

PLATO

# The Apology of Socrates

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A. M. Adam



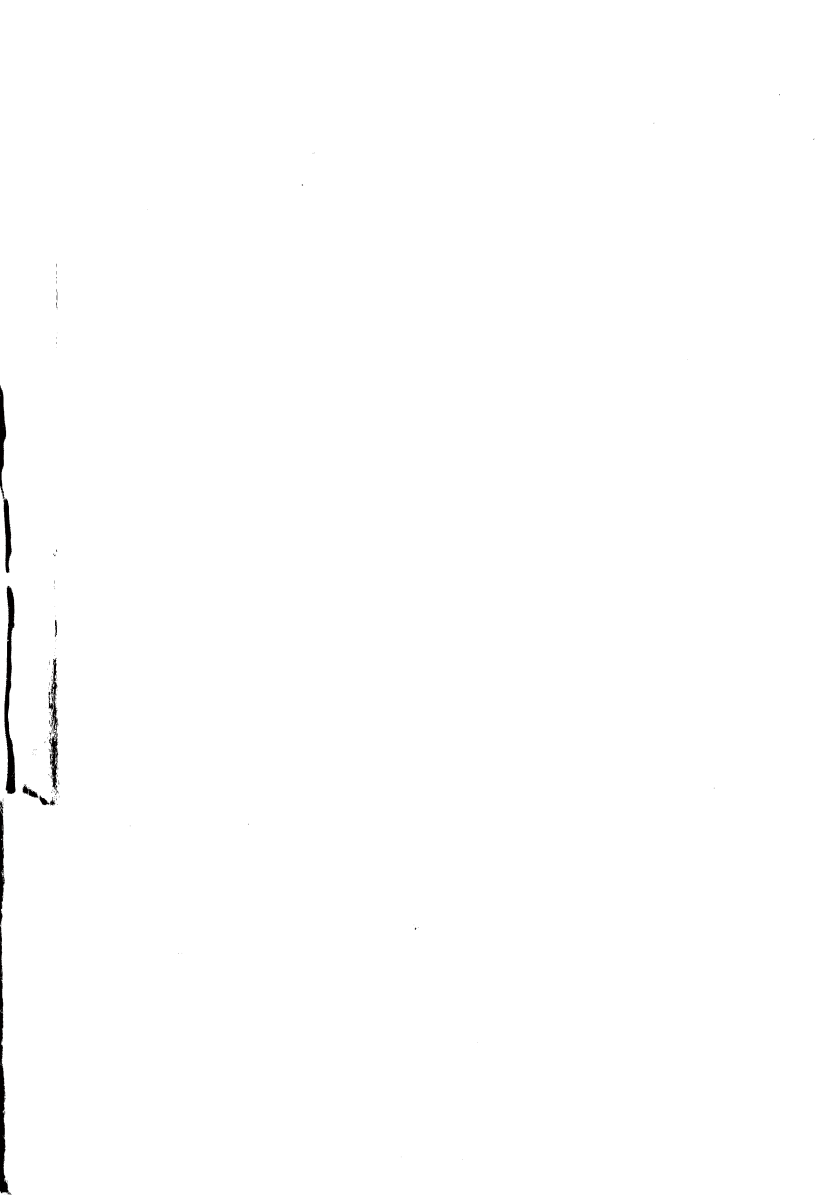
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THE  
APOLOGY OF SOCRATES

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PLATO

THE APOLOGY OF  
SOCRATES



EDITED BY  
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## PREFACE

This edition, which is intended for those who have only lately begun the study of Greek, is based on the edition by my husband in the Pitt Press series. Where no simplification or abridgement seemed necessary, I have not hesitated to use the original wording, but the notes have been for the most part, and the introduction entirely, rewritten. A vocabulary has also been added. I have made considerable use of Mr H. Williamson's edition, published since my husband's lifetime. I am very glad that Professor Burnet's most interesting work, *Greek Philosophy, Thales to Plato*, appeared just in time to enable me to consult it when writing the introduction.

A. M. A.

*Cambridge*

*3 August 1914*



## CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> 5
Introduction	9
Text	20
Notes	58
Vocabulary	101



## INTRODUCTION

The life of Socrates, like that of most thinkers whose work has left a permanent mark upon the world, was singularly devoid of external events. He was born at Athens in the year 469 B.C. His father was a sculptor. His education seems to have been of the ordinary type in vogue at that day, consisting of music (including grammar and literature) and gymnastics. In later life he showed that he had a considerable acquaintance with contemporary science, but he probably acquired this familiarity for himself, without the aid of regular instruction.

A doubtful tradition says that he started life as a sculptor. If he ever began a craft, he did not carry it on for long, but soon made it the main business of his life to hold conversations, indoors and outdoors, summer and winter, always in a shabby old garment and barefooted ('to flout the shoemakers' as a comic writer says), with any man, slave or citizen, obscure or a member of the highest Athenian society, whom he could induce to listen to him. Though he did not shirk the military service that fell to his share, he never went out of Athens on his own account, and was laughed at by his friends for needing to be shown round places near the town, as if he were a stranger engaged in sight-seeing.

In the *Apology*, 20E ff., we read that the oracle at Delphi replied to an enthusiastic admirer of Socrates that no wiser man existed. The date of this pronounce-

## INTRODUCTION

ment is unknown, but Socrates must have been already an outstanding personality at Athens, or his friend would not have put the question to the oracle. According to the *Apology*, Socrates, astonished at the answer, directed all his energy to a search for the reason why wisdom should be attributed to him, when he himself was conscious that he was not in the least wise. He therefore set to work to question persons in various classes of society, who might presumably possess some wisdom. He found that they, while far from wise, were ignorant of their lack of wisdom; and he concluded that he was wiser than the rest of the world to this extent, that he was aware of his ignorance.

His investigations convinced him that there was something very much amiss with his country, and that the first step in the path of reform was to bring home to his fellow-citizens their false conceit of knowledge, and to implant in them a longing for truer wisdom. To this object he applied himself unceasingly, so that he neglected all ordinary means of earning a livelihood, or acquiring a position of importance in the city, and naturally his unsparing criticism of persons who stood high in their own estimation and in that of their contemporaries brought him many enemies. His zeal for knowledge also, and disregard of conventionalities made him an excellent mark for the shafts of comic playwrights. We possess several fragments making mock of his poverty and love of talk; but by far the most important of these attacks is the play of Aristophanes entitled the *Clouds*, produced in 423 B.C., when Socrates was aged 46. In the *Clouds* Socrates and his disciples are represented as physically degenerate,



## INTRODUCTION

heretical or atheistical in their religious opinions, wasting their intellectual powers on scientific trifles, and masters of unscrupulous argument.

Against these onslaughts we must set the pictures of Socrates drawn for us by Plato and Xenophon, both of them his friends and disciples. Here we are confronted by a great difficulty. On the one hand, in all moral and personal characteristics, the original of both portraits is manifestly the same; on the other, the Socrates of Plato's greater works exhibits a power of thought far more profound and comprehensive than anything to be found in Xenophon. Some scholars have lately gone so far as to say that Xenophon knew little about Socrates, and was incapable of understanding his highest teaching. The *Memorabilia* therefore, in which Xenophon records his impressions of Socrates, is in the eyes of these scholars a very untrustworthy guide, and they maintain that in most of his works Plato does no more than preserve for posterity the content of Socrates' philosophy, without additions of his own. If so, it may be asked why a large number of Platonic dialogues show no trace of a disposition to grapple with difficult philosophical problems, and leave the reader with very much the same idea of Socratic teaching as do Xenophon's reminiscences, after making allowance for the infinitely greater charm of Plato as a writer. These dialogues are generally recognised as early works of Plato, and, inasmuch as they, together with the *Memorabilia* and the description of the individuality of Socrates, as it may be gathered from other Platonic writings, form one consistent whole, it seems reason-

## INTRODUCTION

able to suppose that the philosophical developments found in such books as the *Republic* are due to Plato himself, and the independent expansion of his own genius.

The *Apology* is one of Plato's 'Socratic' works, as the early writings are usually termed. If it does not give us the exact words spoken by Socrates when on trial for his life, at any rate it represents their substance. The speech shows him to us in a very different light from the caricature in the *Clouds*. Convinced that he had a divine mission to rescue Athens from evil ways, and to set her on the road to amendment, he first tried to discover the source of her misdoing. This, as we have already seen, in the course of his hunt for a man wiser than himself, he declared to be her ignorance. In arts and crafts he saw that knowledge leads to right action, ignorance to failure. You cannot play an instrument well unless you learn how, you cannot be a chauffeur unless you know the working of motors, you cannot be a doctor unless you study medicine for several years. So far Athenians would agree with Socrates. 'But then,' he would argue, 'the art of living and governing rightly is far more difficult than any of these pursuits. How then can you Athenians maintain as you do that men can be virtuous and take part in politics without special training? In the professional arts ignorance means lack of skill; in the moral and political sphere it means vice. Ignorance is vice, virtue is knowledge.'

Socrates never believed that men erred otherwise than through ignorance. He knew that he himself had no difficulty in disciplining his will to do whatever his

## INTRODUCTION

reason told him should be done. A clear understanding should show everyone that virtue alone produces the real welfare of mankind; therefore such a clear understanding should take away all disposition towards badness in any shape. He had an immense faith in human nature, thinking that no one would follow bad courses, if only a conviction of their harmfulness could be driven home.

Year in, year out, Socrates spent his days at Athens, trying to show the Athenians their sore need of knowledge. His usual method was to ask questions, professing ignorance himself, but always contriving to show the futility of ordinary notions of right and wrong. His skill in tearing to shreds definitions of piety, courage and the like, extracted from unwilling companions, no doubt roused hostility, but on the other hand he endeared himself to all the choicest spirits in Athens. He cherished a hope of training the most gifted among the Athenians to become seekers after truth, so that by the aid of their greater wisdom they might guide the general body of the citizens to better things.

How can the caricature in the *Clouds* bear any relation to the real Socrates with his moral earnestness? We must remember that his grotesque personal appearance and eccentric ways were too good a prey to be missed by any writer who wished to make game of the general spirit of enquiry into moral and scientific problems prevailing at the time in Athens. There were many people, going by the general name of Sophists, who professed to teach virtue, or showed the inadequacy of ordinarily accepted reasons for moral

## INTRODUCTION

conduct, and these might easily be put along with Socrates for comic purposes. There were also many philosophers interested in natural science whom scoffers would be ready to ridicule. We learn from both Plato and Xenophon that Socrates too had been interested in these studies in his youth, although most scholars believe that he abandoned them in the hope of finding a more ready method whereby he might lead his fellows and himself to a better knowledge of virtue, and also because, as Plato tells us in the *Phaedo*, he was profoundly disappointed that the philosophers did little to explain and uphold the divine government of the universe. Such philosophers were apt to be very unorthodox in their religious views. It is therefore not surprising that Aristophanes should have dressed up in the guise of Socrates a figure embodying all the innovating movements of the time.

Socrates himself was a man of deeply religious temperament. Generally speaking, he talks of 'the gods' in the plural, and exhorts his countrymen to conform to the usual modes of worship, and also to consult oracles and use means of divination. But his belief rose to heights far above the conventional religion. It may be summed up as an unswerving faith in a Divine Reason, everywhere present in the universe, and ordering all for the good of man. The soul of man partakes in the divine, and in proportion as knowledge advances virtue will increase, and mankind will draw nearer to God.

Socrates believed that he possessed within himself a sure guide to prevent him from going astray. A 'divine sign' (*δαιμόνιον σημεῖον*) would often

## INTRODUCTION

warn him against some intended action. The nature of this divine sign, often called simply *δαιμόνιον*, has been much discussed. Probably it was something very like what we call 'conscience', a sense of duty presenting itself to him so vividly that he seemed to hear a voice actually speaking and dissuading him from his purpose. Whatever it may have been, Socrates looked upon it as a special gift, granted to him and to few, if any, else of those who lived before him. In the *Apology*, 31D, we are told that the *δαιμόνιον* only restrained and never urged him to any action. Sometimes the prohibition came on trivial occasions; sometimes it made a turning-point in his life, as when the voice prevented him from entering on an ordinary political career.

In another way also the mental experience of Socrates was abnormal. He was subject to trances, which might last for hours, even on one occasion for a whole day and night. During these seizures, he would stand motionless, and unconscious of everything about him, while his mind wrestled with some difficult thought.

Plato in the *Apology* reports Socrates as being brought to trial for the first time in his life at the age of 70. It is a matter of great difficulty to understand why, if the Athenians considered his presence in the city detrimental, an accusation should not have been brought against him long before 399 B.C. His manner of life had been the same for very many years. If the distress (*ἀπορία*) to which his hearers were reduced by his questions was the cause of hatred, that was no new thing. His habit of placing himself on a level

## INTRODUCTION

with his interlocutors, however small their claim to intellectual or other merit, was no doubt often most irritating. Enemies called it *εἰρωνεία*, 'sly dissembling', but this same quality was seen by others in a different and truer light. His self-depreciation partly arose from real humility, and was partly due to playfulness and a humorous desire to avoid anything like a magisterial tone. As depicted by Plato, this trait seems the key to his loveliness, and, if it repelled some, it must surely have had much to do with the passionate attachment he inspired in his friends. He had all along denounced Athenian democracy and Athenian apathy towards everything that is most precious in life; his lack of religious orthodoxy was made the ground of the attack by Aristophanes four-and-twenty years before the actual trial. Were there then any additional motives that induced Anytus, a popular politician, by trade a rich tanner, Meletus, a hook-nosed, unknown young man (as Plato calls him in the *Euthyphro*), perhaps a poet or the son of a poet, and Lycon, a rhetorician of whom nothing is known, to bring an indictment against Socrates, in 399 B.C., accusing him of corrupting youth, failing to reverence the gods revered by the state, and introducing new divinities (*δαιμόνια*)?

Five years previously, after the downfall of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War, a body of irresponsible rulers, called the Thirty from their number, had been appointed by the orders of the Spartan general to administer affairs at Athens. For eight months the Thirty reigned in the city, to the terror of the inhabitants, large numbers of whom fled

## INTRODUCTION

to Thebes and elsewhere. Socrates was not amongst those who left Athens. Though he had refused at the peril of his life (*Apology*, 32D) to obey a tyrannical order of the Thirty, yet several of his associates, especially Critias, the most prominent of the Thirty, and Alcibiades, had been anti-democratic, and Socrates' own attitude of criticism towards Athenian institutions was notorious. Accordingly when the voluntary exiles returned, drove out the Thirty, and restored the democracy on the old lines, Socrates was more than ever eyed askance. But an amnesty had been granted to all persons who had been against democracy except to the Thirty themselves and a very few others. Socrates could not therefore be prosecuted on political grounds, and some other cause of offence had to be sought by his enemies, whom we may with good reason suppose to have been chiefly moved by his slighting opinion of Athenian democratic institutions, such as election by lot, and by the fear that his teaching would produce an oligarchical spirit among young men in the future, as it had done in the past.

Thus the main accusation against Socrates was the charge of corrupting youth. Recently attempts have been made to prove that the 'new *δαιμόνια*' of whose introduction the indictment accuses him have no reference to his *δαιμόνιον*, or 'divine sign'. These efforts to discredit the statements of Plato to the contrary in the *Apology*, 31D, and *Euthyphro*, 3B, seem to me unsuccessful, though it would take too much space to give the reasons here. In any case, however, it seems clear that the 'new divinities' were not the chief cause of the attack, and Socrates was probably

## INTRODUCTION

not condemned on this score. Professor Burnet gives an interesting conjectural explanation of the reason why many more of the jury voted for the death than had voted for the condemnation of Socrates. Not only the defiant attitude of the defendant in his second speech, chapters xxv-xxviii, roused their wrath, but 'everything becomes clear if we suppose that the real ground of the accusation could not for some reason be stated in the indictment, and that some of the judges thought it unfair to condemn a man for an offence with which he was not formally charged, even though they might believe him guilty of it'.<sup>1</sup> After condemnation these jurors may very probably have no longer hesitated to vote for the extreme penalty.

We can only guess at the substance of the speeches for the prosecution. Some evidence from the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon tends to show that the attack was far more serious on the side of the dangerous tendencies in the civic teaching of Socrates than as regards his alleged impiety. From the *Apology* also we see that Meletus came to grief in his endeavour to establish the charge of atheism. Nevertheless, in spite of the noble speech for the defence a verdict of guilty was returned by a majority of sixty-one votes in a court of 501 jurors. The accusers then proposed the penalty of death. In cases of this kind the defendant was allowed to propose an alternative penalty. Between these two, and these two only, the court might choose. With difficulty Socrates was persuaded by his friends to propose a fine of about £120, which they undertook to pay. This seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> *Greek Philosophy, Thales to Plato*, p. 186.



## INTRODUCTION

thought so inadequate as to show contempt of court, and eighty more jurors (according to a late account of the trial) voted for the death sentence.

One month elapsed between the trial and the death of Socrates. It was the time of a great annual festival at the island of Delos, to which Athens used regularly to send a sacred ship. No capital punishment might pollute the city during the absence of the ship. While waiting for her return Socrates was in prison for thirty days, spending the time in serene converse with his friends, and, as we should expect from the *Apology*, utterly unperturbed in the face of death. The *Phaedo* of Plato gives us the last scene. We are told that the ship had arrived the day before, and Socrates was to drink at sundown the cup of hemlock appointed for his death. From earliest dawn till the close of the day the talk went on as usual, combining tender playfulness with high discourse on death as the release of the Soul from her prison-house, the body. When the hour came, Socrates maintained his perfect calmness to the last, strong in his conviction that only after death will the lover of Wisdom meet her in her purity.

# ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

## PART I. BEFORE THE VERDICT

(*First Speech*)

### CHAPTERS I-XXIV

#### INTRODUCTION: I-II

St. I.

17 I. Ὅ τι μὲν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πεπόνθατε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, οὐκ οἶδα· ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἔμαυτοῦ ἐπελαθόμεν· οὕτω πιθανῶς ἔλεγον. καί τοι ἀληθές γε, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐθαύμασα τῶν 5 πολλῶν ὧν ἐψεύσαντο, τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ ἔλεγον ὡς χρῆ ὑμᾶς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μὴ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξαπατηθῆτε, ὡς δεινοῦ ὄντος λέγειν. τὸ γὰρ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι, ὅτι αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεγχθήσονται ἔργῳ, ἐπειδὰν μηδ' ὀπωσιοῦν φαίνωμαι δεινὸς λέγειν, τοῦτό μοι ἔδοξεν 10 αὐτῶν ἀναισχυντότατον εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα δεινὸν καλοῦσιν οὗτοι λέγειν τὸν τάληθῆ λέγοντα· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὁμολογοίην ἂν ἔγωγε οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθές εἰρήκασιν· ὑμεῖς δέ μου ἀκούσεσθε 15 πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπημένους γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ C τούτων, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους, ἀλλ' ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῆ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὀνόμασιν· πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἶναι ἃ λέγω, καὶ 20 μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν

δήπου πρόποι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῆδε τῆ ἡλικία ὥσπερ  
 μειρακίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι. καὶ  
 μέντοι καὶ πάνυ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο ὑμῶν  
 δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι· εἴαν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων 25  
 ἀκούητέ μου ἀπολογουμένου, δι' ὧνπερ εἴωθα λέγειν  
 καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν, ἵνα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ  
 D ἀκηκόασι, καὶ ἄλλοθι, μήτε θαυμάζειν μήτε θορυβεῖν  
 τούτου ἕνεκα. ἔχει γὰρ οὕτωςί. νῦν ἐγὼ πρῶτον ἐπὶ  
 δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα, ἔτη γεγωνῶς ἑβδομήκοντα· 30  
 ἀτεχνῶς οὖν ξένως ἔχω τῆς ἐνθάδε λέξεως. ὥσπερ  
 οὖν ἄν, εἰ τῷ ὄντι ξένος ἐντύγχανον ὦν, ξυνεγιγνώ-  
 σκετε δήπου ἄν μοι, εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ  
 18 τρόπῳ ἔλεγον, ἐν | οἷσπερ ἐτεθράμμην, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν  
 τοῦτο ὑμῶν δέομαι δίκαιον, ὥς γέ μοι δοκῶ, τὸν μὲν 35  
 τρόπον τῆς λέξεως εἴαν· ἴσως μὲν γὰρ χεῖρων, ἴσως δέ  
 βελτίων ἄν εἴη· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν καὶ τούτῳ τὸν  
 νοῦν προσέχειν, εἰ δίκαια λέγω ἢ μή· δικαστοῦ μὲν  
 γὰρ αὕτη ἀρετὴ, ρήτορος δὲ τάληθῆ λέγειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δίκαιός εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τὰ πρῶτά μου ψεύδη κατηγο-  
 ρημένα καὶ τοὺς πρώτους κατηγοροὺς, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς  
 B τὰ ὕστερα καὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους. ἐμοῦ γὰρ πολλοὶ  
 κατήγοροι γεγόνασιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πάλαι, πολλὰ 5  
 ἤδη ἔτη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντες, οὓς ἐγὼ μᾶλλον  
 φοβούμαι ἢ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἄνυτον, καίπερ ὄντας καὶ  
 τούτους δεινούς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι δεινότεροι, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ  
 ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκ παίδων παραλαμβάνοντες  
 ἔπειθόν τε καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ [μᾶλλον] οὐδὲν 10  
 ἀληθές, ὡς ἔστιν τις Σωκράτης, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, τά τε μετέ-  
 ωρα φροντιστὴς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἀνεζητηκῶς

καὶ τὸν ἦττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. οὗτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες  
C Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ ταύτην τὴν φήμην κατασκευάσαντες,  
οἱ δεινοὶ εἰσὶν μου κατήγοροι· οἱ γὰρ ἀκούοντες 15  
ἤγουνται τοὺς ταῦτα ζητοῦντας οὐδὲ θεοὺς νομίζειν.  
ἔπειτὰ εἰσιν οὗτοι οἱ κατήγοροι πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺν  
χρόνον ἤδη κατηγορηκότες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ἧ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύ-  
σατε, παῖδες ὄντες, ἔνιοι δ' ὑμῶν καὶ μεράκια, ἀτεχνῶς 20  
ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός. ὁ δὲ  
πάντων ἀλογώτατον, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οἷόν τε  
D αὐτῶν εἰδέναί καὶ εἶπεῖν, πλὴν εἴ τις κωμωδοποιὸς  
τυγχάνει ὢν· ὅσοι δὲ φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι  
ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους 25  
πείθοντες, οὗτοι πάντες ἀπορώτατοί εἰσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
ἀναβιβάσασθαι οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἐνταυθοῖ οὐδ'  
ἐλέγξαι οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ σκια-  
μαχεῖν ἀπολογούμενόν τε καὶ ἐλέγχειν μηδενὸς ἀπο-  
κρινομένου. ἀξιώσατε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, 30  
διττοὺς μου τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονένας, ἑτέρους μὲν  
E τοὺς ἄρτι κατηγορήσαντας, ἑτέρους δὲ τοὺς πάλαι, οὓς  
ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ οἰήθητε δεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνους πρῶτόν με  
ἀπολογήσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων πρότερον  
ἠκούσατε κατηγορούντων, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶνδε 35  
τῶν ὕστερον. εἶεν· ἀπολογητέον δῆ, ὦ ἄνδρες  
19 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπιχειρητέον | ὑμῶν ἐξελέσθαι τὴν δια-  
βολήν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἔσχετε, ταύτην ἐν  
οὕτως ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. βουλοίμην μὲν οὖν ἂν τοῦτο  
οὕτως γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄμεινον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ 40  
πλέον τί με ποιῆσαι ἀπολογούμενον· οἶμαι δὲ αὐτὸ  
χαλεπὸν εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πάνυ με λανθάνει οἷόν ἐστιν.

ὅμως τοῦτο μὲν ἴτω ὅπη τῷ θεῷ φίλον, τῷ δὲ νόμῳ  
πειστέον καὶ ἀπολογητέον.

## SOCRATES DEFENDS HIMSELF AGAINST

## THE πρῶτοι κατηγοροί: III-X

III. Ἀναλάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τίς ἡ κατηγορία  
B ἐστίν, ἐξ ἧς ἡ ἐμὴ διαβολὴ γέγονεν, ἧ δὴ καὶ πιστεύων  
Μέλητός με ἐγράψατο τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην. εἶεν· τί δὴ  
λέγοντες διέβαλλον οἱ διαβάλλοντες; ὥσπερ οὖν  
κατηγόρων τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν δεῖ ἀναγνῶναι αὐτῶν· 5  
“Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ περιεργάζεται ζητῶν τά τε ὑπὸ  
γῆς καὶ οὐράνια καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν  
C καὶ ἄλλους τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα διδάσκων.” τοιαύτη τίς  
ἐστίν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστο-  
φάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, 10  
φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν  
φλυαροῦντα, ὧν ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν πέρι  
ἐπαῖω. καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀτιμάζων λέγω τὴν τοιαύτην  
ἐπιστήμην, εἴ τις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σοφός ἐστιν· μή  
πως ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Μελήτου τοσαύτας δίκας φύγοιμι· ἀλλὰ 15  
D γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδὲν μέτεστιν·  
μάρτυρας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς παρέχομαι,  
καὶ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς ἀλλήλους διδάσκειν τε καὶ φράζειν,  
ὅσοι ἐμοῦ πώποτε ἀκηκόατε διαλεγομένου· πολλοὶ δὲ  
ὑμῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· φράζετε οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ 20  
πώποτε ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα ἤκουσέ τις ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ περὶ  
τῶν τοιούτων διαλεγομένου· καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνώσεσθε  
ὅτι τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν καὶ τᾶλλα περὶ ἐμοῦ ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ  
λέγουσιν.

IV. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τούτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐδέ γ' εἶ  
 τινος ἀκηκόατε ὡς ἐγὼ παιδεύειν ἐπιχειρῶ ἀνθρώπους  
 E καὶ χρήματα πράττομαι, οὐδέ τοῦτο ἀληθές. ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 τοῦτό γέ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι, εἴ τις οἴος τ' εἴη  
 παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους ὥσπερ Γοργίας τε ὁ Λεοντίνος 5  
 καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἰππίας ὁ Ἡλεῖος. τούτων  
 γὰρ ἕκαστος, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἴος τ' ἐστὶν ἰὼν εἰς ἐκάστην  
 τῶν πόλεων τοὺς νέους, οἷς ἕξεστι τῶν ἑαυτῶν  
 πολιτῶν προῖκα ξυνεῖναι ᾧ ἂν βούλωνται,—τούτους  
 20 πείθουσι τὰς ἐκείνων ξυνουσίας | ἀπολιπόντας σφίσιν 10  
 ξυνεῖναι χρήματα δίδοντας καὶ χάριν προσειδέναι.  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ Πάριος ἐνθάδε σοφός, ὃν  
 ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην ἐπιδημοῦντα· ἔτυχον γὰρ προσελθὼν  
 ἀνδρὶ ὃς τετέλεκε χρήματα σοφισταῖς πλείω ἢ  
 ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, Καλλία τῷ Ἰππονίκου· τοῦτον 15  
 οὖν ἀνηρόμην—ἐστὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο υἱέε—<sup>?</sup>Ω Καλλία,  
 ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν σου τὸ υἱέε πῶλω ἢ μόσχῳ ἐγενέσθην,  
 εἴχομεν ἂν αὐτοῖν ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν καὶ μισθώσασθαι,  
 B ὃς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸ καλῶ τε καὶ ἀγαθῶ ποιήσειν τὴν  
 προσήκουσαν ἀρετὴν· ἦν δ' ἂν οὗτος ἡτῶν ἵππικῶν τις ἢ 20  
 τῶν γεωργικῶν· νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὸν, τίνα  
 αὐτοῖν ἐν νῶ ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν; τίς τῆς τοιαύτης  
 ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων  
 ἐστίν; οἶμαι γάρ σε ἐσκέφθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν υἱέων  
 κτῆσιν. ἐστὶν τις, ἔφη ἐγὼ, ἢ οὐ; Πάνυ γε, ἦ δ' ὅς. 25  
 Τίς, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, καὶ ποδαπός, καὶ πόσου διδάσκει;  
 Εὔηνος, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, Πάριος, πέντε μνῶν· καὶ  
 ἐγὼ τὸν Εὔηνον ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει ταύτην  
 C τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελῶς διδάσκει. ἐγὼ οὖν  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαλλυνόμην τε καὶ ἡβρυνόμην ἂν, εἰ 30

ἠπιστάμην ταῦτα· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

- V. Ὑπολάβοι ἂν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ἴσως· Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ σὸν τί ἐστι πρᾶγμα; πόθεν αἱ διαβολαὶ σοι αὐταὶ γέγονασιν; οὐ γὰρ δήπου σοῦ γε οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων περιττότερον πραγματευομένου ἔπειτα τοσαύτη φήμη τε καὶ λόγος γέγονεν, εἰ μὴ τι ἔπραττες ἀλλοῖον 5
- D ἢ οἱ πολλοί· λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν, τί ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ ἡμεῖς περὶ σοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάζωμεν. ταυτί μοι δοκεῖ δίκαια λέγειν ὁ λέγων, καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν πειράσομαι ἀποδείξαι, τί ποτ' ἔστιν τοῦτο ὃ ἐμοὶ πεποιήκε τό τε ὄνομα καὶ τὴν διαβολήν. ἀκούετε δή. καὶ ἴσως μὲν δόξω τισὶν 10 ὑμῶν παίζειν, εὐ μέντοι ἴστε, πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐρῶ. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ διὰ σοφίαν τινὰ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκα. ποίαν δὴ σοφίαν ταύτην; ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἴσως ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ κινδυνεύω ταύτην εἶναι σοφός· οὗτοι δὲ τάχ' 15
- E ἂν, οὓς ἄρτι ἔλεγον, μείζω τινὰ ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπον σοφίαν σοφοὶ εἶεν, ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε αὐτὴν ἐπίσταμαι, ἀλλ' ὅστις φησὶ ψεύδεται τε καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἐμῇ λέγει. καὶ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήσητε, μηδὲ ἂν δόξω τι ὑμῖν μέγα 20 λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀξιόχρεων ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω. τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστι σοφία καὶ οἷα, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε που.
- 21 οὗτος | ἐμός τε ἐταῖρος ἦν ἐκ νέου, καὶ ὑμῶν τῷ 25 πλήθει ἐταῖρός τε καὶ ξυνέφυγε τὴν φυγὴν ταύτην καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν κατηῆθε. καὶ ἴστε δὴ οἷος ἦν Χαιρεφῶν, ὡς φροδρὸς ἐφ' ὃ τι ὀρμήσειεν. καὶ δὴ ποτε καὶ εἰς

Δελφούς ἐλθὼν ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο μαντεύσασθαι· καί, ὅπερ λέγω, μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες· ἤρατο γὰρ δὴ, εἴ 30 τις ἐμοῦ εἶη σοφώτερος. ἀνείλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι. καὶ τούτων πέρι ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ οὐτοσὶ μαρτυρήσει, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τετελεύτηκεν.

- B VI. Σκέψασθε δὲ ὧν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω· μέλλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς διδάξειν, ὅθεν μοι ἡ διαβολὴ γέγονε. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ἐνεθυμούμην οὕτωςί· Τί ποτε λέγει ὁ θεός, καὶ τί ποτε αἰνίττεται; ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρὸν ξύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ σοφὸς ὢν· τί οὖν ποτὲ 5 λέγει φάσκων ἐμὲ σοφώτατον εἶναι; οὐ γὰρ δήπου ψεύδεταιί γε· οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ. καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠπόρουν, τί ποτε λέγει, ἔπειτα μόγις πάνυ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐτραπόμην. ἦλθον ἐπὶ C τινὰ τῶν δοκούντων σοφῶν εἶναι, ὡς ἐνταῦθα, εἴ πέρ 10 που, ἐλέγξων τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ἀποφανῶν τῷ χρησμῷ ὅτι Οὐτοσὶ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερός ἐστι, σὺ δ' ἐμὲ ἔφησθα. διασκοπῶν οὖν τοῦτον—ὄνόματι γὰρ οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν, ἦν δέ τις τῶν πολιτικῶν πρὸς ὃν ἐγὼ σκοπῶν τοιοῦτόν τι ἔπαθον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι—καὶ δια- 15 λεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δοκεῖν μὲν εἶναι σοφὸς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα ἑαυτῷ, εἶναι δ' οὐ. κᾶπειτα ἐπειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικ- D νύναι, ὅτι οἶοιτο μὲν εἶναι σοφός, εἶη δ' οὐ. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τούτῳ τε ἀπηχθόμην καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν παρόντων, 20 πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν δ' οὖν ἀπιῶν ἐλογιζόμην ὅτι τούτου μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ σοφώτερός εἰμι· κινδυνεύει μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος οὐδὲν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν εἰδέναί, ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οἶεταιί τι εἰδέναί οὐκ εἰδώς, ἐγὼ δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ οἶομαι· ἔοικα γοῦν τούτου γε 25



σ μικρῶ τινι αὐτῷ τούτῳ σοφώτερος εἶναι, ὅτι ἂ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἦα τῶν E ἐκείνου δοκούντων σοφωτέρων εἶναι, καί μοι ταῦτα ταῦτα ἔδοξε. καὶ ἐνταῦθα κάκείνω καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀπηχθόμην. 30

VII. Μετὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ἤδη ἐφεξῆς ἦα, αἰσθανόμενος μὲν καὶ λυπούμενος καὶ δεδιώς ὅτι ἀπηχθανόμην, ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοκει εἶναι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι· ἴτεον οὖν σκοποῦντι τὸν χρησμόν, τί λέγει, ἐπὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς τι δοκούντας εἰδέναι. καὶ 5  
22 νῆ τὸν κύνα, ὦ ἄνδρες | Ἀθηναῖοι· δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τάληθῆ λέγειν· ἦ μὴν ἐγὼ ἔπαθόν τι τοιοῦτον· οἱ μὲν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμοῦντες ἔδοξάν μοι ὀλίγου δεῖν τοῦ πλείστου ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι ζητοῦντι κατὰ τὸν θεόν, ἄλλοι δὲ δοκούντες φαυλότεροι ἐπιεικέστεροι εἶναι ἄνδρες 10 πρὸς τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν. δεῖ δὴ ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν πλάνην ἐπιδειξαι ὥσπερ πόνους τινὰς πονοῦντος, ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἢ μαντεία γένοιτο. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς πολιτικούς ἦα ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς τοὺς τε τῶν τραγωδιῶν καὶ B τοὺς τῶν διθυράμβων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' 15 αὐτοφώρῳ καταληψόμενος ἐμαντὸν ἀμαθέστερον ἐκείνων ὄντα. ἀναλαμβάνων οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ ποιήματα, ἃ μοι ἔδοκει μάλιστα πεπραγματεῦσθαι αὐτοῖς, διηρώτων ἂν αὐτοὺς τί λέγοιεν, ἵν' ἅμα τι καὶ μανθάνοιμι παρ' αὐτῶν. αἰσχύνομαι οὖν ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τάληθῆ, ὅμως δὲ ῥητέον. ὡς ἔπος γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὀλίγου αὐτῶν ἅπαντες οἱ παρόντες ἂν βέλτιον ἔλεγον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ C ἐπεποιήκεσαν. ἔγνω οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφία ποιοῖεν, ἂ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντις καὶ 25

οὐ χρησμοῦδοί· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὦν λέγουσι. τοιοῦτόν τί μοι ἐφάνησαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πεπονθότες· καὶ ἅμα ἠσθόμην αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ποίησιν οἰομένων καὶ τᾶλλα σοφωτάτων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἃ οὐκ ἦσαν. ἀπῆα οὖν καὶ 30 ἐντεῦθεν τῷ αὐτῷ οἰόμενος περιγεγονέναι, ὥπερ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν.

VIII. Τελευτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνας ἦα·  
 D ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ ξυνήδη οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν, τούτους δέ γ' ἤδη ὅτι εὐρήσοιμι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπισταμένους. καὶ τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθην, ἀλλ' ἠπίσταντο ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠπιστάμην καὶ μου ταύτῃ 5 σοφώτεροι ἦσαν. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταυτόν μοι ἔδοξαν ἔχειν ἀμάρτημα, ὅπερ καὶ οἱ ποιηταί, καὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δημιουργοί· διὰ τὸ τὴν τέχνην καλῶς ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἕκαστος ἡξίου καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ μέγιστα σοφώτατος εἶναι, καὶ αὐτῶν αὕτη ἢ πλημμέλεια ἐκείνην τὴν 10  
 E σοφίαν ἀπέκρυπτεν· ὥστε με ἐμαυτὸν ἀνερωτᾶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρησμοῦ, πότερα δεξαίμην ἂν οὕτως ὥσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν, μήτε τι σοφὸς ὦν τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, μήτε ἀμαθὴς τὴν ἀμαθίαν, ἢ ἀμφοτέρα ἃ ἐκείνοι ἔχουσιν ἔχειν. ἀπεκρινάμην οὖν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῷ χρησμῷ, ὅτι 15 μοι λυσιτελοῖ ὥσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν.

IX. Ἐκ ταυτησὶ δὴ τῆς ἐξετάσεως, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 23 Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπέχθειά μοι γεγόνασι | καὶ οἶαι χαλεπώταται καὶ βαρύταται, ὥστε πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεγονέναι, ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, σοφὸς εἶναι. οἴονται γάρ με ἐκάστοτε οἱ παρόντες 5 ταῦτα αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφόν, ἃ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι, καὶ

ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τούτῳ τοῦτο λέγειν, ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδενός. καὶ φαίνεται τοῦτ' οὐ λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη, προσκεκρηῆσθαι δὲ 10  
 B τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἶποι ὅτι Οὐτος ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνθρωποι, σοφώτατός ἐστιν, ὅστις ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ἔγνωκεν ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἀξίός ἐστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς σοφίαν. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν περιῶν ζητῶ καὶ ἐρευνῶ κατὰ τὸν 15  
 θεόν, καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ἂν τινα οἴωμαι σοφὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδὴν μοι μὴ δοκῆ, τῷ θεῷ βοηθῶν ἐνδείκνυμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ σοφός. καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀσχολίας οὔτε τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρᾶξαί μοι σχολή  
 C γέγονεν ἀξιὸν λόγου οὔτε τῶν οἰκείων, ἀλλ' ἐν πενία 20  
 μυρία εἰμι διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν.

X. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ νέοι μοι ἐπακολουθοῦτες οἷς μάλιστα σχολή ἐστίν, οἱ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων, αὐτόματοι, χαίρουσιν ἀκούοντες ἐξεταζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλάκις ἐμὲ μιμοῦνται, εἶτα ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἄλλους ἐξετάζειν· κάπειτα, οἶμαι, εὐρί- 5  
 σκουσι πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν οἰομένων μὲν εἰδέναι τι ἀνθρώπων, εἰδότες δὲ ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδέν. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόμενοι ἐμοὶ ὀργίζονται, ἀλλ'  
 D οὐχ αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς Σωκράτης τίς ἐστὶ μιαιώτατος καὶ διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους· καὶ ἐπειδὴν 10  
 τις αὐτοὺς ἐρωτᾷ, ὅ τι ποιῶν καὶ ὅ τι διδάσκων, ἔχουσι μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦσιν, ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶσιν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν φιλοσοφούντων πρόχειρα ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ὅτι Τὰ μετέωρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς, καὶ Θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν, καὶ Τὸν ἦττω λόγον 15  
 κρεῖττω ποιεῖν. τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ, οἶομαι, οὐκ ἂν

ἐθέλοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι κατάδηλοι γίνονται προσποιούμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν. ἄτε οὖν, οἶμαι, E φιλότιμοι ὄντες καὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ πολλοί, καὶ ξυντεταγμένως καὶ πιθανῶς λέγοντες περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐμπεπλήκασιν <sup>20</sup> ὑμῶν τὰ ὦτα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν σφοδρῶς διαβάλλοντες. ἐκ τούτων καὶ Μέλητος μοι ἐπέθετο καὶ Ἄνυτος καὶ Λύκων, Μέλητος μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀχθόμενος, <sup>24</sup> Ἄνυτος δὲ | ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, Λύκων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητόρων· ὥστε, ὅπερ ἀρχόμενος <sup>25</sup> ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν εἰ οἴός τ' εἶην ἐγὼ ὑμῶν ταύτην τὴν διαβολὴν ἐξελέσθαι ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ οὕτω πολλὴν γεγонуῖαν. ταῦτ' ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰληθῆ, καὶ ὑμᾶς οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν ἀποκρυψάμενος ἐγὼ λέγω οὐδ' ὑποστειλάμενος· καί <sup>30</sup> τοι οἶδα σχεδὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι· ὁ καὶ τεκμήριον ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ <sup>B</sup> διαβολὴ ἢ ἐμῆ καὶ τὰ αἷτια ταῦτά ἐστιν. καὶ εἰάν τε νῦν εἰάν τε αὐθις ζητήσητε ταῦτα, οὕτως εὐρήσετε.

SOCRATES DEFENDS HIMSELF AGAINST  
THE INDICTMENT OF MELETUS: XI–XV

XI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρῶτοί μου κατήγοροι κατηγόρουσιν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἰκανὴ ἀπολογία πρὸς ὑμᾶς· πρὸς δὲ Μέλητον τὸν ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ φιλόπολιν, ὡς φησι, καὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους μετὰ ταῦτα πειράσομαι ἀπολογεῖσθαι. αὐθις γὰρ δὴ, ὡςπερ ἐτέρων τούτων <sup>5</sup> ὄντων κατηγόρων, λάβωμεν αὐτὴν τούτων ἀντωμοσίαν. ἔχει δὲ πῶς ὧδε· “Σωκράτη” φησὶν “ἀδικεῖν τοὺς τε νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὐς ἢ πόλις

C νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά.” τὸ μὲν  
 δὴ ἔγκλημα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος 10  
 ἐν ἑκαστον ἐξετάσωμεν. φησὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς νέους  
 ἀδικεῖν με διαφθείροντα. ἐγὼ δέ γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, ἀδικεῖν φημι Μέλητον, ὅτι σπουδῇ χαριεντί-  
 ζεται, ῥαδίως εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστὰς ἀνθρώπους, περὶ  
 πραγμάτων προσποιούμενος σπουδάζειν καὶ κήδεσθαι, 15  
 ὧν οὐδὲν τούτῳ πώποτε ἐμέλησεν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο  
 οὕτως ἔχει, πειράσομαι καὶ ὑμῖν ἐπιδειξάι.

XII. Καί μοι δεῦρο, ὦ Μέλητε, εἰπέ· ἄλλο τι ἢ  
 D περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖ, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστοι οἱ νεώτεροι  
 ἔσονται; Ἐγωγε. Ἴθι δὴ νῦν εἰπέ τούτοις, τίς αὐτοὺς  
 βελτίους ποιεῖ; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οἶσθα, μέλον γέ σοι.  
 τὸν μὲν γὰρ διαφθείροντα ἐξευρὼν ὡς φῆς ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις 5  
 τουτοισὶ καὶ κατηγορεῖς· τὸν δὲ δὴ βελτίους ποιοῦντα  
 ἴθι εἰπέ καὶ μῆνυσον αὐτοῖς, τίς ἐστιν. ὄρας, ὦ  
 Μέλητε, ὅτι σιγᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν; καί τοι οὐκ  
 αἰσχρόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον οὐδὲν δὴ  
 ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι σοι οὐδὲν μεμέληκεν; ἀλλ’ εἰπέ, ὠγαθέ, 10  
 E τίς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ποιεῖ; Οἱ νόμοι. Ἄλλ’ οὐ τοῦτο  
 ἐρωτῶ, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἀλλὰ τίς ἄνθρωπος, ὅστις πρῶτον  
 καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶδε, τοὺς νόμους. Οὔτοι, ὦ Σώκρατες,  
 οἱ δικασταί. Πῶς λέγεις, ὦ Μέλητε; οἶδε τοὺς νέους  
 παιδεύειν οἰοί τέ εἰσι καὶ βελτίους ποιοῦσιν; Μάλιστα. 15  
 Πότερον ἅπαντες, ἢ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, οἱ δ’ οὐ; Ἄπαντες.  
 Εὖ γε νῆ τὴν Ἥραν λέγεις, καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν  
 ὠφελούντων. τί δὲ δῆ; οἶδε οἱ ἀκροαταὶ βελτίους  
 25 ποιοῦσιν, | ἢ οὐ; Καὶ οὔτοι. Τί δὲ οἱ βουλευταί; Καὶ  
 οἱ βουλευταί. Ἄλλ’ ἄρα, ὦ Μέλητε, μὴ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκ- 20  
 κλησίᾳ, οἱ ἐκκλησιασταί, διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεωτέρους;

ἢ κακείνοι βελτίους ποιούσιν ἅπαντες; Κακείνοι.  
 Πάντες ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀθηναῖοι καλοὺς κάγαθούς  
 ποιούσι πλὴν ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος διαφθείρω. οὕτω  
 λέγεις; Πάνυ σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω. Πολλὴν γέ μου 25  
 κατέγνωκας δυστυχίαν. καί μοι ἀπόκριται· ἢ καὶ περὶ  
 B ἵππους οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν· οἱ μὲν βελτίους ποιοῦντες  
 αὐτοὺς πάντες ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, εἰς δὲ τις ὁ διαφθείρων;  
 ἢ, τοῦναντίον τούτου πᾶν, εἰς μὲν τις ὁ βελτίους οἶός  
 τ' ὢν ποιεῖν ἢ πᾶν ὀλίγοι, οἱ ἵππικοί, οἱ δὲ πολλοί, 30  
 εἴανπερ ξυνῶσι καὶ χρῶνται ἵπποις, διαφθείρουσιν; οὐχ  
 οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Μέλητε, καὶ περὶ ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀπάντων ζώων; πάντως δήπου, εἴαν τε σὺ καὶ Ἄνυτος  
 οὐ φῆτε εἴαν τε φῆτε· πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη  
 περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς διαφθείρει, οἱ 35  
 C δ' ἄλλοι ὠφελοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ Μέλητε, ἱκανῶς  
 ἐπιδείκνυσαι ὅτι οὐδεπώποτε ἐφρόντισας τῶν νέων, καὶ  
 σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεις τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν, ὅτι οὐδέν σοι  
 μεμέληκεν περὶ ὧν ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις.

XIII. Ἔτι δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπέ, ὦ πρὸς Διὸς Μέλητε,  
 πότερον ἔστιν οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἐν πολίταις χρηστοῖς ἢ  
 πονηροῖς; ὦ τάν, ἀπόκριται· οὐδέν γάρ τοι χαλεπὸν  
 ἐρωτῶ. οὐχ οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ κακόν τι ἐργάζονται τοὺς  
 αἰεὶ ἐγγυτάτω ἑαυτῶν ὄντας, οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθόν τι; 5  
 D Πάνυ γε. Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις βούλεται ὑπὸ τῶν ξυνόντων  
 βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελεῖσθαι; ἀποκρίνου, ὦ ἀγαθὲ·  
 καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος κελεύει ἀποκρίνεσθαι. ἔσθ' ὅστις  
 βούλεται βλάπτεσθαι; Οὐ δῆτα. Φέρε δῆ, πότερον ἐμὲ  
 εἰσάγεις δεῦρο ὡς διαφθείροντα τοὺς νεωτέρους 10  
 καὶ πονηροτέρους ποιοῦντα ἐκόντα ἢ ἄκοντα; Ἐκόντα  
 ἔγωγε. Τί δῆτα, ὦ Μέλητε; τοσοῦτον σὺ ἐμοῦ

σοφώτερος εἶ τηλικούτου ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὢν, ὥστε  
 σὺ μὲν ἔγνωκας ὅτι οἱ μὲν κακοὶ κακόν τι ἐργάζονται  
 E αἰεὶ τοὺς μάλιστα πλησίον ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ 15  
 ἀγαθόν, ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας ἤκω, ὥστε  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι, εἴαν τινα μοχθηρὸν ποιήσω τῶν  
 ξυνόντων, κινδυνεύσω κακόν τι λαβεῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε  
 τοῦτο τὸ τοσοῦτον κακὸν ἐκὼν ποιῶ, ὡς φῆς σύ; ταῦτα  
 ἐγὼ σοι οὐ πείθομαι, ὦ Μέλητε, οἶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλον 20  
 ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα· ἀλλ' ἢ οὐ διαφθείρω, ἢ εἰ δια-  
 26 φθείρω, | ἄκων, ὥστε σύ γε κατ' ἀμφότερα ψεύδει.  
 εἰ δὲ ἄκων διαφθείρω, τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκουσίων  
 ἀμαρτημάτων οὐ δεῦρο νόμος εἰσάγειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ  
 λαβόντα διδάσκειν καὶ νουθετεῖν· δηλον γὰρ ὅτι, εἴαν 25  
 μάθω, παύσομαι ὅ γε ἄκων ποιῶ. σὺ δὲ ξυγγενέσθαι  
 μὲν μοι καὶ διδάξαι ἔφυγες καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας, δεῦρο  
 δὲ εἰσάγεις, οἱ νόμος ἐστίν εἰσάγειν τοὺς κολάσεως  
 διομένους, ἀλλ' οὐ μαθήσεως.

XIV. Ἄλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο μὲν  
 B δηλον ἤδη ἐστίν, ὃ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, ὅτι Μελήτῳ τούτων  
 οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν πώποτε ἐμέλησεν· ὅμως δὲ δὴ  
 λέγε ἡμῖν, πῶς με φῆς διαφθεῖρειν, ὦ Μέλητε, τοὺς  
 νεωτέρους; ἢ δηλον δὴ ὅτι, κατὰ τὴν γραφήν ἦν 5  
 ἐγράψω, θεοὺς διδάσκοντα μὴ νομίζειν οὓς ἢ πόλις  
 νομίζει, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά; οὐ ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι  
 διδάσκων διαφθεῖρω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν σφόδρα ταῦτα  
 λέγω. Πρὸς αὐτῶν τοίνυν, ὦ Μέλητε, τούτων τῶν  
 θεῶν, ὧν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, εἰπέ ἔτι σαφέστερον καὶ 10  
 C ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τούτοις. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι  
 μαθεῖν, πότερον λέγεις διδάσκειν με νομίζειν εἶναι  
 τινὰς θεοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρα νομίζω εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ

εἰμὶ τὸ παράπαν ἄθεος οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἀδικῶ, οὐ μέντοι  
 οὔσπερ γε ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ <sup>15</sup>  
 μοι ἐγκαλεῖς, ὅτι ἐτέρους· ἢ παντάπασί με φῆς οὔτε  
 αὐτὸν νομίζειν θεοὺς τοὺς τε ἄλλους ταῦτα διδάσκειν.  
 Ταῦτα λέγω, ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομίζεις θεοὺς. Ὡ  
 D θαυμάσιε Μέλητε, ἵνα τί ταῦτα λέγεις; οὐδὲ ἥλιον  
 οὐδὲ σελήνην ἄρα νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι <sup>20</sup>  
 ἄνθρωποι; Μὰ Δί', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπεὶ τὸν μὲν  
 ἥλιον λίθον φησὶν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην γῆν. Ἄναξα-  
 γόρου οἶε κατηγορεῖν, ὦ φίλε Μέλητε, καὶ οὕτω  
 καταφρονεῖς τῶνδε καὶ οἶε αὐτοὺς ἀπείρους γραμ-  
 μάτων εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναί ὅτι τὰ Ἄναξαγόρου <sup>25</sup>  
 βιβλία τοῦ Κλαζομενίου γέμει τούτων τῶν λόγων; καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθάνουσιν, ἃ ἕξεστιν  
 E ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας  
 πριαμένοις Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν, ἐὰν προσποιηῖται  
 ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα ὄντα. ἀλλ' <sup>30</sup>  
 ὦ πρὸς Διός, οὕτωςί σοι δοκῶ; οὐδένα νομίζω θεὸν  
 εἶναι; Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν. Ἄπιστός γ' εἶ,  
 ὦ Μέλητε, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς, σαυτῶ.  
 ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ οὕτωςί, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάνυ εἶναι  
 ὑβριστῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστος, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην <sup>35</sup>  
 ὑβρεῖ τινὶ καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ νεότητι γράψασθαι. ἔοικεν  
 27 γὰρ ὥσπερ | αἴνιγμα ξυντιθέντι διαπειρωμένῳ, Ἄρα  
 γνώσεται Σωκράτης ὁ σοφὸς δὴ ἐμοῦ χαριεντιζομένου  
 καὶ ἐναντί' ἐμαυτῶ λέγοντος, ἢ ἕξαπατήσω αὐτὸν καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκούοντας; οὗτος γὰρ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται <sup>40</sup>  
 τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτῶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ὥσπερ ἂν  
 εἰ εἴποι. Ἄδικεὶ Σωκράτης θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἀλλὰ  
 θεοὺς νομίζων. καὶ τοι τοῦτό ἐστι παίζοντος.



XV. *Ἐννεπισκέψασθε δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἧ μοι φαίνεται ταῦτα λέγειν· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ἀπόκριναι, ὦ Μέλητε· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑμᾶς παρητησάμην, μέμνησθέ μοι μὴ θορυβεῖν, ἔαν ἐν τῷ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ τοὺς λόγους ποιῶμαι. Ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Μέλητε, ἀνθρώπεια μὲν νομίζει πράγματ' εἶναι, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οὐ νομίζει; ἀποκρινέσθω, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ μὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα θορυβεῖτω· ἔσθ' ὅστις ἵππους μὲν οὐ νομίζει, ἵππικὰ δὲ πράγματα; ἢ ἀλλητὰς μὲν οὐ νομίζει εἶναι, ἀλλητικὰ δὲ πράγματα; οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν· εἰ μὴ σὺ βούλει ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ σοι λέγω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τουτοισί. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε ἀπόκριναι· ἔσθ' ὅστις δαιμόνια μὲν νομίζει πράγματ' εἶναι, δαίμονας δὲ οὐ νομίζει; Οὐκ ἔστιν. Ὡς ὠνησας, ὅτι μόγις ἀπεκρίνω ὑπὸ τουτωνὶ ἀναγκαζόμενος. οὐκοῦν δαιμόνια μὲν φῆς μὲ καὶ νομίζειν καὶ διδάσκειν; εἴτ' οὖν καινὰ εἶτε παλαιά, ἀλλ' οὖν δαιμόνιά γε νομίζω κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ διωμόσω ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ. εἰ δὲ δαιμόνια νομίζω, καὶ δαίμονας δήπου πολλὴ ἀνάγκη νομίζειν μέ ἔστιν· οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει; ἔχει δὴ· τίθημι γάρ σε ὁμολογοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀποκρίνει. τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας οὐχὶ ἦτοι θεοὺς γε ἡγούμεθα ἢ θεῶν παῖδας; φῆς ἢ οὐ; Πάνυ γε. Οὐκοῦν εἴπερ δαίμονας ἡγοῦμαι, ὡς σὺ φῆς, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ τινὲς εἰσὶν οἱ δαίμονες, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη ὃ ἐγὼ φημί σε αἰνίττεσθαι καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι, θεοὺς οὐχ ἡγούμενον φάναι ἐμὲ θεοὺς αὖ ἡγεῖσθαι πάλιν, ἐπειδήπερ γε δαίμονας ἡγοῦμαι· εἰ δ' αὖ οἱ δαίμονες θεῶν παῖδές εἰσι νόθοι τινὲς ἢ ἐκ νυμφῶν ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἄλλων, ὧν δὴ καὶ λέγονται, τίς ἂν ἀνθρώπων θεῶν μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῖτο εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ μή; ὁμοίως*

γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπον εἶη, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππων μὲν παῖδας  
 ἡγοῖτο ἢ καὶ ὄνων [τοὺς ἡμίονους,] ἵππους δὲ καὶ  
 ὄνους μὴ ἡγοῖτο εἶναι. ἀλλ', ὦ Μέλητε, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως  
 σὺ ταῦτα οὐχὶ ἀποπειρώμενος ἡμῶν ἐγράψω τὴν γραφὴν  
 ταύτην, ἢ ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ἐγκαλοῖς ἐμοὶ ἀληθὲς ἀδίκημα·<sup>35</sup>  
 ὅπως δὲ σὺ τινα πείθοις ἂν καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα  
 ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ δαιμόνια καὶ  
 θεῖα <καὶ δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς> ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ <μήτε δαιμόνια μήτε θεῖα> μήτε δαίμονας μήτε  
 28 θεοὺς [μήτε | ἥρωας,] οὐδεμία μηχανή ἐστιν.<sup>40</sup>

SOCRATES DEFENDS HIS VOCATION AGAINST  
 POPULAR REPROACHES: XVI-XXII

- (a) that through it his life is in danger (xvi-xviii).  
 (b) that he holds aloof from politics (xix-xx).  
 (c) that his pupils have proved dangerous to the com-  
 monwealth (xxi-xxii).

XVI. Ἄλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ  
 οὐκ ἀδικῶ κατὰ τὴν Μελήτου γραφὴν, οὐ πολλῆς μοι  
 δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀπολογίας, ἀλλὰ ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλή μοι ἀπέχθεια  
 γέγονεν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστίν.<sup>5</sup>  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ ἐμὲ αἰρήσει, εἴανπερ αἰρή, οὐ Μέλητος  
 οὐδὲ Ἄνυτος, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν πολλῶν διαβολή τε καὶ  
 φθόνος. ἂ δὴ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας  
 B ἤρηκεν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ αἰρήσειν· οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν μὴ ἐν  
 ἐμοὶ στῆ. ἴσως δ' ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις· Ἐἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει<sup>10</sup>  
 ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύσας, ἐξ οὗ  
 κινδυνεύεις νυνὶ ἀποθανεῖν; ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ ἂν δίκαιον

λόγον ἀντίποιμι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, εἰ οἶει δεῖν κίνδυνον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθάναι ἄνδρα ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ 15 ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττη, πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα πράττει, καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ.

οἱ φαῦλοι γὰρ ἂν τῷ γε σῶ λόγῳ εἶεν τῶν ἡμιθέων ὅσοι ἐν Ἴτροία τετελευτήκασι· οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος υἱός, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοῦ κινδύνου κατεφρόνησεν παρὰ τὸ 20 αἰσχρὸν τι ὑπομεῖναι, ὥστε ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῷ προθυμουμένῳ Ἐκτορα ἀποκτείνειν, θεὸς οὔσα, οὕτωςί πως, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι· ὦ παῖ, εἰ τιμωρήσεις Πατρόκλῳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ τὸν φόνον καὶ Ἐκτορα ἀποκτενεῖς, αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖ· “αὐτίκα γάρ τοι,” φησί, “μεθ' 25 Ἐκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος”. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου ὠλιγόρησε, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον δείσας τὸ ζῆν κακὸς ὢν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μὴ τιμωρεῖν, “Αὐτίκα”, φησί, “τεθναίνῃν” δίκην ἐπιθείς τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνθάδε μένω καταγέλαστος “παρὰ 30 νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν ἄχθος ἀρούρης”. μὴ αὐτὸν οἶει φροντίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου; οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὐδ' ἂν τις ἑαυτὸν τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἢ ὑπ' ἄρχοντος ταχθῆ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, 35 μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

XVII. Ἐγὼ οὖν δεινὰ ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταπτον, οὓς ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἄρχειν μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, τότε μὲν οὐ ἐκεῖνοι ἔταπτον ἔμενον ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις καὶ ἐκινδύνεον 5

ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάττοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤήθημ τε  
καὶ ὑπέλαβον, φιλοσοφοῦντά με δεῖν ζῆν καὶ ἐξετά-  
ζοντα ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ φοβηθεῖς  
29 ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἄλλο | ὅτιοῦν πράγμα λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν.  
δεινὸν τὰν εἶη, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τότε ἂν με δικαίως 10  
εἰσάγοι τις εἰς δικαστήριον, ὅτι οὐ νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι  
ἀπειθῶν τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ δεδιῶς θάνατον καὶ οἰόμενος  
σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὢν. τὸ γάρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ὦ  
ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα·  
δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναί ἐστιν ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν. οἶδε μὲν γὰρ 15  
οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον οὐδ' εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ  
πάντων μέγιστον ὄν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δ' ὡς εὔ  
B εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐστί. καὶ τοῦτο πῶς  
οὐκ ἀμαθία ἐστὶν αὕτη ἢ ἐπονειδιστος, ἢ τοῦ οἴεσθαι  
εἰδέναί ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν; ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τούτῳ καὶ 20  
ἐνταῦθα ἴσως διαφέρω τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰ  
δὴ τῷ σοφώτερός του φαίην εἶναι, τούτῳ ἂν, ὅτι οὐκ  
εἰδῶς ἰκανῶς περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου οὕτω καὶ οἴομαι οὐκ  
εἰδέναί· τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ βελτίονι, καὶ  
θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν οἶδα. 25  
πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν, ὧν οἶδα ὅτι κακά ἐστιν, ἃ μὴ οἶδα  
εἰ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα τυγχάνει, οὐδέποτε φοβήσομαι οὐδέ  
C φεύξομαι· ὥστε οὐδ' εἴ με νῦν ὑμεῖς ἀφίετε Ἄνύτῳ  
ἀπιστήσαντες, ὃς ἔφη ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ δεῖν ἐμέ δεῦρο  
εἰσελθεῖν ἢ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσηλθόν, οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι τὸ μὴ 30  
ἀποκτεῖναί με, λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς, εἰ διαφευξοίμην,  
ἤδη ἂν ὑμῶν οἱ υἱεῖς ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἃ Σωκράτης  
διδάσκει πάντες παντάπασι διαφθαρῆσονται,—εἴ μοι  
πρὸς ταῦτα εἶποιτε· ὦ Σώκρατες, νῦν μὲν Ἄνύτῳ οὐ  
πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀφίεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' 35

ὧτε μηκέτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ζητήσῃ διατρίβειν μηδὲ  
 D φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῶς ἔτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανεῖ·  
 εἰ οὖν με, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίοιτε, εἵπομι' ἂν  
 ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀσπάζομαι μὲν  
 καὶ φιλῶ, πείσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἢ ὑμῖν, καὶ 40  
 ἕωσπερ ἂν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἶός τε ᾧ, οὐ μὴ παύσωμαι  
 φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ὑμῖν παρακελευόμενός τε καὶ ἐνδεικ-  
 νύμενος ὅτῳ ἂν αἰεὶ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, λέγων οἰάπερ  
 εἶωθα, ὅτι Ὡ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν, Ἀθηναῖος ὢν, πόλεως  
 τῆς μεγίστης καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης εἰς σοφίαν καὶ 45  
 ἰσχύν, χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνει ἐπιμελούμενος,  
 E ὅπως σοι ἔσται ὡς πλείστα, καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς,  
 φρονήσεως δὲ καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπως ὡς  
 βελτίστη ἔσται, οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζεις; καὶ  
 ἐάν τις ὑμῶν ἀμφισβητῇ καὶ φῆ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, οὐκ 50  
 εὐθὺς ἀφήσω αὐτὸν οὐδ' ἄπειμι, ἀλλ' ἐρήσομαι αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ἐξετάσω καὶ ἐλέγξω, καὶ ἐάν μοι μὴ δοκῇ κεκτη-  
 σθαι ἀρετὴν, φάναι δέ, ὄνειδιῶ ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια  
 30 περὶ | ἐλαχίστου ποιεῖται, τὰ δὲ φαυλότερα περὶ  
 πλείονος. ταῦτα καὶ νεωτέρῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὅτῳ 55  
 ἂν ἐντυγχάνω, ποιήσω, καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 τοῖς ἀστοῖς, ὅσῳ μου ἐγγυτέρῳ ἔστὲ γένει. ταῦτα γὰρ  
 κελεύει ὁ θεός, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδέν πω ὑμῖν  
 μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ  
 θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν. οὐδέν γὰρ ἄλλο πράττων ἐγὼ περι- 60  
 ἔρχομαι ἢ πείθων ὑμῶν καὶ νεωτέρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους  
 B μήτε σωμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μήτε χρημάτων πρότερον  
 μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπως ὡς ἀρίστη  
 ἔσται, λέγων· Οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, ἀλλ'  
 ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 65

ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων  
 διαφθείρω τοὺς νέους, ταῦτ' ἂν εἶη βλαβερὰ· εἰ δέ τις  
 μέ φησιν ἄλλα λέγειν ἢ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν λέγει. πρὸς  
 ταῦτι, φαίην ἄν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢ πείθεσθε Ἀνύτῳ ἢ  
 μή, καὶ ἢ ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε, ὡς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποιή- 70  
 C σοντος ἄλλα, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλω πολλάκις τεθνάναι.

XVIII. Μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ'  
 ἐμμίνατέ μοι οἷς ἐδεήθην ὑμῶν, μὴ θορυβεῖν ἐφ' οἷς  
 ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἀκούειν· καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι,  
 ὀνήσεσθε ἀκούοντες. μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅττα ὑμῖν ἐρεῖν  
 καὶ ἄλλα, ἐφ' οἷς ἴσως βοήσεσθε· ἀλλὰ μηδαμῶς 5  
 ποιεῖτε τοῦτο. εὐ γὰρ ἴστε, ἐὰν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε  
 τοιοῦτον ὄντα, οἷον ἐγὼ λέγω, οὐκ ἐμὲ μείζω βλάψετε  
 ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν βλάψειεν οὔτε  
 D Μέλητος οὔτε Ἀνυτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο· οὐ γὰρ  
 οἶμαι θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἀμείνονι ἀνδρὶ ὑπὸ χείρονος 10  
 βλάπτεσθαι. ἀποκτείνειε μεντὰν ἴσως ἢ ἐξελάσειεν ἢ  
 ἀτιμώσειεν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὗτος μὲν ἴσως οἶεται καὶ  
 ἄλλος τις που μεγάλα κακά, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶομαι, ἀλλὰ  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ποιεῖν ἢ οὗτος νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἄνδρα ἀδίκως  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτείνουσαι. νῦν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 15  
 πολλοῦ δέω ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὡς τις ἂν  
 οἴοιτο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, μὴ τι ἐξαμάρτητε περὶ τὴν  
 E τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν ἐμοῦ καταψηφισάμενοι. ἐὰν γὰρ  
 ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε, οὐ βραδίως ἄλλον τοιοῦτον εὐρήσετε,  
 ἀτεχνῶς, εἰ καὶ γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν, προσκείμενον τῇ 20  
 πόλει ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μεγάλῳ μὲν καὶ  
 γενναίῳ, ὑπὸ μεγέθους δὲ νωθεστέρῳ καὶ δεομένῳ  
 ἐγείρεσθαι ὑπὸ μύωπός τινος· οἷον δὴ δοκεῖ μοι ὁ θεὸς  
 ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει προστεθεικέναι τοιοῦτόν τινα, ὃς ὑμᾶς

ἐγείρων καὶ πείθων καὶ ὄνειδίζων ἓνα ἕκαστον, οὐδὲν 25  
 31 παύομαι | τὴν ἡμέραν ὄλην πανταχοῦ προσκαθίζων.  
 τοιοῦτος οὖν ἄλλος οὐ ῥαδίως ὑμῖν γενήσεται, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πειθήσθε, φείσεσθέ μου· ὑμεῖς  
 δ' ἴσως τάχ' ἂν ἀχθόμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ νυστάζοντες  
 ἐγειρόμενοι, κρούσαντες ἂν με, πειθόμενοι Ἐνύτω, 30  
 ῥαδίως ἂν ἀποκτείναιτε, εἶτα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καθεύ-  
 δοντες διατελοῖτε ἄν, εἰ μὴ τινα ἄλλον ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐπι-  
 πέμφειεν κηδόμενος ὑμῶν. ὅτι δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνω ὢν  
 τοιοῦτος, οἷος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ πόλει δεδόσθαι, ἐνθένδε  
 B ἂν κατανοήσαίτε· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ἔοικε τὸ ἐμὲ τῶν 35  
 μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπάντων ἡμεληκέναι καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν  
 οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων τοσαῦτα ἤδη ἔτη, τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον  
 πράττειν αἰεὶ, ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ προσιόντα ὥσπερ πατέρα ἢ  
 ἀδελφὸν πρεσβύτερον, πείθοντα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀρετῆς.  
 καὶ τοι εἰ μὲν τι ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπέλαυον καὶ μισθὸν 40  
 λαμβάνων ταῦτα παρεκελευόμην, εἶχον ἂν τινα λόγον·  
 νῦν δὲ ὄρατε δὴ καὶ αὐτοί, ὅτι οἱ κατήγοροι τᾶλλα  
 πάντα ἀναισχύντως οὕτω κατηγοροῦντες τοῦτό γε  
 C οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἀπαναισχυντῆσαι παρασχόμενοι  
 μάρτυρα, ὡς ἐγὼ ποτέ τινα ἢ ἐπραξάμην μισθὸν ἢ 45  
 ἤτησα. ἱκανὸν γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐγὼ παρέχομαι τὸν  
 μάρτυρα, ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, τὴν πενίαν.

XIX. Ἴσως ἂν οὖν δόξειεν ἄτοπον εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ  
 ἐγὼ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ταῦτα ξυμβουλεύω περιῶν καὶ πολυπραγ-  
 μονῶ, δημοσίᾳ δὲ οὐ τολμῶ ἀναβαίνων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος  
 τὸ ὑμέτερον ξυμβουλεύειν τῇ πόλει. τούτου δὲ αἰτιὸν  
 D ἔστιν ὃ ὑμεῖς πολλάκις ἀκηκόατε πολλαχοῦ λέγοντος, 5  
 ὅτι μοι θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γίνεταί [φωνή,] ὃ δὴ  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικωμωδῶν Μέλητος ἐγράψατο· ἐμοὶ

δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον, φωνή τις γιγνο-  
 μένη, ἢ ὅταν γένηται, αἰεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τοῦτο ὃ ἂν  
 μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ οὐποτε· τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ 10  
 μοι ἐναντιοῦται τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν. καὶ παγκάλως  
 γέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐναντιοῦσθαι· εὐ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ πάλαι ἐπεχείρησα πράττειν τὰ  
 πολιτικὰ πράγματα, πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλη καὶ οὐτ' ἂν  
 Ε ὑμᾶς ὠφελήκη οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἂν ἐμαυτόν. καί μοι μὴ 15  
 ἄχθεσθε λέγοντι τάληθῆ· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων  
 σωθήσεται οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλω πλήθει οὐδενὶ γνησίως  
 ἐναντιούμενος καὶ διακωλύων πολλὰ ἄδικα καὶ παρά-  
 32 νομα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι, | ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι  
 τὸν τῷ ὄντι μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ εἰ 20  
 μέλλει ὀλίγον χρόνον σωθήσεσθαι, ἰδιωτεύειν ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 δημοσιεύειν.

XX. Μεγάλα δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῖν τεκμήρια παρέξομαι  
 τούτων, οὐ λόγους, ἀλλ' ὃ ὑμεῖς τιμᾶτε, ἔργα. ἀκού-  
 σατε δὴ μου τὰ ἐμοὶ ξυμβεβηκότα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐδ'  
 ἂν ἐνὶ ὑπεικάθοιμι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον δείσας θάνατον, μὴ  
 ὑπέικων δὲ ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἂν ἀπολοίμην. ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν 5  
 Β φορτικὰ μὲν καὶ δικανικά, ἀληθῆ δέ. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄλλην μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἦρξα ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευσα δέ· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἡμῶν ἡ φυλὴ  
 Ἀντιοχίς πρυτανεύουσα, ὅτε ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατη-  
 γοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας 10  
 ἐβούλεσθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ  
 ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε. τότε ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν  
 πρυτάνεων ἠναντιώθην μηδὲν ποιεῖν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους  
 καὶ ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην, καὶ ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων ἐνδεικνύ-  
 ναι με καὶ ἀπάγειν τῶν ῥητόρων, καὶ ὑμῶν κελευόντων 15



C καὶ βοώντων, μετὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ὄμνη  
 μᾶλλον με δεῖν διακινδυνεύειν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι  
 μὴ δίκαια βουλευομένων, φοβηθέντα δεσμὸν ἢ θάνατον.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ἔτι δημοκρατουμένης τῆς πόλεως·  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὰ μετα- 20  
 πεμφάνεμοί με πέμπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον προσέταξαν  
 ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, ἵνα  
 ἀποθάνοι· οἷα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ  
 προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλήσαι  
 D αἰτιῶν· τότε μέντοι ἐγὼ οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ αὐτῶν 25  
 ἐνεδειξάμην, ὅτι ἐμοὶ θανάτου μὲν μέλει, εἰ μὴ ἀγρο-  
 κότερον ἦν εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἄδικον  
 μηδ' ἀνόσιον ἐργάζεσθαι, τούτου δὲ τὸ πᾶν μέλει.  
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἐξέπληξεν οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ  
 οὔσα, ὥστε ἄδικόν τι ἐργάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς 30  
 θόλου ἐξήλθομεν, οἱ μὲν τέτταρες ὄχοντο εἰς Σαλαμίνα  
 καὶ ἤγαγον Λέοντα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὠχόμην ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε. καὶ  
 ἴσως ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ ταχέων  
 E κατελύθη· καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν ἔσονται πολλοὶ μάρτυρες.

XXI. Ἄρ' οὖν ἂν με οἴεσθε τοσάδε ἔτη διαγε-  
 νέσθαι, εἰ ἔπραττον τὰ δημόσια, καὶ πράττων ἀξίως  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐβοήθουν τοῖς δικαίοις καί, ὥσπερ χρῆ,  
 τοῦτο περὶ πλείστου ἐποιούμην; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς. | 5  
 33 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου δημοσίᾳ τε, εἴ πού  
 τι ἔπραξα, τοιοῦτος φανοῦμαι, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος,  
 οὐδενὶ πώποτε ξυγχωρήσας οὐδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον  
 οὔτε ἄλλῳ οὔτε τούτων οὐδενί, οὓς οἱ διαβάλλοντές  
 ἐμέ φασιν ἐμοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ διδάσκαλος μὲν 10  
 οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἐγενόμην· εἰ δὲ τίς μου λέγοντος καὶ

τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπιθυμῆι ἀκούειν, εἴτε νεώτερος  
 εἴτε πρεσβύτερος, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἐφθόνησα, οὐδὲ χρή-  
 Β ματα μὲν λαμβάνων διαλέγομαι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ οὐ,  
 ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ πένητι παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν 15  
 ἐρωτᾶν, καὶ ἐάν τις βούληται ἀποκρινόμενος ἀκούειν  
 ὧν ἂν λέγω. καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ εἴτε τις χρηστὸς γίγνεται  
 εἴτε μὴ, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπέχοιμι, ὧν μήτε  
 ὑπεσχόμην μηδενὶ μηδὲν πώποτε μάθημα μήτε ἐδίδαξα·  
 εἰ δέ τις φησι παρ' ἑμοῦ πώποτέ τι μαθεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι ἰδία 20  
 ὃ τι μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγει.

XXII. Ἄλλὰ διὰ τί δὴ ποτε μετ' ἑμοῦ χαίρουσί  
 τινες πολὺν χρόνον διατρίβοντες; ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 C Ἀθηναῖοι· πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐγὼ εἶπον· ὅτι  
 ἀκούοντες χαίρουσιν ἐξεταζομένοις τοῖς οἰομένοις μὲν  
 εἶναι σοφοῖς, οὐσί δ' οὐ· ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀηδές. ἐμοὶ δὲ 5  
 τοῦτο, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 πράττειν καὶ ἐκ μαντείων καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων καὶ παντὶ  
 τρόπῳ, ὥπερ τίς ποτε καὶ ἄλλη θεία μοῖρα ἀνθρώπῳ  
 καὶ ὁτιοῦν προσέταξε πράττειν. ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν καὶ εὐέλεγκτα. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε τῶν 10  
 D νέων τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρω, τοὺς δὲ διέφθαρκα, χρῆν  
 δήπου, εἴτε τινὲς αὐτῶν πρεσβύτεροι γενόμενοι  
 ἔγνωσαν ὅτι νέοις οὐσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ κακὸν πώποτέ τι  
 ξυμβούλευσα, νυνὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἑμοῦ κατηγο-  
 ρεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτοὶ ἤθελον, τῶν 15  
 οἰκείων τινὰς τῶν ἐκείνων, πατέρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ  
 ἄλλους τοὺς προσήκοντας, εἴπερ ὑπ' ἑμοῦ τι κακὸν  
 ἐπεπόνθεσαν αὐτῶν οἱ οἰκεῖοι, νῦν μεμνήσθαι καὶ  
 τιμωρεῖσθαι. πάντως δὲ πάρεσιν αὐτῶν πολλοὶ  
 ἐνταυθοί, οὓς ἐγὼ ὀρώ, πρῶτον μὲν Κρίτων οὐτοσί, 20

Ε ἐμὸς ἡλικιώτης καὶ δημότης, Κριτοβούλου τοῦδε  
 πατῆρ· ἔπειτα Λυσανίας ὁ Σφήττιος, Αἰσχίνου τοῦδε  
 πατῆρ· ἔτι Ἀντιφῶν ὁ Κηφισιεὺς οὐτοσί, Ἐπιγέουσι  
 πατῆρ· ἄλλοι τοίνυν οὗτοι, ὧν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
 διατριβῇ γεγόνασιν, Νικόστρατος Θεοζοτίδου, ἀδελφὸς 25  
 Θεοδότου—καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεόδοτος τετελεύτηκεν, ὥστε  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε αὐτοῦ καταδεηθείη—, καὶ Πάραλος  
 34 ὄδε, ὁ Δημοδόκου, οὗ ἦν Θεάγης ἀδελφός· ὄδε δὲ |  
 Ἀδείμαντος, ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, οὗ ἀδελφὸς οὐτοσί  
 Πλάτων, καὶ Αἰαντόδωρος, οὗ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὄδε 30  
 ἀδελφός. καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐγὼ ἔχω ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν,  
 ὧν τινὰ ἐχρῆν μάλιστα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ παρα-  
 σχέσθαι Μέλῃτον μάρτυρα· εἰ δὲ τότε ἐπελάθετο, νῦν  
 παρασχέσθω, ἐγὼ παραχωρῶ, καὶ λεγέτω, εἴ τι ἔχει  
 τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ τούτου πᾶν τὸναντίον εὐρήσετε, ὧ 35  
 ἄνδρες, πάντας ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν ἐτοιμοὺς τῷ διαφθείροντι,  
 τῷ κακὰ ἐργαζομένῳ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν, ὡς φασὶ  
 Β Μέλῃτος καὶ Ἄνυτος. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ διεφθαρμένοι  
 τάχ' ἂν λόγον ἔχοιεν βοηθοῦντες· οἱ δὲ ἀδιάφθαρτοι,  
 πρεσβύτεροι ἤδη ἄνδρες, οἱ τούτων προσήκοντες, τίνα 40  
 ἄλλον ἔχουσι λόγον βοηθοῦντες ἐμοὶ ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ὀρθόν  
 τε καὶ δίκαιον, ὅτι ξυνίσασι Μελλῆτῳ μὲν ψευδομένῳ,  
 ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀληθεύοντι;

CONCLUDING REMARKS: XXIII-XXIV

XXIII. Εἶεν δὴ, ὧ ἄνδρες· ἃ μὲν ἐγὼ ἔχοιμ' ἂν  
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι, σχεδὸν ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἴσως  
 C τοιαῦτα. τάχα δ' ἂν τις ὑμῶν ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀναμνη-  
 σθεῖς ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐλάττω τουτουῖ τοῦ ἀγῶνος  
 ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐδεήθη τε καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς 5

δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, παιδία τε αὐτοῦ  
ἀναβιβασάμενος, ἵνα ὁ τι μάλιστα ἐλεηθείη, καὶ  
ἄλλους τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων πολλούς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν  
ἄρα τούτων ποιήσω, καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύων, ὡς ἂν  
δόξαιμι, τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον. τάχ' οὖν τις ταῦτα 10  
ἐννοήσας αὐθαδέστερον ἂν πρὸς με σχοίη, καὶ ὀργισ-  
D θείς αὐτοῖς τούτοις θεῖτο ἂν μετ' ὀργῆς τὴν ψῆφον. εἰ δὴ  
τις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχει,—οὐκ ἀξιώ μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε· εἰ  
δ' οὖν, ἐπεικῆ ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς τοῦτον λέγειν λέγων ὅτι  
'Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰσὶν μὲν πού τινες καὶ οἰκείοι· καὶ 15  
γάρ, τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ 'Ομήρου, οὐδ' ἐγὼ “ἀπὸ  
δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης” πέφυκα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων,  
ὥστε καὶ οἰκείοί μοι εἰσι καὶ νιεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι,  
τρεις, εἷς μὲν μειράκιον ἤδη, δύο δὲ παιδία· ἀλλ' ὅμως  
οὐδέν' αὐτῶν δεῦρο ἀναβιβασάμενος δεήσομαι ὑμῶν 20  
ἀποψηφίσασθαι. τί δὴ οὖν οὐδὲν τούτων ποιήσω; οὐκ  
E αὐθαδιζόμενος, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἀτι-  
μάζων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον  
ἢ μῆ, ἄλλος λόγος, πρὸς δ' οὖν δόξαν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ  
ὑμῖν καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλει οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι ἐμέ 25  
τούτων οὐδὲν ποιεῖν καὶ τηλικόνδε ὄντα καὶ τοῦτο  
τοῦνομα ἔχοντα, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθὲς εἴτ' οὖν ψεῦδος· ἀλλ'  
οὖν δεδογμένον γέ ἐστι τὸν Σωκράτη διαφέρειν τινὶ  
35 τῶν πολλῶν | ἀνθρώπων. εἰ οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ δοκοῦντες  
διαφέρειν εἴτε σοφία εἴτε ἀνδρεία εἴτε ἄλλη ἡτινιοῦν 30  
ἀρετῇ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται, αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη· οἴουσπερ ἐγὼ  
πολλάκις ἐώρακά τινας, ὅταν κρίνονται, δοκοῦντας  
μὲν τι εἶναι, θαυμάσια δὲ ἐργαζομένους, ὡς δεινόν τι  
οἰομένους πείσεσθαι εἰ ἀποθανοῦνται, ὥσπερ ἀθανάτων  
ἔσομένων, ἂν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀποκτείνητε· οἱ ἐμοὶ 35

δοκοῦσιν αἰσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει περιάπτειν, ὥστ' ἂν τινα  
 καὶ τῶν ξένων ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι οἱ διαφέροντες Ἀθηναίων  
 B εἰς ἀρετὴν, οὓς αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν ἔν τε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις τιμαῖς προκρίνουσιν, οὗτοι γυναικῶν οὐδὲν  
 διαφέρουσιν. ταῦτα γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε 40  
 ὑμᾶς χρὴ ποιεῖν τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ὀπηροῦν τι εἶναι,  
 οὔτ', ἂν ἡμεῖς ποιῶμεν, ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο  
 αὐτὸ ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ὅτι πολὺ μᾶλλον καταψηφιεῖσθε τοῦ  
 τὰ ἔλεεινὰ ταῦτα δράματα εἰσάγοντος καὶ καταγέ-  
 λαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιούντος ἢ τοῦ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντος. 45

XXIV. Χωρὶς δὲ τῆς δόξης, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ  
 C δίκαιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι δεῖσθαι τοῦ δικαστοῦ οὐδὲ  
 δεόμενον ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν. οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κἀθηται ὁ δικαστής, ἐπὶ τῷ κατα-  
 χαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κρίνειν ταῦτα· καὶ 5  
 ὁμῶμοκεν οὐ χαριεῖσθαι οἷς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ  
 δικάσειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. οὐκ οὖν χρὴ οὔτε ἡμᾶς  
 ἐθίζειν ὑμᾶς ἐπιορκεῖν, οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἐθίζεσθαι· οὐδέτεροι  
 γὰρ ἂν ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῖεν. μὴ οὖν ἀξιοῦτέ με, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιαῦτα δεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἃ μῆτε 10  
 D ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ εἶναι μῆτε δίκαια μῆτε ὅσια, ἄλλως τε  
 μέντοι νῆ Δία πάντως καὶ ἀσεβείας φεύγοντα ὑπὸ  
 Μελήτου τουτουῦ. σαφῶς γὰρ ἂν, εἰ πείθοιμι ὑμᾶς καὶ  
 τῷ δεῖσθαι βιαζοίμην ὁμωμοκότας, θεοὺς ἂν διδά-  
 σκοιμι μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς εἶναι, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀπολογού- 15  
 μενος κατηγοροίην ἂν ἑμαυτοῦ ὡς θεοὺς οὐ νομίζω.  
 ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ δεῖ οὕτως ἔχειν· νομίζω τε γάρ, ὧ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, καὶ  
 ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω καὶ τῷ θεῷ κρίναι περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅπη  
 μέλλει ἐμοί τε ἄριστα εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν. 20

PART II. AFTER THE VERDICT  
AND BEFORE THE SENTENCE

(Second Speech)

## CHAPTERS XXV-XXVIII

E XXV. Τὸ μὲν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 36 ἐπὶ | τούτῳ τῷ γεγονότι, ὅτι μου κατεψηφίσασθε,  
 ἄλλα τέ μοι πολλὰ ξυμβάλλεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέλπιστόν  
 μοι γέγονεν τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 θαυμάζω ἐκατέρων τῶν ψήφων τὸν γεγονότα ἀριθμόν. 5  
 οὐ γὰρ ὡόμην ἔγωγε οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγον ἔσεσθαι ἀλλὰ  
 παρὰ πολὺ· νῦν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ τριάκοντα μόναι  
 μετέπεσον τῶν ψήφων, ἀπεπεφύεγγα ἄν. Μέλητον μὲν  
 οὖν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκῶ, καὶ νῦν ἀποπέφευγα, καὶ οὐ μόνον  
 ἀποπέφευγα, ἀλλὰ παντὶ δῆλον τοῦτό γε, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ 10  
 ἀνέβη Ἄνυτος καὶ Λύκων κατηγορήσοντες ἐμοῦ, κἂν  
 B ὧφλε χιλίας δραχμάς, οὐ μεταλαβὼν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος  
 τῶν ψήφων.

XXVI. Τιμᾶται δ' οὖν μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ θανάτου. εἶεν·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τίνας ὑμῖν ἀντιτιμήσομαι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τῆς ἀξίας; τί οὖν; τί ἀξιός εἰμι  
 παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι, ὅ τι μαθὼν ἐν τῷ βίῳ οὐχ ἡσυχίαν  
 ἦγον, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσας ὡνπερ οἱ πολλοί, χρηματισμοῦ 5  
 τε καὶ οἰκονομίας καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ δημηγοριῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων, ἀρχῶν καὶ ξυνωμοσιῶν καὶ στάσεων, τῶν  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνομένων, ἡγησάμενος ἑμαυτὸν τῷ ὄντι  
 C ἐπιεικέστερον εἶναι ἢ ὥστε εἰς ταῦτ' ἰόντα σώζεσθαι,  
 ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦα, οἱ ἔλθων μήτε ὑμῖν μήτε ἑμαυτῷ 10

ἔμελλον μηδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἴδια ἕκαστον ἰὼν  
 εὐεργετεῖν τὴν μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι,  
 ἐνταῦθα ἦα, ἐπιχειρῶν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν πείθειν μὴ  
 πρότερον μῆτε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μηδενὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πρὶν  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμεληθεῖν, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστος καὶ φρονιμώ- 15  
 ττος ἔσοιτο, μῆτε τῶν τῆς πόλεως, πρὶν αὐτῆς τῆς  
 πόλεως, τῶν τε ἄλλων οὕτω κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 D ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· τί οὖν εἰμι ἄξιος παθεῖν τοιοῦτος ὢν;  
 ἀγαθὸν τι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ δεῖ γε κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀξίαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι· καὶ ταυτὰ γε ἀγαθὸν 20  
 τοιοῦτον, ὃ τι ἂν πρέποι ἐμοί. τί οὖν πρέπει ἀνδρὶ  
 πένητι εὐεργέτη, δεομένῳ ἄγειν σχολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμε-  
 τέρα παρακελεύσει; οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι μᾶλλον, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πρέπει [οὕτως], ὡς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐν  
 πρυτανείῳ σιτεῖσθαι, πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ὑμῶν 25  
 ἵππῳ ἢ ξυνωρίδι ἢ ζεύγει νενίκηκεν Ὀλυμπίασιν.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ  
 E δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέομαι.  
 εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τιμᾶσθαι,  
 37 τούτου | τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως. 30

XXVII. Ἴσως οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ταυτὶ λέγων παρα-  
 πλησίως δοκῶ λέγειν ὥσπερ περὶ τοῦ οἴκτου καὶ τῆς  
 ἀντιβολήσεως, ἀπαυθαδιζόμενος· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὧ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε μᾶλλον. πέπεισμαι  
 ἐγὼ ἐκὼν εἶναι μηδένα ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς 5  
 τοῦτο οὐ πείθω· ὀλίγον γὰρ χρόνον ἀλλήλοις διει-  
 λέγμεθα· ἐπεὶ, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, εἰ ἦν ὑμῖν νόμος, ὥσπερ καὶ  
 B ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, περὶ θανάτου μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν μόνον  
 κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, ἐπείσθητε ἄν· νῦν δ' οὐ ῥᾶδιον  
 ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ μεγάλας διαβολὰς ἀπολύεσθαι. 10

πεπεισμένοι δὴ ἐγὼ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν πολλοῦ δέω  
 ἔμαυτόν γε ἀδικήσειν καὶ κατ' ἔμαυτοῦ ἐρεῖν αὐτός, ὡς  
 ἄξιός εἰμί του κακοῦ, καὶ τιμήσεσθαι τοιούτου τινὸς  
 ἔμαυτῷ. τί δείσας; ἢ μὴ πάθω τοῦτο, οὐ Μέλητος μοι  
 τιμᾶται, ὃ φημι οὐκ εἰδέναί οὔτ' εἰ ἀγαθὸν οὔτ' εἰ 15  
 κακὸν ἔστιν; ἀντὶ τούτου δὴ ἔχωμαι ὦν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι  
 C κακῶν ὄντων; τοῦ τιμησάμενος; πότερον δεσμοῦ; καὶ  
 τί με δεῖ ζῆν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ, δουλεύοντα τῇ αἰεὶ  
 καθισταμένῃ ἀρχῇ, τοῖς ἔνδεκα; ἀλλὰ χρημάτων, καὶ  
 δεδέσθαι ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσω; ἀλλὰ ταυτόν μοι ἔστιν, ὅπερ 20  
 νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅποθεν  
 ἐκτίσω. ἀλλὰ δὴ φυγῆς τιμήσωμαι; ἴσως γὰρ ἂν μοι  
 τούτου τιμήσαίτε. πολλὴ μεντᾶν με φιλοψυχία ἔχει,  
 εἰ οὕτως ἀλόγιστός εἰμι ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι λογίζεσθαι,  
 ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν ὄντες πολῖταί μου οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐγένεσθε 25  
 D ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς ἐμὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ'  
 ὑμῖν βαρύτεραι γεγόνασιν καὶ ἐπιφθονώτεραι, ὥστε  
 ζητεῖτε αὐτῶν νυνὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς  
 οἴσουσι ῥαδίως; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι. καλὸς  
 οὖν ἂν μοι ὁ βίος εἴη ἐξελθόντι, τηλικῶδε ἀνθρώπῳ 30  
 ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης πόλεως ἀμειβομένῳ καὶ ἐξελαυνομένῳ  
 ζῆν. εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, ὅποι ἂν ἔλθω, λέγοντος ἐμοῦ  
 ἀκροάσονται οἱ νέοι ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε· κἂν μὲν τούτους  
 E ἀπελαύνω, οὗτοι ἐμὲ αὐτοὶ ἐξελῶσι, πείθοντες τοὺς  
 πρεσβυτέρους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπελαύνω, οἱ τούτων 35  
 πατέρες τε καὶ οἰκεῖοι δι' αὐτοὺς τούτους.

XXVIII. Ἴσως οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι· Σιγῶν δὲ καὶ  
 ἡσυχίαν ἄγων, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐχ οἴός τ' ἔσει ἡμῖν  
 ἐξελθὼν ζῆν; τουτὶ δὴ ἔστι πάντων χαλεπώτατον  
 πείσαι τινας ὑμῶν. ἐὰν τε γὰρ λέγω ὅτι τῷ θεῷ



ἀπειθεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον ἡσυχίαν 5  
 38 ἄγειν, οὐ πείσεσθέ μοι ὡς εἰρωνευομένῳ· | ἐάν τ' αὖ  
 λέγω ὅτι καὶ τυγχάνει μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ὄν ἀνθρώπῳ  
 τοῦτο, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας περὶ ἀρετῆς τοὺς λόγους  
 ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἀκούετε  
 διαλεγομένου καὶ ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἐξετάζοντος, ὁ 10  
 δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ, ταῦτα δ' ἔτι  
 ἦττον πείσεσθέ μοι λέγοντι. τὰ δὲ ἔχει μὲν οὕτως, ὡς  
 ἐγὼ φημι, ὦ ἄνδρες, πείθειν δὲ οὐ ράδιον. καὶ ἐγὼ  
 ἅμα οὐκ εἴθισμμι ἑμαυτὸν ἀξιοῦν κακοῦ οὐδενός. εἰ  
 B μὲν γὰρ ἦν μοι χρήματα, ἐτιμησάμην ἂν χρημάτων 15  
 ὅσα ἔμελλον ἐκτίσειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐβλάβην· νῦν δέ—  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὅσον ἂν ἐγὼ δυναίμην ἐκτίσαι,  
 τοσοῦτου βούλεσθέ μοι τιμῆσαι. ἴσως δ' ἂν δυναίμην  
 ἐκτίσαι ὑμῖν μνᾶν ἀργυρίου· τοσοῦτου οὖν τιμῶμαι.  
 Πλάτων δὲ ὅδε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Κρίτων καὶ 20  
 Κριτόβουλος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος κελεύουσί με τριά-  
 κοντα μνῶν τιμῆσασθαι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐγγυᾶσθαι· τιμῶμαι  
 οὖν τοσοῦτου, ἐγγυηταὶ δ' ὑμῖν ἔσονται τοῦ ἀργυρίου  
 οὔτοι ἀξιόχρεω.