be likely to incite you to strive eagerly after those things which even now you do in fact desire; and you it behooves not to be negligent, but as at present so in the future to pay heed to yourself and to discipline your mind that you may be worthy of your father and of all your ancestors. For though it is the duty of all to place a high value upon wisdom, yet you kings especially should do so, who have power over very many and weighty affairs. You must not be content if you chance to be already superior to your contemporaries, but you should be chagrined if, endowed as you are by nature, distantly descended from Zeus and in our own time from a man of such distinguished excellence, you shall not far surpass,

<sup>a</sup> See Isocrates, Vol. I, p. 39, L.C.L., *Introd. to the discourse To Nicocles.*

## ISOCRATES

τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς σοι τιμαῖς ὄντων. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τούτων· ἂν γὰρ ἐμμένης τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶς ὅσον περ νῦν, ταχέως γενήσῃ τοιοῦτος οἷόν σε προσήκει.

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not only all others, but also those who possess the same high station as yourself. It is in your power not to fail in this ; for if you persevere in the study of philosophy and make as great progress as heretofore, you will soon become the man it is fitting you should be.