Humanities 1A: Fall, 2016,
Semester Plan: Lectures and Reading Assignments

Electronic Devices Policy

To help foster the best possible learning environment for yourself and those around you, please avoid doing anything in class that might distract the attention of others. Mobile technology can be especially disruptive. During lectures, portable electronic devices may be used only for class-related purposes such as taking notes; otherwise, they must be turned off. During seminars, portable electronic devices may only be used in accordance with your seminar instructor's guidelines. During examinations, portable electronic devices may never be used (except under supervision at the Accessible Education Center). http://www.sjsu.edu/studentconduct/docs/Academic_Integrity_Policy_S07-2.pdf

Please note that this schedule is subject to change. Students will be notified if changes occur, both in class, and electronically through MySJSU, if needed.

Table 1 Seminar Sections

Professor	Seminar Location	Office Phone
Smay (10-11)	CL 225	408-924-5597
Trost (20-21)	ENG 232	408-924-4747
Mesher (30-31)	SH 435	408-924-4440
Wood (40-41)	SH 241	408-924-5378

Table 2 Course Schedule

Lecture	Date	Topics, Readings, and Assignments
1 CR/DM	Thursday 25 August	**General Introduction to the Course; Pre-history, and the Arts and Culture of the Early Ancient World** **Read**: ***Art History, Portable*** volume 1: chapters 1 and 2, all; ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: *Epic of Gilgamesh,* pages 95-132. Oral Communication Semester Assignment: **Humanities 1A Reader:** Hinerman, *Handbook for Public Speaking*; Humanities 1A Speech Assignment: Handout.
2 LT	Tuesday 30 August	**North Africa: Egyptian History, Culture, and Arts** **Read:** ***Art History, Portable*** volume 1: chapter 3, all. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: "Akhenaten's Hymn to the Sun" pages 29-33; "Shipwrecked Sailor," pages 911-917. **Humanities 1A Reader:** "Expulsion of the Hyksos," "Battle of Megiddo," "War against the Sea People," selection from *Book of the Dead.*
3 DM	Thursday 1 September	**"History Begins at Sumer": Sumerian and Semitic Cultures of West Asia** **Read**: ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: *Epic of Gilgamesh,* pages 132-151; *Hebrew Bible*, pages 158-174; volume C: Popul Vuh (excerpts from Part 1), pages 522-524. ***The Bible***: Genesis, chapters. 1-4; 6-9; 12-13; 16-22; 37-50; Isaiah chapters.1, 2, 40; Psalms 23, 100, 123. **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** > Critical Thinking and Argument > Reading Critically (through "Analyzing and reflecting on a text").

Lecture	Date	Topics, Readings, and Assignments
4 GS	Tuesday 6 September	**The Hebrews: Reading the Bible as History** **Read:** ***The Bible***: Exodus: 1-6:13; 11-14; 19-20; 32. Numbers: 16. 1 Samuel: 8-12; 15. 2 Samuel: 7; 11-12. 1 Kings: 1-3; 8; 12. 2 Kings: 16-25. ***Thank You for Arguing***: pages 3-26.
5 AW	Thursday 8 September	**Ancient Chinese Arts and Culture** **Read:** ***Art History, Portable*** volume 3: pages 330-348**.** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Homer, Introduction, pages 222-229; *The Iliad*, Books I, VI (pages 252-255 only), XVIII, and XXII.
6 AW	Tuesday 13 September	**Homer's Epic Vision** **Read:** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Homer, *The Odyssey*, Books. Books I-III, V. **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** > The Top Twenty.
7 GS	Thursday 15 September	**Aegean Art and Culture** **Read:** ***Art History, Portable*** volume 1: pages xiii-xxxiii, chapter 4, all. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Homer, *The Odyssey*, IX-XI, XVI-XVII, XIX. **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** > Critical Thinking and Argument > Constructing Arguments (through "Formulating a Working Thesis for an Argument").
8 LT	Tuesday 20 September	**Heroic Literatures in Cross-Cultural Perspective** **Read:** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Homer, *The Odyssey*, Books. XXI-XXIV; The Mahabharata (excerpts), pages 1239-1250, 1268-1274. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume C: *Popul Vuh* (excerpt), pages 520-526. **Humanities 1A Reader:** The Ramayana (excerpt, Rama and the bow). **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** > Writing Processes > Rhetorical Situations.
9 DM	Thursday 22 September	**South Asian Civilization: Art and Literature** **Read:** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature*****,** volume A: *The Ramayana* (excerpts), pages 1170-1176, 1226-1234. *Bhagavad-Gita* (excerpts), pages 1282-1301. ***Art History, Portable*** *volume 3*: pages 294-320. **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** **>** Writing Processes **>** Developing Paragraphs (through "Developing Paragraphs with Supporting Details").
10 DM	Tuesday 27 September	**Early Greek Art** **Read:** ***Art History,*** *Portable* volume 1: chapter 5, pages 100-119. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Aeschylus, *The Oresteia*: *Agamemnon,* pages 644- 665 (line 359). **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** **>** Writing Processes **>** Planning and Drafting. ***Thank You for Arguing*****:** pages 27-56.
11 LT	Thursday 29 September	**Athenian Drama, and Social Values in Classical Greece** **Read:** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature*****,** volume A: Aeschylus, *The Oresteia*: *Agamemnon*, pages 665-701. **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** **>** Writing Processes **>** Developing Paragraphs (through "Developing paragraphs with supporting details").
12 AW	Tuesday 4 October	**Greek Rhetoric** **Read:** ***Philosophical Classics*****:** Plato, *Euthyphro*, pages 8-20. ***Being Logical*****:** pages 25-44. **Humanities 1A Reader:** Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Introduction: The Nature of Rhetoric); Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric* (Book I, Chapters 1-3). **In Canvas:** ***Writer's Help*** **>** Writing Processes **>** Reviewing and Revising.

13 DM	Thursday 6 October	**Religion and Tragedy in the Ancient Mediterranean** **Read: *Norton Anthology of World Literature*,** volume A: Sophocles (Introduction), pages 701-707; Sophocles, *Antigone*, pages 747-783; Aristotle, *Poetics*, pages 1149-1153.
14 LT	Tuesday 11 October	**The Other: Slaves and Women in Ancient Cultures** **Read: *Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Euripides, *Medea*, pages 783-822.
15 GS	Thursday 13 October	**Arts of Classical Greece; Hellenism and Hellenistic World** **Read: *Art History, Portable*** volume 1: chapter 5, pages 120-155. **MIDTERM EXAMINATION in Seminar**
16 GS	Tuesday 18 October	**Social Conflict and Reform in Ancient Greece** **Read: Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*:** Book I, Chapters 1-23, 139- 146; Book II, Chapters 34-66; Book V, Chapters 84-116; Book VI, Chapters 8–27; Book VII, Chapters 78-87. **Humanities 1A Reader:** Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (excerpts); Aristotle, *Politics* (excerpts: Book 1, Chapters 4-5). **In Canvas: *Writer's Help*** > Writing Processes > Expectations for College Writing.
17 LT	Thursday 20 October	**Wisdom Literatures in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Hebrew, Egyptian, Chinese, Greek** **Read: *The Bible***: Proverbs, Chapters 8 (verses. 1-21), 26, 31 (verses 10-31); *Ecclesiastes*, Chapters 1-4; Job, Chapters 1-13, 38-42. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Aesop, Fables, pages 627-633; Confucius, *Analects*, pages 1334-1338. **Humanities 1A Reader**: *Precepts of Ptah-Hotep* (excerpts).
18 AW	Tuesday 25 October	**Origins of Philosophy and Deductive Thought** **Read: *Philosophic Classics***: Socrates/Plato (Introduction), pages 1-7; Plato, *Apology and Crito*, pages 21-46. ***Thank You for Arguing***: pages. 57-80.
19 CR	Thursday 27 October	**Plato and the Role of Philosophical Idealism in Politics** **Read: *Philosophic Classics***: Plato, *Republic* (excerpts), pages 59-65, 78-97, 98-105, 110-124. ***Thank You for Arguing***: pages 81-114.
20 AW	Tuesday 1 November	**Sexuality and Gender in Antiquity** **Read: *Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, pages 823-862; Plato, *Symposium*, pages 875-877, 881-883, 887-907. **In Canvas: *Writer's Help*** > Research > Evaluating Sources**.**
21 DM	Thursday 3 November	**Aristotle's Philosophy and the Critical Role of Practical Deliberation** **Read: *Philosophic Classics***: Aristotle (Introduction), pages 125-128; Aristotle, *Physics*, pages 129-134; *Metaphysics*, pages 146-151; *Nicomachean Ethics*, pages 164-171, 178-187, 202-209.
22 LT Election Day	Tuesday 8 November	**Non-European Rhetoric** **Read: *Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Han Feizi *The Difficulties of Persuasion* (excerpts) pages 1427-1430. ***Humanities 1A Reader***: Confucius *Analects*, parts 12-14; Ban Zhao (Pan Chao), *Lessons for a Woman*. ***Thank You for Arguing***: pages 115-141.

23 GS	Thursday 10 November	**Greek and Chinese Politics and Society** **Read:** ***Humanities 1A Reader:*** Mencius, Book One, Part A; Mo Tzu, *Honoring the Worthy*, pages 18-33, and *Against Fatalism*, pages 117-123; Hsun Tzu, *The Regulations of a King*, pages 33-55; Han Fei Tzu, *The Way of the Ruler*, pages 16-20 and *Wielding Power*, pages 35-43.
24 AW	Tuesday 15 November	**Ancient Poets in Their Cultural Contexts** **Read:** ***The Bible***: Song of Songs. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Egyptian Love Poems, pages 76-81; Sappho, pages 635-643; Catullus, pages 942- 947; *Classic of Poetry*, pages 1323-1330. **Humanities 1A Reader**: Olcott, "Ancient Lyric Poetry and Poets."
25 GS	Thursday 17 November	**Cultures of the Central Mediterranean & Beginnings of Roman Dominance** **Read: Humanities 1A Reader:** Polybius, *Histories* (excerpts). Livy, *History* (excerpts).
26 GS	Tuesday 22 November	**Republican Rome, Roman Rhetoric, and the Role of Women in the Hellenistic and Roman World** **Read: Humanities 1A Reader:** Cicero, *First Speech Against Catiline*; Caesar, *On the Conspiracy of Catiline*. ***Thank You for Arguing***: pages 281-293.
	Thursday 27 November	**Thanksgiving holiday – no class**
27 DM	Tuesday 29 November	**Roman Art: Aesthetics, Propaganda, and Dominance** **Read:** ***Art History, Portable*** volume 1: chapter 6, all. ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Virgil, *The Aeneid* Book I, pages 960-985.
28 LT	Thursday 1 December	**Roman Epic and the Political Role of Literature** **Read:** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Virgil, *The Aeneid* (excerpts from Books. II, VIII, XII), pages 985-1007, 1027-1029 (lines 1-85), pages 1038-1040 (lines 435-535), pages 1042-1048 (lines 615-858) and pages 1068-1072 (lines 915-1113) **Comparative perspective:** Review ***Norton Anthology of World Literature,*** volume A: Homer, *The Iliad* (excerpt from Book XVIII), pages 284-299. Read **Humanities 1A Reader:** Homer, *The Iliad* (excerpt from Book XX).
29 AW	Tuesday 6 December	**Roman Philosophy and its Influence on Legal and Political Reform** **Read:** ***Philosophic Classics***: Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, pages 239-251. **Humanities 1A Reader:** Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* (excerpts)
30 DM	Thursday 8 December	**Imperial Literature: Social Criticism and the Poet as Exile** **Read:** ***Norton Anthology of World Literature***, volume A: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, pages 1076-1089, 1104-1115. ***Humanities 1A Reader***: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (excerpts), *The Art of Love* (excerpts); Martial, *Epigrams* (excerpts); Vatsyayana, *Kama Sutra* (excerpts).
Final Seminar Exam	**Thursday 15 December**	**In seminar class, 9:45 AM -12:00 PM (bring green 8 ½" x 11" exam booklets)**
Final Lecture Exam	**Friday 16 December**	**Washington Square Hall (WSQ) 109, 7:15-9:30 AM (Be sure to set your alarm!)**

Online Texts:

Humanities 1A Reader: Downloadable from Canvas (http://sjsu.instructure.com). Once you are logged on to this course, you'll find the link.

Writer's Help: Interactive on Canvas (http://sjsu.instructure.com). Once you are logged on to any course, "Writer's Help" will appear near the bottom of the list of links on the left side of the page.

Textbooks:

*Baird, Forrest E., ed. ***Philosophic Classics: From Plato to Derrida***, 6th edition. (Prentice Hall). ISBN 978-0205783861.

*Coogan, Michael D., et al., eds. ***The New Oxford Annotated Bible, New Revised Standard, College Edition.*** 4th edition. New York: Oxford UP, 2010. ISBN 978-0195289602

*Heinrichs, Jay. ***Thank You for Arguing*****.** Revised Edition**.** New York: Three Rivers Press, 2013. ISBN: 978-0385347754.

*Puchner, M. et al, eds., ***The Norton Anthology of World Literatur***e, 3rd edition, Volumes A, B, C; New York: Norton, 2012. ISBN 978-0393933659

*Stokstad, Marilyn and Michael W. Cothren, ***Art History Portable*** (6 volumes), 5th edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson / Prentice Hall, 2013. (Art History Portable Edition). ISBN 978-0205969876.

Woodruff, Paul, ed. ***On Justice, Power, and Human Nature: The Essence of Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War*****.** Cambridge, MA: Hackett, 1993. ISBN 978-0872201682.

Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be used in subsequent semesters. Please retain them. If you are considering renting your textbooks, instead of buying them, please be aware that you would have to rent most of these titles multiple times: Baird, for 4 semesters; Puchner, for 3 semesters; Stokstad, for 4 semesters. You may use *any* edition of the Bible (assigned in 2 semesters), but we recommend the Oxford edition listed above because of the quality of its translations, notes, and other scholarship. The ISBN numbers listed for Puchner and Stokstad are for the multi-volume sets; if you are buying those texts used, you may have to purchase them individually, so be sure you are getting the correct edition and volumes.

Lecture 1

Hinerman, *Handbook for Public Speaking*

Handbook for Public Speaking

Stephen Hinerman

This booklet is designed to help you prepare for your speaking assignments in Humanities. It contains background material concerning public speaking, a description of the speaking situation, and some help for you when you put your own speech together. Each of you will be expected to read and use this material when you do your assignment.

Naturally, there is much more to say about public speaking than we can cover here. That is why each student is urged to consider signing up for — Communication Studies 80.

Communication 80 is the Communications Lab course, where you learn more about various aspects of public communication by completing three specially designed modules for one hour of credit. You can see your section instructor for more details.

Even if you do not sign up for Communication Studies 80, you are invited to take advantage of the Lab, located in Hugh Gillis Hall, room 231. (Hours will be posted by the room.) Here, you can receive advice from Communication Studies majors on your speeches, or even have your speech video-taped for you to view. Feel free to take advantage of this opportunity.

The speaking assignment is important because every student needs to have two things: first, an understanding of different theories as to how communication works best (which will be covered in the lectures and readings); and secondly, a working knowledge of how to apply these principles (which will be seen in your own speeches). With both of these in place, it is hoped that you will be an effective communicator and also have a greater theoretical understanding of human communication in public settings.

• The Assignment for Semester 1A:

Each semester you will be asked to give one speech in front of the class. Towards the beginning of the semester, you will sign up for a particular speaking day. When that day arrives, you will deliver a three minute speech on an agreed upon topic relating to the course content this semester. This semester, you will give an "epideictic" speech which either "praises" or "blames" a person, event or institution. The purpose of the speech is to examine a particular topic and take a position: either tell the class/audience why you admire the subject of your speech, or tell them why you do not admire that subject. For instance, in the literature of the Old Testament, you might decide that Job is a great person whom we should admire, and your speech would be one to tell us why that is so. Or you might wish to blame the Greeks for their war-like attitudes. If that was the case, you would give a speech that would help us understand why the Greeks should be blamed.

Notice all the aspects which Aristotle believes can go into an epideictic speech. Some of these may be relevant to your own speech. They should help you with the first step: deciding why you admire or do not admire the subject of your speech. In other words, you need to decide on the criteria concerning why you wish to praise or blame the subject. Your speech should then spell these criteria out, with examples of how these fit the topic.

Begin by asking "How do I feel about __?" Next, go on to ask yourself why you feel positively or negatively about the topic. Here, you may want to refer to Aristotle for some help in finding the criteria. This will be the basic information which you will then work into the speech format.

That format is suggested later in the booklet. Just remember that you must decide on two or three positive or negative qualities of your subject. The next step is to back those qualities up with some evidence in the form of illustrations or examples or facts. Finally, just follow the steps below and you will have a general speech outline.

You will be required to write an outline for this speech. due before you go up in front of the class. However, the speech is not graded. This is a chance for you to practice without the fear that you are being given a grade.

• Misconceptions about Speaking in Public:

Before we begin discussing the speech format, let us clear up some common misconceptions about public speaking.

1. *"You just can't learn how to speak well."*

Not true. It may be true, as Quintilian will argue in your readings, that there are certain things about speaking that cannot be taught. But we also know from research that both study and repetition will help people become better speakers. You *can* learn how to put a speech together more effectively and what to consider when preparing your presentation. And you *can* learn simply by doing — the more people speak in public, the better public speakers they can become.

2. *"How you say something isn't important. It's what you say that's important."*

Not true. How many times have you heard a boring presentation that almost put you to sleep, and felt that if you'd only been inspired by the speaker's style, you would have learned some interesting things?

3. *'What you say isn't important. It's how you say it."*

Not true. How many times have you heard a politician, speaking in a beautiful voice with beautiful technique, say absolutely nothing? Public speaking is most effective when it has both something important to say and when the speaker says those things well.

4. *"Public speaking is just like acting."*

Not true. Today, we teach public speaking that is "conversational" in tone. We ask that you use your normal speaking voice (albeit with, perhaps, a little more enthusiasm and volume than you might in some conversations). We no longer teach the style of public speaking that would ask you to have elaborate gestures or extreme emotional vocal qualities. Simply try to be "yourself" when you deliver the speech, loud enough for ail to clearly hear you and varied enough vocally to keep everyone s attention.

5. *"I'm frightened of this more than most of the other students in class."*

Most of all NOT TRUE. This is perhaps the most important misconception about public speaking. Here is a common observation heard from teachers of public speaking:

EVERYONE WHO SPEAKS IN PUBLIC IS NERVOUS.

So it is natural that you feel nervous about speaking. Everyone, to some degree or another, feels that way. And the less you have spoken in public, the more nervous you probably feel. But don't forget that most of your classmates feel the same way. The only "cure" for nervousness in public speaking is . . . well, getting up and speaking!

There are a number of physical symptoms of nervousness you may experience. You may breathe harder, your blood pressure may go up, more blood sugar may be released, your body can tense up . . . these are just some of the things people may experience. But viewed another way, these are also symptoms most athletes feel before they go out to compete! And just like an athlete, you need to make your nerves work for you, not against you.

It order to do that, here are a few things to remember. Recall that the audience is not out there criticizing your every move, waiting for your every mistake. People are hoping you do well. And if you make a mistake — well, we all make mistakes. It is normal, and one mistake will not ruin your chances for a good grade. Just gather your thoughts and continue, trying not to dwell on what went wrong. Everyone, even the best speaker, makes mistakes.

Remember to plan. The more you plan, the less are your chances of making error after error and the more confident you can be. Also, remember you will get less nervous the more often you speak in public. Finally, keep in mind that if you weren't nervous at all, it would be very irregular. Some nervousness may even help you "get up" for the speech, giving you some adrenaline to help you win your audience over.
So even though you are nervous, "go for it."

• The Rhetorical Situation

The scholar Lloyd Bitzer speaks about what he calls "the rhetorical situation." This event, he claims, "is a complex of persons, events, objects and relations representing an actual or potential exigence" that can be modified by the "creation of a discourse which changes reality." What Professor Bitzer is explaining is a situation like your speech. You have been asked to address a situation ("the topic you have been assigned") in a complex field of persons ("you and the class"), events ("the class itself"), and relations ("the class does not yet know how you evaluate the speaking topic and is waiting to find out"). You are attempting to share with the audience your own views, and you hope that they will consider those views when they think about your topic in the future. Since Professor Bitzer calls **rhetoric** an activity in which communication is employed to "produce action or change in the world," when you are communicating your views to the class in hopes that they may think differently about the topic, you are engaging in a rhetorical act. Rhetoric, in fact, is a term used to cover events like this since the time of the ancient Greeks. During the semester, you will be reading some of the earliest writings on the subject of rhetoric.

Every rhetorical situation, like your speech, is made up of a number of elements:

— audience (the class)
— occasion (your assignment)
— the body of ideas from which you can choose your topic
— the speaker
— the conditions of the speech (time of day, room, grades, etc.).

The list conveys the idea that any speech is not just a simple one-way situation where you speak and people merely hear. It is a complex series of events. Every speaker faces an audience whose members have their own opinions, desires, attitudes, and values. These are influenced by their past, their hopes for the future and their present situation. The audience is more or less "open" to hear your message. The speaker enters with her/his own desires and attitudes, and her/his own past experience, future hopes and present feelings. The speaker wishes in some way to alter the audience's feelings. When we look at the speech situation in this way, we can see that it is an event in which: 1) it is very important for every speaker to understand the audience and their attitudes and values; 2) it is very important for the speaker to carefully pick their topics and arrange their argument (because ail speeches are given for an audience, not just so the speaker can sound off); and 3) the conditions of the speech and the occasion of the speech have a real impact. We will spend the rest of this booklet going over many of these factors.

• Why Should We Learn Public Speaking?

But first.. .Some of you are no doubt thinking, 'I'm never going to have to speak on TV or speak before a mob of people. Why should I learn to speak in public?" Of course, you never know, but even if this were true, there are a number of reasons to learn public speaking. We will highlight four here.

1. **The ability to understand public communication and rhetorical theory is important in all walks of life.** You will have to communicate and understand that communication in relationships that are friendly, intimate, business-like, formal, short-term, and long-term. Families often rise and fall on their ability to communicate and listen. Business relationships are built on communication systems. Even if you have not been in the best communication systems so far, in order to do better in your future, it is important to understand how people *can* communicate.

2. Good public speaking skills are important in most careers. Many of you will be asked to present yourself in public in your job. Some will have to do this in presentations at work; others will have to sell their product in public. Even if you never give a speech, this does not mean you will never speak in public. But even above this, good communication skills and a solid grounding in understanding the theory of public communication will be invaluable in any job.

3. Communication is vital in a democracy. You will be reading many theorists ranging in time from ancient Greece to America today who argue that the ability for every citizen to voice his opinion is essential. Without good public speaking skills, you may be at a disadvantage, whether it is

before the local PTA, the local political party, or even if it is just voicing your opinions to your friends about the way you believe the country should work.

4. Public speaking can help raise self-confidence. You can learn how to overcome fear, knowing that you are able to express yourself clearly and convincingly in public situations. That skill can, in turn, help you feel more in control of your own life and more empowered as a communicator.

There are two skills that are vital to the rhetorical situation when you are in the audience: listening and giving feedback. Since all of you will be audience members more often than you will be speakers, it is essential to think about these skills.

We know humans are capable of listening to twice as much information in a minute than people are able to say. Consequently, there are many chances for the mind to wander, for people in the audience to think about things other than the speech. When you are in the audience, however, you can help out the speakers (and yourself) by listening carefully and critically to your fellow students.

There are many different styles of listening. Sometimes we listen for comprehension and we just want to gather information. Sometimes we listen therapeutically, when we seek to understand another person's feelings. And there are times we listen critically, to evaluate the speaker's message. In this class, we want to listen to learn, but also to evaluate the speaker's message. Do we agree with the speaker or not? What criteria would we use to evaluate the subject of their speech?

How can we listen this way? First, we can concentrate and think about what is being said. Yet, while doing this, try not to carry on so much of an internal debate with the speaker that you cease listening and start blocking out what they are saying. Finally, give your attention to the speaker with a mind toward helping them later. When they sit down, you will be asked to give the speaker "feedback," and feedback requires careful listening.

When the teacher asks you to give feedback to the speaker, keep these things in mind. The main purpose of feedback is to help the speaker, not destroy them and their confidence. With that in mind, try to include positive as well as critical comments in your feedback. If they did something good, tell them. If they need to work on some aspect of their speaking, lei them know that as well, but do it in a helpful way. Remem-ber, the more you give feedback, the more you can help the speaker become better in the future. If no one talks after a speech, the speaker can't know what they need to do differently in the future. You are criticizing the speech, not the speaker. So it's okay to speak up, and okay to give feedback.

HOW TO PREPARE THE ASSIGNMENT

In this section, we will go through some of the steps necessary to prepare speeches. We will use the categories that Cicero talks about in your readings this semester: the canons of speechmaking.

According to Cicero, there are five canons which make up the art of speaking. Inventio (or Invention) grows out of the fact that every speaker must find the right arguments for their speech topic. Invention is a name for the system for finding these arguments. When you find out your topic, you will need to decide which values you hold on the subject. This is your attempt at invention.

Dispositio (or Disposition) is the way you will arrange the ideas once you have discovered them. It involves selecting the organizational pattern for the most effective presentation of your speech.

Elocutio (or Style) has gone through many changes in meaning since classical times. Today, we use it to enumerate various elements of speaking style and the choice of certain words in the speech.

Pronunciato (or Delivery) is vitally important for every speech. It covers "how" you present your speech to the audience.

Finally, the canon of memoria (or memory) is the least discussed of the canons in rhetoric. What we can say about it here as it relates to your speech is also fairly simple and brief. You should not memorize your speech word-for-word. Instead, know your material, and know basically what you wish to say. But deliver the speech "extemporaneously," which will be explained in the "Delivery" section below. The best way to learn the material, by the way, is practice.

Before we discuss the first four canons and how they relate to the preparing of your speech, a few words need to be said about your relationship to your audience. Aristotle certainly knew how important it was that the speakers understand their audience. Today, we still speak about the importance of audience "demographics." In other words, it is important that you remember who your audience is: their ages, sex, intelligence, attitudes, values, prejudices. This will not be as difficult for you as it is for some speakers — you are sitting in class with your audience every week. But it is important to remember that you are speaking to this class. Watch that you don't speak "above them" or "below them." Structure your language and your idea arrangement to the class who are your current audience.

This concern about the audience should lead you to several conclusions. First, it is important to get the audience's attention at the beginning of a speech. Therefore, begin the speech with an attention-getter that will stimulate their curiosity for what is to follow. Secondly, make your speech clear. Don't get so complicated as to lose your audience. Next, use stories or illustrations when you can. People listen best to stories and examples (much more than they do to a lot of facts and figures). Also, do what you can to keep the audience interested by giving them the kind of material you yourself would like to hear.

Don't read your speech. As you well know, there is nothing more tedious than a speech that is read. Watch that you don't use stereotypes that could offend members of your audience. Remember, the idea here is to communicate effectively. Finally, be yourself. The audience expects it. They don't want a "different" person to suddenly emerge when you go up in front of the class to speak.

••• Invention •••

When dealing with invention, remember that it involves that first step of finding the right arguments for your speech. In your case, that means it not only involves choosing the right subject of the speech, but also determining the speech's purpose and the arguments you will employ.

Different sections of IA may have different ways that subjects are chosen. But whether you get to choose your subject or have one assigned, you still have to narrow down the topic. Here are some things to keep in mind.

First, remember the time constraint of your speech. You only have three minutes this semester. Do not try to talk about something that cannot be fairly covered in these three minutes. While you can certainly admire some aspects of job's character in three minutes, it is not enough time to give a speech on All the Great Characters in the Old Testament." The time constraint will also influence the dispositio of your speech.

Find a topic that is challenging. Don't tell the audience what they already know. That defeats the purpose of giving a speech in the first place. Tell us something new and something interesting. And always, when you choose your Topic, remember both your audience and their interests, and what they have in the way of expectations from you.

Every speech also has to determine its purpose. Your speech has a general purpose and a specific one. The general purpose is always to change the level and/or quality of understanding in the audience about the topic of the speech. You can do this by giving an informative speech or one that will seek to persuade the audience to take some action. In this semester, your purpose is to inform the audience by praising or blaming. Later in the program, you will be called upon to give a speech whose general purpose is to persuade.

The specific purpose of your speech is the effect you wish to have on the audience. For instance, you may think of it as: "In this speech, I want the audience to better appreciate the character of Job." Your speech is then structured around this specific purpose.

Finally, every speech needs a central idea or **thesis.** This is the main idea which the speech has, summed up in a complete sentence. It should capture the main point of your speech. For instance, one thesis might be, "The character of Job exhibits virtues which we could learn from today." Every idea in the speech would then lead us back to the thesis, or the main claim your speech makes. Having a good thesis is perhaps the most important step in having a successful speech. You may want to talk to your instructor about the ideas you have for the thesis.

The thesis should suggest the main ideas you want you convey. In my Job speech, perhaps I have decided that there are three things about Job that make him virtuous: he was patient at certain times; he was impatient at other crucial times; and he was always searching for the truth. These three aspects of Job would become the three claims I am going to make which will support my thesis. (I will later need to add

illustrations as evidence that will help the audience understand why I feel the way I do.) At this point, I am ready to arrange my speech in more detail.

••• Disposition •••

Once you have your thesis and main points, the next step is to begin to find ways to arrange and support these main ideas. There are many ways to do this. You may want to cite facts or statistics to make your claims stronger. You may want to use an "explanation," which is simply making a term or process clear to us. You may want to use the opinions of others and cite "testimony," quoting from what others have said. You want to use comparisons, contrasts, or analogies, using something familiar to us to illuminate something new. (For instance, 1 might compare Job to a hostage in the Middle East, who might have had similar questions about his predicament.) Finally, I may wish to use illustrations or stories, to explain why my point makes sense. (In this case, I may want to illustrate Job's searching with a story from the readings on Job.) All of these are supporting materials, and you can pick and choose which may be most effective for you.

Next, you have to arrange the speech. The main consideration in arranging a speech is again your knowledge of the audience. Anything you can do to make a speech clearer to the audience is valuable. And there are various standard **patterns of organization** which can make speeches clearer.

There are a number of patterns of organization, but *we* will only speak of the most common here. Some speeches may be arranged *chronologically*, from the earliest time period to the latest. If 1 were giving a speech on the fall of Rome, I might want to begin when Rome was in its glory and end when it was invaded. This would be a chronological order.

Some speeches can be ordered *geographically*. You may begin in one part of a country, for instance, and end in another. Or you may organize your speech in a *causal* manner, starting with an event that then "causes" another event to be brought about. If I am giving a speech on why the Roman Empire fell, I may want to structure it causally by talking about which elements "caused" the fall of the Empire.

There is also an order known as *topical*. Topical order is probably the most common pattern of organization. For instance, my speech on Job as a virtuous man would be arranged by the three "topics" that were suggested above. Most of your speeches will probably end up being arranged topically. (There are other ways to arrange speeches which we will speak about in the following semesters.)

Once I decide on my pattern of organization, I then need to organize my speech. Here is one method to use, which breaks any speech down into three parts: the introduction, the body, and the conclusion.

— The Introduction

— Start your speech with some kind of attention-getter. A quote, a startling statistic, a rhetorical question (one that does not require the audience to answer), or a story or illustration are all good ways to grab the audience's attention.

— Work out an introduction. Lead us into the thesis statement with a few lines that set the scene. Tell us the general topic of your speech

— Say your thesis. If you don't tell us early what your thesis is, we may not find out until it is too late. By then, we in the audience may have given up trying to figure out what you are taking about.

— Finally, preview the points you are going to make. Tell us, in other words, the main things you are going to tell us. If you have three main points, say what they are going to be. This helps the audience follow you once you reach the body of the speech.

— The Body

— This is where you spend most of the time in the speech. You need to have two or three main points you wish to make about the thesis. The sub points to these will be helped along by your supporting material.

— Try, over the next year, to develop transitions, as well. These are sentences that smooth the move from one point to the next.

— Once you have organized this part of your speech, which should take the most time . . .

— The Conclusion

— Review the points you have made. In this way, you are telling us.what you just told us, reminding us of the major points of the speech.

— Conclude. Don't just stop talking, but try to end with a general set of statements. You may want to end with a quote or a story or a call to action.

•• Outlining

Once you organize the material, you need to turn it into an outline. Why? There are several reasons to outline speeches. First, it is a way to make sure you have the speech organized well. This is vital to any successful speech, and in order to make sure you learn how to do it right, you are required to turn in a full outline to your instructor before you speak. Secondly, you do not want to take a manuscript of your speech up front with you. (If you do, it is likely you will read it and that is not acceptable.) You need something to remind you of what to say, and the outline is a good tool.

"Rough out" an outline when you prepare the speech as we suggested above. List your topic, your specific purpose, your arrangement of ideas, and your thesis. Then, try to organize the body of the speech. (It often helps to organize the body of the speech first, then the introduction, and finally the conclusion.) Think of the two or three main points you wish to make about the thesis. These will become the main points of the body, listed in the outline as I, II, and III. Then ask yourself what you wish to say about the main points. If you can make a couple of observations about the main point, they will become your "subpoints," and go by A, B and C. Examples, illustrations, and facts that back these up can be written out as 1,2, and 3 under A, B, and C. A sample outline, which speaks about some of the steps you need to consider in outlining, is offered here. (It is taken from Bruce Gombeck, Raymie E. McKerrow, et al., *Principles and Types of Speech Communication*, 11th Edition..)

Steps in Preparing a Good Outline

I. The first step in preparing a good outline is to determine the general purpose of the speech for the subject you have selected.

- A. You will need to limit the subject in two ways.
  - 1. First, limit the subject to fit the available time.
  - 2. Second, limit the subject to ensure unity and coherence.
- B. You also will need to phrase the specific purpose in terms of the exact response you seek from your listeners.

II. The second step is to develop a rough outline of your speech.

- A. First, list the main ideas you wish to cover.
- B. Second, arrange these main ideas according to the methods discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.
- C. Third, arrange subordinate ideas under their appropriate main heads.
- D. Fourth, fill in the supporting materials to be used in amplifying or justifying your ideas.
- E. Finally, review your rough draft.
  - 1. Does it cover your subject adequately?
  - 2. Does it carry out your specific purpose?

III. The third step is to put the outline into final form.

- A. Begin this process by writing out the main ideas as complete sentences or as key phrases.
  - 1. State the main ideas concisely, vividly, and—insofar as possible—in parallel terms.
  - 2. State the major heads so that they address directly the needs and interests of your listeners.
- B. Write out the subordinate ideas in complete sentences or in key phrases.
  - 1. Are they subordinate to the main idea they are intended to develop?
  - 2. Are they coordinated with other items at the same level (that is, are all *A—B-C* series roughly equal in importance; are all 1-2-3 series roughly equal in importance)?
- C. You now are ready to fill in the supporting materials.

1. Are they pertinent?
2. Are they adequate?
3. Is there a variety of types of support?

D. Finally, recheck the completed outline.
1. Is it written in proper outline form?
2. Does the speech, as outlined, adequately cover the subject?
3. Does the speech, as outlined, carry out your general and specific purposes?

You are not required to take a full outline up front with you when you speak. You may take what we call a "speaking outline," which just has the main points you wish to remember. You may just want to take a "key-word" outline, with simply the key words that will help you recall the points you wish to make. Remember, the outline you take is simply to help you recall what you have practiced. Don't read it to us.

•• Style •••

There is a difference between oral and written style. Aristotle noted this in *The Rhetoric*, when he stated: ". . . each kind of rhetoric has its appropriate style. . . . The written . . . style is more finished; the conversational is far better adapted to dramatic delivery. This implies that when you write something, you use a different set of techniques than when you speak. For instance, I may write a sentence that states: "John, in the midst of real anguish, could not bring himself to study." When I would speak the same sentence, I would probably say something like: "John was so upset that he couldn't study." If you were to speak the "written" sentence, it would sound strange and perhaps pretentious. The oral style is more direct, more the way we would talk to friends. This is the style you want to use in your speechmaking.

We have more impact when we speak with a personal, conversational style. Audiences want to hear us be "genuine," to speak with conviction that rings true. Don't worry about how the speech "looks" if you write out part of it; in fact, it may not be wise for everyone to write the whole speech out. Above all, use the kind of style that comes naturally for you. As long as it isn't distracting to the audience, this oral style will be appreciated far more than written style.

Be clear. Use language that comes directly to the point of what you want to say. Don't try to be too "academic" sounding, merely to impress the audience with how smart you are. In speaking today, we are most impressed when you are at ease and treat us as your equals. Make sure your language is appropriate, however. Watch too much slang, as it may lose some members of the audience. Try for words that are forceful (that indicate actions) and are lively. In style, the important aspects are to keep both the audience's attention and their respect.

••• Delivery •••

DO NOT READ YOUR SPEECH. This rule should be strictly adhered to. We realize that it is difficult not to read a speech — all that work, and no one wants to make a mistake. But mistakes are usually small, and it is much more important that you give a lively and focused presentation. Reading a speech will ruin your delivery, no matter how well you read.

We require you to speak in extemporaneous style. This does not mean that you are unprepared. It means that you speak from notes, in a conversational voice with enthusiasm and interest, and worry less about the "right" word and more about having the audience understand the "right" idea. You should practice your speech to know it, but once up front, concentrate on trying to just tell us what you know.

DO NOT MEMORIZE YOUR SPEECH WORD FOR WORD. Again, extemporaneous speaking is not memorized. Learn your material and have a clear idea of what you are going to say. But don't work at recalling every word. Memorization will make your delivery flat and it will often speed your voice up until you are talking too fast, It will generally cause you to sound unenthused about your topic, thereby making the audience less interested in your speech.

If you miss a word or a sentence, it does not matter. Chances are good that no one will notice it. The important thing is to get your ideas clearly across. So the reason for memorizing or reading — to make sure every word is said at the right place — is not needed as a part of extemporaneous public speaking.

As far as your own delivery goes, remember that we are not acting. Oratory today is grounded in the idea that the speaker is comfortable and confident, not stiff and stumbling. BE YOURSELF. Think about what you are saying while you **are** saying it, and concentrate on simply getting your information across m as clear a manner as you can.

The vocal cords should be as relaxed as possible. Even if you hear some shaking in your voice, most of the time the audience will not. Try to clearly enunciate your words. Put some variety in the way you are saying things. And try not to talk too fast. Most of the delivery work will pay off later in the program, so don't worry if the first time is a bit rough. We'll try to help you know what you need to work on.

••• Nonverbal •••

Just a few words on what to do with your body up in front of the class. If you notice your hands shaking, don't worry. Everyone shakes and hardly anyone ever notices. Chances are, no one will see.

As the two years go on, you should begin to be more comfortable moving up in front of the class. But right now, try to stand comfortably but also fairly still. Watch swaying back and forth or useless pacing. Remember, anything that can be distracting to the audience needs to be eliminated.

Simply take a few deep breaths as you go up front and try to relax. Most of the gestures will come naturally as you do more speeches, so you don't need to try to make your hands do anything special. Place them in front of you however, and try to keep them out of your pockets or from behind your back.

We have given you a lot of information — perhaps too much to digest the first time around. And perhaps the more you read, the more nervous you became! Well, try not to worry. Remember, it is everyone's first speech; you are not alone in being apprehensive. Also, remember that the first speech is not graded. It is for your benefit, to help you get comfortable and learn about speaking in public.

Try to make it fun. It is your one chance this semester to share some of your extended observations about the course with your fellow classmates — try to look at it as an opportunity. And remember, most of all, we all want you to do well. Give it your best and have fun.

Lecture 2

“Expulsion of the Hyksos,”

“Battle of Megiddo,”

“War against the Sea People,”

Selection from Book of the Dead.

Ahmose, son of Ebana: The Expulsion of the Hyksos

Ahmose, son of Ebana, was an officer in the Egyptian army during the end of the 17th Dynasty to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (16th century BCE). Originally from Elkab in Upper Egypt, he decided to become a soldier, like his father, Baba, who served under Seqenenre Tao II in the early campaigns against the Hyksos. Ahmose spent most of his military life serving aboard the king's fleet - fighting at Avaris, at Sharuhen in Palestine, and in Nubia during the service of Ahmose I, and was often cited for his bravery in battle by the king. These accounts were left in a tomb that Ahmose, son of Ebana, identifies as his own at the end of the

The Crew Commander Ahmose son of Abana, the justified; he says: I speak to you, all people. I let you know what favors came to me. I have been rewarded with gold seven times in the sight of the whole land, with male and female slaves as well. I have been endowed with very many fields. The name of the brave man is in that which he has done; it will not perish in the land forever.

He speaks as follows. I grew up in the town of Nekheb, my father being a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Segenenre, the justified. Baba son of Reonet was his name. I became a soldier in his stead on the ship "The Wild Bull" in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire, the justified. I was a youth who had not married; I slept in [a hammock?].

Expulsion of the Hyksos

Now when I had established a household, I was taken to the ship "Northern," because I was brave. I followed the sovereign on foot when he rode about on his chariot.

When the town of Avaris was besieged, I fought bravely on foot in his majesty's presence. Thereupon I was appointed to the ship "Rising in Memphis." Then there was fighting on the water in "Pjedku" of Avaris. I made a seizure and carried off a hand. When it was reported to the royal herald the gold of valor was given to me.

Then they fought again in this place; I again made a seizure there and carried off a hand. Then I was given the gold of valor once again.

Then there was fighting in Egypt to the south of this town, and I carried off a man as a living captive. I went down into the water—for he was captured on the city side-and crossed the water carrying him. When it was reported to the royal herald I was rewarded with gold once more. Then Avaris was despoiled, and I brought spoil from there: one man, three women; total, four persons. His majesty gave them to me as slaves.

Then Sharahen was besieged for three years. His majesty despoiled it and I brought spoil from it: two women and a hand. Then the gold of valor was given me, and my captives were given to me as slaves.

Nubian campaign of King Ahmose

Now when his majesty had slain the nomads of Asia, he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer, to destroy the Nubian Bowmen. His majesty made a great slaughter among them, and I brought spoil from there: two living men and three hands. Then I was rewarded with gold once again, and two female slaves were given to me. His majesty journeyed north, his heart rejoicing in valor and victory. He had conquered southerners, northerners.

Destruction of the rebels Aata and Tetian

Then Aata came to the South. His fate brought on his doom. The gods of Upper Egypt grasped him. He was found by his majesty at Tent-taa. His majesty carried him off as a living captive, and all his people as booty. I brought two young warriors as captives from the ship of Aata. Then I was given five persons and portions of land amounting to five arurae in my town. The same was done for the whole crew.

Then came that foe named Tetian. He had gathered the malcontents to himself. His majesty slew him; his troop was wiped out. Then I was given three persons and five arurae of land in my town.

Nubian campaign of King Amenhotep I

Then I conveyed King Djeserkare, the justified, when he sailed south to Kush, to enlarge the borders of Egypt. His majesty smote that Nubian Bowman in the midst of his army. They were carried off in fetters, none missing, the fleeing destroyed as if they had never been. Now I was in the van of our troops and I fought really well. His majesty saw my valor. I carried off two hands and presented them to his majesty. Then his people and his cattle were pursued, and I carried off a living captive and presented him to his majesty.

I brought his majesty back to Egypt in two days from "Upper Well," and was rewarded with gold. I brought back two female slaves as booty, apart from those that I had presented to his majesty. Then they made me a "Warrior of the Ruler."

Nubian campaign of King Thutmose I

Then I conveyed King Aakheperkare, the justified, when he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer, to crush rebellion throughout the lands, to repel the intruders from the desert region. I was brave in his presence in the bad water, in the towing of the ship over the cataract. Thereupon I was made crew commander.

Then his majesty [was informed that the Nubian. . . .] At this his majesty became enraged like a leopard. His majesty shot, and his first arrow pierced the chest of that foe. Then those [enemies turned to flee], helpless before his Uraeus. A slaughter was made among them; their dependents were carried off as living captives. His majesty journeyed north, all foreign lands in his grasp, and that wretched Nubian Bowman head downward at the bow of his majesty's ship "Falcon." They landed at Ipet-sut.

Syrian campaign of King Thutmose I

After this (his majesty) proceeded to Retjenu, to vent his wrath throughout the lands. When his majesty reached Nahrin, his majesty found that foe marshalling troops. Then his majesty made a great slaughter of them. Countless were the living captives which his majesty brought back from his victories. Now I was in the van of our troops, and his majesty saw my valor. I brought a chariot, its horse, and him who was on it as a living captive. When they were presented to his majesty, I was rewarded with gold once again.

I have grown old; I have reached old age. Favored as before, and loved [by my lord], I [rest] in the tomb that I myself made.

Annals of Thutmose III: The Battle of Megiddo

[The following is a excerpt from the annals of the pharaoh Thothmes or Thutmose III (1490-1436 BCE), describing Egypt's victory over an army at Megiddo, where the Canaanite kings of Megiddo and Kadesh had joined their forces against the Egyptian invaders – most likely on 9 May 1457 BCE. Thutmose III spent much of his reign in almost constant battle with the military powers of West Asia, against whom he led expeditions almost annually for about twenty years. The annals are carved into the walls of the Temple of Karnak, in Egypt. Kadesh was a key city in what is today Syria, and the site of another major battle with the Egyptians about two hundred years later. Megiddo, or Har Megiddo (Mount Megiddo) was a fortress city, high on a hill overlooking the Jezreel plain, in the northern part of present-day Israel, with such formidable fortifications that many believed it could be captured only in a cataclysmic battle — giving us the expression "Armegeddon."]

Then the tents of His Majesty were pitched, and orders were sent out to the whole army, saying, Arm yourselves, get your weapons ready, for we shall set out to do battle with the miserable army at daybreak. The king sat in his tent, the officers made their preparations, and the rations of the servants were provided. The military sentries went about crying, Be firm of heart, Be firm of heart. Keep watch, keep watch. Keep watch over the life of the king in his tent. And a report was brought to His Majesty that the country was quiet, and that the foot soldiers of the south and north were ready. On the twenty-first day of the first month of the season Shemu (March-April) of the twenty-third year of the reign of His Majesty, and the day of the festival of the new moon, which was also the anniversary of the king's coronation, at dawn, behold, the order was given to set the whole army in motion. His Majesty set out in his chariot of silver-gold, and he had girded on himself the weapons of battle, like Horus the Slayer, the lord of might, and he was like unto Menthu [the War-god] of Thebes, and Amen his father gave strength to his arms. The southern half of the army was stationed on a hill to the south of the stream Kinā, and the northern half lay to the south-west of Megiddo. His Majesty was between them, and Amen was protecting him and giving strength to his body. His Majesty at the head of his army attacked his enemies, and broke their line, and when they saw that he was overwhelming them they broke and fled to Megiddo in a panic, leaving their horses and their gold and silver chariots on the field. [The fugitives] were pulled up by the people over the walls into the city; now they let down their clothes by which to pull them up. If the soldiers of His Majesty had not devoted themselves to securing loot of the enemy, they would have been able to capture the city of Megiddo at the moment when the vile foes from Kadesh and the vile foes from this city were being dragged up hurriedly over the walls into the city; for the terror of His Majesty had entered into them, and their arms dropped helplessly, and the serpent on his crown overthrew them.

Source:
Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, edited by James T. Shotwell. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922, pp. 60-61.

The War against the Sea People
Inscriptions from Ramses III's Temple of Medinet Habu at Thebes
Introduction and Translations by James Henry Breasted (1906)

REIGN OF RAMSES III
BUILDING AND DEDICATION INSCRIPTIONS
OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

1. This building is the most completely preserved temple of Egypt, antedating the Ptolemaic period. With its inscriptions and reliefs, it forms a vast record of the reign of Ramses III, parallel with the other record which he has left us in the great Papyrus Harris. It was dedicated by the king in his twelfth year, by the introduction of a new calendar of feasts, with richly endowed offerings. It was entirely built by Ramses III, as its inscriptions show. To this fact, as well as to its fine state of preservation, is due its importance That imposing line of similar temples, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which once extended eastward and northeastward from Medinet Habu, has now almost entirely vanished. The one exception is the ruined temple of Thutmose III, beside the Medinet Habu temple. The Nineteenth Dynasty temples, crowded into the same line, have likewise perished, leaving the wreck of the Ramesseum and the Kurna temple of Seti I. Each of these temples was, with slight exception (Kurna), the work of one king, and the scenes on the Ramesseum pylons, as well as those at Medinet Habu, indicate what an irreparable loss we have suffered in the destruction of these records of individual reigns. The Medinet Habu temple is therefore unique, and we must intensely regret that it was a Twentieth rather than an Eighteenth Dynasty temple which survived.

2. We shall first notice the inscriptions which concern the building; second, the historical records preserved on its walls; and, third, the great calendar of feasts. The inscriptions of earliest date (year 5) are found farthest back, viz., in the second court; while the second pylon, which forms the front of this court, bears an immense inscription of the year 8. The first pylon, the final front of the temple, carries records of the eleventh and twelfth years; so that the gradual growth of the temple from rear to front is clear. At the same time, it must be remembered that the cutting of the scenes and inscriptions was sometimes delayed. Thus the door of the treasury in the oldest part of the temple bears a scene depicting events of the eighth year or later.

[. . .]

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

21. The walls of this temple, as we have said, form a vast record of the achievements of Ramses III. This record is chiefly devoted to his wars. Had these wars been reported in the sober and intelligible style of Thutmose III's Annals, we should have known much of them which it is now safe to say we shall never know. It is difficult to describe the character of these Medinet Habu inscriptions. Perhaps, under the influence of the Kadesh poem, it has now become impossible to narrate a war or a victory of the Pharaoh in any other than poetic style. The record must be a poem. This would not be an unmixed misfortune, if the poem were intelligible; but the style is such as to render not merely whole lines, but entire strophes and whole passages, utterly unintelligible. This is due to two facts: first, total lack of order or progress in the narrative; second, the figurative character of the language. The first fault renders the reader's impressions fragmentary and confused in the highest degree. The texts consist almost exclusively of praise of the king and exultation over the conquered foe. The court and priestly flatterers of the king either put all this in The mouths of the Egyptians, or the discomfited enemies are made to express their wonder and terror at the king's valor, mingled with lamentation at their own undoing. All this is mingled in rapid alternation, so that one is often in doubt which party is speaking; and deep in the midst of this confused mixture there may be a few connected phrases stating whether the enemy came by land or water, or where the battle took place, or what were the names of the hostile chiefs. This utter lack of progress or continuity is rendered still more troublesome by the second fault of these texts, viz., their figurative language. Like Arabic poetry, they contain so many epithets of a highly pictorial character as frequently to make even a common word unintelligible. When the text speaks of the *"full flame,"* who could divine that it means the Egyptian fleet; or when it mentions the *"wall of metal,"* who could infer that the Egyptian army is intended? Just as some old Arabic poetry is unintelligible without a native commentator, who stood nearer the author than we do, so, much of these Medinet Habu texts is likely to remain unintelligible, without some obliging Egyptian familiar with their style, to explain their overdrawn metaphors and metonymies.

22. Fortunately, the temple contains, besides its vast quantity of historical inscriptions, also no less

than forty important relief scenes depicting the achievements of the king, in the conventional style common since the days of Seti I. These reliefs are accompanied by the usual explanatory inscriptions, which are commonly couched in such general terms that the total of their historical content is small. [. . .]

III. NORTHERN WAR, YEAR 8

59. Already in Ramses III**'s** fifth year the tribes of the southern coast of Asia Minor and the maritime peoples of the Ægean had sent some of their advanced galleys to assist the Libyans in their war of that year against Egypt. Or, as in Merneptah's day, the plundering crews of their southernmost advance had incidentally joined the Libyan invasion. These were but the premonitory skirmishing-line of a more serious and more general movement. The peoples involved were the probably Cretan Peleset, a settlement of whom later became the biblical Philistines; the Thekel, who may be the Sikeli, later of Sicily; the Shekelesh, the Denyen or Danaoi, and the Weshwesh, who are of uncertain origin. Owing to pressure from uncertain sources without, large numbers of these peoples, accompanied by their wives, children, and belongings, in clumsy ox carts, left their homes, and moving eastward along the coast of Asia Minor, penetrated Syria. They were accompanied by a strong fleet also. In the author's opinion, this movement was really a "Völkerwanderung" [migration of peoples], not merely an invasion, with a few families of the chiefs. They were strong enough to hold all northern Syria at their mercy; from Carchemish, through the Syrian Hittite conquests to the coast, as far south as Arvad, and inland as far south as Amor, they plundered the country. They had a central camp somewhere in Amor.

60. Ramses evidently still held the coast south of Arvad. Mustering his forces, he dispatched his war fleet to this coast, possibly with his motley army of various mercenaries and Egyptians on board, or in transports thus convoyed. At some point on the coast he met the enemy; a land and naval action took place. Possibly the two battles were near together. In any case, Ramses, after the land victory, was able to station his archers on the strand and aid in the destruction of the hostile fleet. His victory over both forces seems to have been complete, for we do not hear of any further trouble from this source during the remainder of his reign.

From the Inscriptions

Introduction; Praise of Ramses

Year 8, under the majesty of Horus: mighty Bull, valiant Lion, strong-armed, lord of might, capturing the Asiatics; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength, like his father, Montu, destroying the Nine Bows, driving (them) from their land; Hawk, divine at his birth, ^excellent and favorite egg of Harakhte, sovereign, excellent heir of the gods, fashioning their images on earth, doubling their offerings; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis; king, lord of valor, extending (his) two arms, and taking away the breath from the countries by the heat of his limbs, great in the power of Montu, — the fray like Re, [daily] ———— valiant upon (his) horse, fighting hand to hand upon his feet, warrior like the shooting-stars in heaven, King Ramses III; charging into the thick of the fray like ———— turning back the Asiatics, fighting in the territory of rebels who know not Egypt, who tell how they have heard of his might, who come with praise, trembling in all their limbs ———— — of the Asiatics. His form and his limbs are [straight], the equal of Baal, mighty in the multitude, without his like. He smites millions, alone by himself; all lands are despised and contemptible before him, appearing ————. They come — [to] look upon Egypt, prostrate, bowing down before him. They say every day: "Montu is in his great form, which is in Egypt among you, bearing his mighty sword. Let us all come, that we may make for him ———— him [in] his grasp, the King Ramses III." Beautiful is the appearance of the king, like the son of Isis the defender, firstborn son of Re-Atum,—— wearing the white crown, wearing the red crown, beautiful of face, wearing the double plume like Tatenen. His loveliness — — — — in the early morning, beautiful, sitting upon the throne like Atum, when he has assumed the regalia of Horus and Set; Nekhbet and Buto, the serpent-crown of the South and the serpent-crown of the North, they take their place upon his head. His two hands grasp the crook-staff and hold the scourge, — conscious of strength — — [among] the Nine Bows —. Plentiful are fowl and provision in his reign, like his father, the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah). Nun, great in love as king, like Shu, son of Re. [10]When he appears, there is rejoicing over him, like Aton; strong and valiant, mustering the lands at [his] desire, — like [Montu], creating them like Ptah; ready and skilled in law, there is none like him; like Re when he took the land as a kingdom, King Ramses III, — numerous in monuments, great In wonderful works, making festive the temples, — the son of Re, — who came forth from his limbs, — firstborn [of] the gods. He was appointed as a youth to be king of the Two Lands, to be ruler of every circuit of Aton, a shield protecting Egypt in his time. They pit under the shadow of his might, the strong one ———— victorious hand laid upon their head; King Ramses III, the king himself, he saith:

Ramses' Speech; His Accession

"Hearken to me all the land, gathered in [one place], the court, the king's-children, the butlers, — living, the —, the youth, all the young men who are in this land. Give your attention to my ulterance, that ye may know my plans for sustaining you alive, that ye may learn of the might of my august father, Amon-Kamephis, creator of my beauty. His great might —, victorious against every fallen foe, beneath my feet. He decrees to me victory, and his hand is with me, so that every invader of my boundary is slain in my grasp; his chosen one whom he found among hundreds of thousands, who was established upon his throne for safety when there was not a single man among them to rescue (them) from the Nine Bows. I surrounded her, I established her by my valiant might. When I arose like the sun as king over Egypt, I protected her, I expelled for her the Nine Bows."

Northern Invasion of Syria

"The countries — —, the [Northerners] in their isles were disturbed, taken away in the [fray] — at one time. Not one stood before I heir 1 lands, from Kheta, Carchemish, Arvad, Alasa, they were wasted. [They set up] a camp in one place in Amor. They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward to Egypt. Their main support was Peleset, Thekel, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh. (These) lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans." [. . .]

Defeat of the Enemy

"Those who reached my boundary, their seed is not; their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. As for those who had assembled before them on the sea, the full flame was in their front, before the harbor-mouths, and a wall of metal upon the shore surrounded them. They were dragged, overturned, and laid low upon the beach; slain and made heaps from stern to bow of their galleys, while all their things were cast upon the water. (Thus) I turned back the waters to remember Egypt; when they mention my name in their land, may it consume them, while I sit upon the throne of Harakhte, and the serpent-diadem is fixed upon my head, like Re. I permit not the countries to see the boundaries of Egypt to [among] them. As for the Nine Bows, I have taken away their land and their boundaries; they are added to mine. Their chiefs and their people (come) to me with praise. I carried out the plans of the All-Lord, the august, divine father, lord of the gods."

Ramses' Song of Triumph

"Rejoice ye, O Egypt, to the height of heaven, for I am ruler of the South and North upon the throne of Atum. The gods have appointed me to be king over Egypt, to be victor, to expel them for her from the countries; they decreed to me the kingdom while I was a child, and my reign is full of plenty — — — Strength has been given to me, because of my benefactions to the gods and goddesses, from a heart of love. I have expelled your mourning, which was in your heart, and I have made you to dwell in peace. Those whom I have overthrown shall not return, the tribute — — — their land, their detestation is the daily mention of my name, King Ramses III. I have covered Egypt, I have protected her by my valiant might, since I assumed the rule of the kingdom —————— the might of my two arms, bringing terror among the Nine Bows. Not a land stays at hearing my name, (but) they leave their cities, starting in their places, forsaking —————— before them. I am a goring Bull, confident in his two horns. My hand is equal to my courage following my valor, when my heart says to me: 'Make ——' —— my office —————— in the bow of the morning-barque, I bring to you jubilation. Mourning is in the countries, trembling is in every land ———— which I wrought. My heart is filled as a god — — valiant, lord of the sword. I know that his might is greater than (that of) the gods. The [lifetime] which the gods who are in — decree ——————. There is not a moment in your presence, which brings not plunder by the plans of the counsel which is in my heart, for the support of Egypt. Desolated is —————— the chief of their cities, wasted at one time. Their groves, and all their people are consumed by fire. They lament in their hearts: 'We will —————— their — to Egypt.'"

"I am the strong and valiant one; my designs come to pass without fail. I have shown my excellence, since I [know] this god, the father of the gods —————— I have not ignored his temple, (but) my heart has been steadfast to double the feasts and food-offerings above what was before. My heart is filled with truth every day, my abhorrence is lying —————— the gods are satisfied with truth. Their hands are for me the shield of my body, to ward off evil and misfortune from my limbs; the king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, for-ever and ever."

The Judgment of Osiris, from the Egyptian Book of the Dead
By E. A. Wallis Budge

The oldest religious texts suggest that the Egyptians always associated the Last Judgment with the weighing of the heart in a pair of scales, and in the illustrated papyri of the Book of the Dead great prominence is always given to the vignettes in which this weighing is being carried out. The heart, *ab*  , was taken as the symbol of all the emotions, desires, and passions, both good and evil, and out of it proceeded the issues of life. It was intimately connected with the *ka*,  , *i.e.*, the double or personality of a man, and several short spells in the Book PER-T EM HRU were composed to ensure its preservation (Chapters XXVI–XXXB*). The great Chapter of the Judgment of Osiris, the CXXVth, is divided into three parts, which are sometimes (as in the Papyrus of Ani) prefaced by a Hymn to Osiris. The first part contains the following, which was said by the deceased when he entered the Hall of Maāti, in which Osiris sat in judgment:

"Homage to thee, O Great God, Lord of Maāti,1 I have come to thee, O my Lord, that I may behold thy beneficence. I know thee, and I know thy name, and the names of the Forty-Two who live with thee in the Hall of Maāti, who keep ward over sinners, and feed upon their blood on the day of estimating characters before Un-Nefer2 ... Behold, I have come to thee, and I have brought *maāt* (*i.e.*, truth, integrity) to thee. I have destroyed sin for thee. I have not sinned against men. I have not oppressed [my] kinsfolk. I have done no wrong in the place of truth. I have not known worthless folk. I have not wrought evil. I have not defrauded the oppressed one of his goods. I have not done the things that the gods abominate. I have not vilified a servant to his master. I have not caused pain. I have not let any man hunger. I have made no one to weep. I have not committed murder. I have not commanded any to commit murder for me. I have inflicted pain on no man. I have not defrauded the temples page 23 of their oblations. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not stolen the offerings to the spirits (*i.e.*, the dead). I have not committed fornication. I have not polluted myself in the holy places of the god of my city. I have not diminished from the bushel. I did not take from or add to the acre-measure. I did not encroach on the fields [of others]. I have not added to the weights of the scales. I have not misread the pointer of the scales. I have not taken milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven cattle from their pastures. I have not snared the birds of the gods. I have not caught fish with fish of their kind. I have not stopped water [when it should flow]. I have not cut the dam of a canal. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not altered the times of the chosen meat offerings. I have not turned away the cattle [intended for] offerings. I have not repulsed the god at his appearances. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure...."

In the second part of Chapter CXXV Osiris is seen seated at one end of the Hall of Maāti accompanied by the two goddesses of Law and Truth, and the Forty-Two gods who are there to assist him. Each of the Forty-Two gods represents one of the nomes of Egypt and has a symbolic name. When the deceased had repeated the magical names of the doors of the Hall, he entered it and saw these gods arranged in two rows, twenty-one on each side of the Hall. At the end, near Osiris, were the Great Scales, under the charge of Anpu (Anubis), and the monster Āmemit, the Eater of the Dead, *i.e.*, of the hearts of the wicked who were condemned in the Judgment of Osiris. The deceased advanced along the Hall and, addressing each of the Forty-Two gods by his name, declared that he had not committed a certain sin, thus:

"O Usekh-nemmit, comer forth from Anu, I have not committed sin.

"O Fenti, comer forth from Khemenu, I have not robbed.

"O Neha-hāu, comer forth from Re-stau, I have not killed men.

"O Neba, comer forth in retreating, I have not plundered the property of God.

"O Set-qesu, comer forth from Hensu, I have not lied.

"O Uammti, comer forth from Khebt, I have not defiled any man's wife.

page 24"O Maa-anuf, comer forth from Per-Menu, I have not defiled myself.

"O Tem-Sep, comer forth from Tetu, I have not cursed the king.

"O Nefer-Tem, comer forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not acted deceitfully; I have not committed wickedness.

"O Nekhen, comer forth from Heqāt, I have not turned a deaf ear to the words of the Law (or Truth)."

The names of most of the Forty-Two gods are not ancient, but were invented by the priests probably about the same time as the names in the Book of Him that is in the Tuat and the Book of Gates, *i.e.*, between the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties. Their artificial character is shown by their meanings. Thus Usekh-nemmit means "He of the long strides"; Fenti means "He of the Nose"; Neha-hāu means "Stinking-members"; Set-qesu means "Breaker of bones," etc. The early Egyptologists called the second part of the CXXVth Chapter the "Negative Confession," and it is generally known by this somewhat inexact title to this day.

In the third part of the CXXVth Chapter comes the address which the deceased made to the gods after he had declared his innocence of the sins enumerated before the Forty-Two gods. He says: "Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in your Hall of Maāti. I know you and I know your names. Let me not fall under your slaughtering knives. Bring not my wickedness to the notice of the god whose followers ye are. Let not the affair [of my judgment] come under your jurisdiction. Speak ye the Law (or truth) concerning me before Neb-er-tcher,3 for I performed the Law (or, truth) in Ta-mera (*i.e.*, Egypt). I have not blasphemed the God. No affair of mine came under the notice of the king in his day. Homage to you, O ye who are in your Hall of Maāti, who have no lies in your bodies, who live on truth, who eat truth before Horus, the dweller in his disk, deliver ye me from Babai4 who liveth upon the entrails of the mighty ones on the day of the Great Reckoning (APT ĀAT, ). Behold me! I have come page 25to you without sin, without deceit (?), without evil, without false testimony (?) I have not done an [evil] thing. I live upon truth and I feed upon truth. I have performed the behests of men, and the things that satisfy the gods.5 I have propitiated the God [by doing] His will. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, and a boat to him that needed one. I have made holy offerings to the gods, and sepulchral offerings to the beautified dead. Be ye then my saviours, be ye my protectors, and make no accusation against me before the Great God. I am pure of mouth, and clean of hands; therefore it hath been said by those who saw me, 'Come in peace, come in peace.'"

The deceased then addresses Osiris, and says, "Hail, thou who art exalted upon thy standard, thou Lord of the Atefu Crown, whose name is 'Lord of Winds,' save me from thy Messengers (or Assessors) with uncovered faces, who bring charges of evil and make shortcomings plain, because I have performed the Law (or Truth) for the Lord of the Law (or Truth). I have purified myself with washings in water, my back hath been cleansed with salt, and my inner parts are in the Pool of Truth. There is not a member of mine that lacketh truth." From the lines that follow the above in the Papyrus of Nu it seems as though the judgment of the deceased by the Forty-Two gods was preliminary to the final judgment of Osiris. At all events, after questioning him about the performance of certain ceremonies, they invited him to enter the Hall of Maāti, but when he was about to do so the porter, and the door-bolts, and the various parts of the door and its frame, and the floor, refused to permit him to enter until he had repeated their magical names. When he had pronounced these correctly the porter took him in and presented him to Maau (?)-Taui, who was Thoth himself. When asked by him why he had come the deceased answered, "I have come that report may be made of me." Then Thoth said, "What is thy condition?" And the deceased replied, "I am purified from evil things, I am free from the wickedness of those who lived in my days; I am not one of them." On this Thoth said, "Thou shalt be reported. [Tell me:] Who is he whose roof is fire, whose walls are living page 26 page 27serpents, and whose floor is a stream of water? Who is he?" The deceased having replied "Osiris," Thoth then led him forward to the god Osiris, who received him, and promised that subsistence should be provided for him from the Eye of Rā.

Lecture 8

The Ramayana

(excerpt, Rama and the bow)

The Ramayana of Valmiki
Translated into English Verse by
Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A.

[The young Rama, prince of Ayodha, meets his future wife, Sita, at a ceremony organized by her father, Janak, the king of Mithila. Janak challenges all Sita's suitors to string a "heavenly bow," but only Rama can bend it, string it, and even break it, marking him as Sita's intended.]

Canto LXVI. Janak's Speech.

With cloudless lustre rose the sun;
The king, his morning worship done,
Ordered his heralds to invite
The princes and the anchorite.
With honour, as the laws decree,
The monarch entertained the three.
Then to the youths and saintly man
Videha's lord this speech began:
"O blameless Saint, most welcome thou!
If I may please thee tell me how.
Speak, mighty lord, whom all revere,
'Tis thine to order, mine to hear."

Thus he on mighty thoughts intent;
Then thus the sage most eloquent:
"King Dasaratha's sons, this pair
Of warriors famous everywhere,
Are come that best of bows to see
That lies a treasure stored by thee.
This, mighty Janak, deign to show,
That they may look upon the bow,
And then, contented, homeward go."
Then royal Janak spoke in turn:
"O best of Saints, the story learn
Why this famed bow, a noble prize,
A treasure in my palace lies.
A monarch, Devarat by name,
Who sixth from ancient Nimi came,
Held it as ruler of the land,
A pledge in his successive hand.
This bow the mighty Rudra bore
At Daksha's sacrifice of yore,
When carnage of the Immortals stained
The rite that Daksha had ordained.
Then as the Gods sore wounded fled,
Victorious Rudra, mocking, said:
"Because, O Gods, ye gave me naught
When I my rightful portion sought,
Your dearest parts I will not spare,
But with my bow your frames will tear."

The Sons of Heaven, in wild alarm,
Soft flatteries tried his rage to charm.
Then Bhava, Lord whom Gods adore,
Grew kind and friendly as before,
And every torn and mangled limb
Was safe and sound restored by him.
Thenceforth this bow, the gem of bows,
That freed the God of Gods from foes,
Stored by our great forefathers lay
A treasure and a pride for aye.
Once, as it chanced, I ploughed the ground,
When sudden, 'neath the share was found
An infant springing from the earth,
Named Sita from her secret birth.
In strength and grace the maiden grew,
My cherished daughter, fair to view.
I vowed her, of no mortal birth,
Meet prize for noblest hero's worth.
In strength and grace the maiden grew,
And many a monarch came to woo.
To all the princely suitors I
Gave, mighty Saint, the same reply:
"I give not thus my daughter, she
Prize of heroic worth shall be.
To Mithila the suitors pressed
Their power and might to manifest.
To all who came with hearts aglow
I offered Siva's wondrous bow.
Not one of all the royal band
Could raise or take the bow in hand.
The suitors' puny might I spurned,
And back the feeble princes turned.
Enraged thereat, the warriors met,
With force combined my town beset.
Stung to the heart with scorn and shame,
With war and threats they madly came,
Besieged my peaceful walls, and long
To Mithila did grievous wrong.
There, wasting all, a year they lay,
And brought my treasures to decay,
Filling my soul, O Hermit chief,
With bitter woe and hopeless grief.
At last by long-wrought penance I
Won favour with the Gods on high,
Who with my labours well content
A four-fold host to aid me sent.
Then swift the baffled heroes fled
To all the winds discomfited--

Wrong-doers, with their lords and host,
And all their valour's idle boast.
This heavenly bow, exceeding bright,
These youths shall see, O Anchorite.
Then if young Rama's hand can string
The bow that baffled lord and king,
To him I give, as I have sworn,
My Sita, not of woman born."

Canto LXVII. The Breaking Of The Bow.

Then spoke again the great recluse:
"This mighty bow, O King, produce."
King Janak, at the saint's request,
This order to his train addressed:
"Let the great bow be hither borne,
Which flowery wreaths and scents adorn."
Soon as the monarch's words were said,
His servants to the city sped,
Five thousand youths in number, all
Of manly strength and stature tall,
The ponderous eight-wheeled chest that held
The heavenly bow, with toil propelled.
At length they brought that iron chest,
And thus the godlike king addressed:
"This best of bows, O lord, we bring,
Respected by each chief and king,
And place it for these youths to see,
If, Sovereign, such thy pleasure be."

With suppliant palm to palm applied
King Janak to the strangers cried:
"This gem of bows, O Brahman Sage,
Our race has prized from age to age,
Too strong for those who yet have reigned,
Though great in might each nerve they
strained.
Titan and fiend its strength defies,
God, spirit, minstrel of the skies.
And bard above and snake below
Are baffled by this glorious bow.
Then how may human prowess hope
With such a bow as this to cope?
What man with valour's choicest gift
This bow can draw, or string, or lift?
Yet let the princes, holy Seer,
Behold it: it is present here."

Then spoke the hermit pious-souled:
"Rama, dear son, the bow behold."
Then Rama at his word unclosed
The chest wherein its might reposed,
Thus crying, as he viewed it: "Lo!
I lay mine hand upon the bow:
May happy luck my hope attend
Its heavenly strength to lift or bend."
"Good luck be thine," the hermit cried:
"Assay the task!" the king replied.
Then Raghu's son, as if in sport,
Before the thousands of the court,
The weapon by the middle raised
That all the crowd in wonder gazed.
With steady arm the string he drew
Till burst the mighty bow in two.
As snapped the bow, an awful clang,
Loud as the shriek of tempests, rang.
The earth, affrighted, shook amain
As when a hill is rent in twain.
Then, senseless at the fearful sound,
The people fell upon the ground:
None save the king, the princely pair,
And the great saint, the shock could bear.

When woke to sense the stricken train,
And Janak's soul was calm again,
With suppliant hands and reverent head,
These words, most eloquent, he said:
"O Saint, Prince Rama stands alone:
His peerless might he well has shown.
A marvel has the hero wrought
Beyond belief, surpassing thought.
My child, to royal Rama wed,
New glory on our line will shed:
And true my promise will remain
That hero's worth the bride should gain.
Dearer to me than light and life,
My Sita shall be Rama's wife.
If thou, O Brahman, leave concede,
My counsellors, with eager speed,
Borne in their flying cars, to fair
Ayodhya's town the news shall bear,
With courteous message to entreat
The king to grace my royal seat.
This to the monarch shall they tell,
The bride is his who won her well:
And his two sons are resting here
Protected by the holy seer.
So, at his pleasure, let them lead
The sovereign to my town with speed."

The hermit to his prayer inclined
And Janak, lord of virtuous mind,
With charges, to Ayodhya sent
His ministers: and forth they went.

Lecture 12

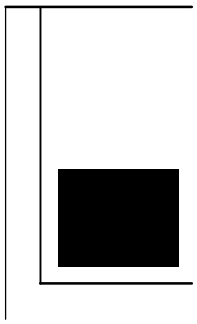
Kennedy, A New History of Classical Rhetoric (Introduction: The Nature of Rhetoric)

Aristotle, Art of Rhetoric (Book I, Chapters 1-3)

A NEW HISTORY OF CLASSICAL RHETORIC

AND

Greek *Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*



GEORGE A. KENNEDY

AN EXTENSIVE REVISION AND ABRIDGMENT OF

The Art of Persuasion in Greece

The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World

WITH ADDITIONAL DISCUSSION OF LATE LATIN RHETORIC

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: The Nature of Rhetoric

The English word "rhetoric" is derived from Greek *rhetorike,* which apparently came into use in the circle of Socrates in the fifth century and first appears in Plato's dialogue *Gorgias,* probably written about 385 B.C. but set dramatically a generation earlier. *Rhetorike* in Greek specifically denotes the civic art of public speaking as it developed in deliberative assemblies, law courts, and other formal occasions under constitutional government in the Greek cities, especially the Athenian democracy, As such, it is a specific cultural subset of a more general concept of the power of words and their potential to affect a situation in which they are used or received. Ultimately, what we call "rhetoric" can be traced back to the natural instinct to survive and to control our environment and influence the actions of others in what seems the best interest of ourselves, our families, our social and political groups, and our descendants. This can be done by direct action—force, threats, bribes, for example—or it can be done by the use of "signs," of which the most important are words in speech or writing. Some concept of rhetoric, under different names, can be found in many ancient societies. In Egypt and China, for example, as in Greece, practical handbooks were written to advise the reader how to become an effective speaker.

Classical writers regarded rhetoric as having been "invented," or more accurately, "discovered," in the fifth century B.C. in the democracies of Syracuse and Athens. What they mean by this is that then, for the first time in Europe, attempts were made to describe the features of an effective speech and to teach someone how to plan and deliver one. Under democracies citizens were expected to participate in political debate, and they were expected to speak on their own behalf in courts of law. A theory of public speaking evolved, which developed an extensive technical vocabulary to describe features of argument, arrangement, style, and delivery. In recent years, the term "metarhetoric" has been coined to describe a theory or art of rhetoric in contrast to the practice or application of the art in a particular discourse. The first teachers of rhetoric were the itinerent lecturers of fifth-century Greece known as "sophists," to be discussed in the next chapter; beginning with Isocrates in the fourth century, regular schools of rhetoric became common, and throughout the Greco-Roman period the study of rhetoric was a regular part of the formal education of young men.

Classical rhetoricians—that is, teachers of rhetoric—recognized that many features of their subject could be found in Greek literature before the "invention" of rhetoric as an academic discipline, and they frequently used

CHAPTER ONE

rhetorical concepts in literary criticism Conversely, the teaching of rhetoric in the schools, ostensibly concerned primarily with training in public address, had a significant effect on written corn posit ion, and thus on literature All literature is "rhetorical" in the sense that its function is to affect a reader in sonic way--"to teach and to please," as the Roman poet Horace and many other critics put it—but beginning in the last three centuries

much Greek and Latin literature is overtly rhetorical in that it was composed with a knowledge of classical rhetorical theory and shows its influence.

In the third chapter of his lectures On *Rhetoric,* Aristotle distinguished three "species" of rhetoric. An audience, he says, is either a judge or not a judge of what is being said. By this he means that an audience either is or is not being asked to make a specific decision on an issue presented to it. If the audience is a judge, it is either judging events of the past, as in a court of law, in which case the speech is classified as "judicial," or it is judging what action to take in the future, in which case the speech is "deliberative." If the audience is not being asked to take a specific action, Aristotle calls the speech "epideictic" (i e , "demonstrative"). What he has in mind are speeches on ceremonial occasions, such as public festivals or funerals, which speeches he characterizes as aimed at praise or blame. These three categories—judicial, deliberative, epideictic—remained fundamental throughout the history of classical rhetoric and are still useful in categorizing forms of discourse today. The concept of epideictic rhetoric, however, needs to be broadened beyond Aristotle's definition. In later antiquity, some rhetoricians included within it all poetry and prose. Perhaps epideictic rhetoric is hest regarded as any discourse that does not aim at a specific action but is intended to influence the values and beliefs of the audience.

In its fully developed form, as seen for example in writings of Cicero in the first century and of Quint ii an a century later, classical rhetorical teaching consisted of five parts that parallel the act of planning and delivering a speech Since a knowledge of how to speak in a law court was probably the skill most needed by most students, classical rhetorical theory primarily focused on judicial rhetoric. Rhetoricians, however, usually also gave sonic attention to deliberative and epideictic forms, and from the time of the Roman Empire some treatises describe epideictic forms in considerable detail.

The first of the five parts of classical rhetoric is "invention" (Gk. *heuresis,* I,at inventio). This is concerned with thinking out the subject matter: with identifying the question at issue, which is called the *stasis* of the speech, and the available means of persuading the audience to accept the speaker's position. The means of persuasion include, first, direct evidence, such as witnesses and contracts, which the speaker "uses" but does not "invent"; second, "artistic" means of persuasion, which include presentation of the speaker's character *(ethos)* as trustworthy, logical argument *(logos)* that may

convince the audience, and the *pathos* or emotion that the speaker can awaken in the audience. The artistic means of persuasion utilize "topics" (Gk. *topoi,* Lat. *loci),* which are ethical or political premises on which an argument can be built or are logical strategies, such as arguing from cause to effect. A speaker can also use topics, many of which became traditional, to gain the trust or the interest of the audience. The importance of the case can be stressed, not only for the speaker, but as a precedent for future decisions or for its effect on society.

The second part of classical rhetoric is "arrangement" (Gk. *taxis,* Lat. *dispositio).* "Arrangement" means the organization of a speech into parts, though the order in which arguments are presented, whether the strongest first or toward a climax, is sometimes discussed. Rhetoricians found it difficult to separate discussion of arrangement from discussion of invention and often merged the two into an account of the inventional features of each part of a speech. The basic divisions recognized by the handbooks and applying best to judicial oratory are (1) introduction, or prooemium, (Gk. prooimion, Lat. *exordium);* (2) narration (Gk. *diegesis,* Lat. *narratio),* the exposition of the background and factual details; (3) proof (Gk. *pistis,* Lat. *probatio);* and (4) conclusion, or epilogue, (Gk. *epilogos,* Lat. *peroratio).* Each part has its own function and characteristics: the prooemium, for example, aims at securing the interest and good will of the audience; the narration should be clear, brief, and persuasive; the proof supplies logical arguments in support of the speaker's position and also seeks to refute objections that might be made against it; the epilogue is often divided into a recapitulation and an emotional appeal to the audience. Some rhetoricians added other parts. At the beginning of the proof often a "proposition" and a "distribution" of headings is discussed. Sometimes there is what is called a "digression" or "excursus," which is not so much a true digression as a discussion of some related matter that may affect the outcome or a description of the moral character, whether favorable or unfavorable, of those involved in the case. Deliberative speeches usually have a prooemium, proof, and epilogue and can often omit a narration. Epideictic speeches have a structure of their own; for example a speech in praise of someone may take up the "topics" of his or her country, ancestry, education, character, and conduct.

Once the speaker has planned "what" to say and the order in which to say it, the third task is to decide "how" to say it, that is how to embody it in words and sentences. This is "style" (Gk. *lexis,* Lat. *elocutio).* It is characteristic of classical rhetoric to regard style as a deliberate process of casting subject into language; the same ideas can be expressed in different words with different effect. There are two parts to style: "diction," or the choice of words; and "composition," the putting of words together into sentences, which includes periodic structure, prose rhythm, and figures of speech. Discussion of style is usually organized around the concept of four "virtues" *(aretai)* that were first defined by Aristotle's student Theophrastus: correctness (of grammar

and usage), clarity, ornamentation, and propriety. Ornamentation includes "tropes," literally "turnings" or substitutions of one term for another as in metaphor; figures of speech, or changes in the sound or arrangement of a sequence of words, such as anaphora or asyndeton; and figures of thought, in which a statement is recast to stress it or achieve audience contact, as in the rhetorical question. Styles were often classified into types or "characters," of which the best known categorization is the threefold division into "grand," "middle," and "plain."

Invention, arrangement, and style are the three most important parts of classical rhetoric, applicable equally to public speaking and written composition. The earliest recognition of them as three separate actions seems to be in Isocrates' speech *Against the Sophists* (section 16), written about 390 B.C. Aristotle discusses all three subjects in his lectures On *Rhetoric,* which in its present form dates from around 335 B.C., but in the first chapter of book 3 he suggests that a fourth part might be added, "delivery." By the first century B.C. in fact two more parts had been added. Fourth in the usual sequence comes "memory " Once a speech was planned and written out, the student of rhetoric was expected to memorize it word for word for oral delivery A mnemonic system of backgrounds and images had been developed for this purpose.' The best ancient discussion is found in the third book of the *Rhetoric* for *Herennius,* written in the early first century B.C. Fifth and last came "delivery," as Aristotle had proposed. This is divided into control of the voice—volume, pitch, and so on—and gesture, which includes effective control of the eyes and limbs. The best ancient discussion is found in Quintilian's *Education of the Orator,* book 11.

Classical metarhetoric, as set out in Greek and Latin handbooks from the fourth century B.C. to the end of antiquity, was a standard body of knowledge. Once fully developed, it remained unaltered in its essential features, though constantly revised and often made more detailed by teachers who sought some originality. Was the teaching of rhetoric ever called into question in antiquity? The answer is "yes." Just as today "rhetoric" in popular usage can have negative connotations as deceitful or empty, so it was viewed with hostility or suspicion by some in classical times.

The earliest context in which this criticism explicitly appears is the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, a comic play originally staged in 423 B.C. at the height of the activity of the older sophists.' The play includes a debate (lines

The beginnings of the mnemonic system were traditionally attributed to the sixth-century Creek poet Simonides (Cicero, On *the* Orator 2 360); that some techniques were known in the fifth century can be seen in *Dissoi Logoi* 9 (Sprague, *The Older Sophists,* 292-93).

The text we have is a revision by the poet made a few years later.

889-1104) between "Just Speech" and "Injust Speech," in which injustice acknowledges itself the "weaker" but triumphs by verbal trickery over justice, the "stronger." In Plato's *Apology* (18b8) Socrates, imagined as speaking at his trial in 399 B.C., says he is accused of "making the weaker argument the stronger." Aristotle (On *Rhetoric* 2.24.11) identifies "making the weaker cause the stronger" with the use of argument from probability as described in fifth-century rhetorical handbooks and says the phrase was used against the sophist Protagoras. The phrase reflects the frustration of those unskilled in the new techniques of debate when traditional ideas of morality and truth were undermined by verbal argument and paradoxical views that seemed wrong to common sense were seemingly demonstrated. Examples might include not only the comic debate in the *Clouds* but Zeno's argument that Achilles could never overtake a tortoise in a race or the argument attributed to Lysias in Plato's *Phaedrus* that it is better to accept as lover a person who does not love you than one who does. To make the weaker argument the stronger can certainly be open to moral objections, but historically the discovery in the fifth century of the possibilities of logical argument, and thus the willingness to ask new questions, proved fundamental to scientific progress and social and political change. That the earth is round and circles the sun had long seemed absurd to most people, and to argue that blacks should be equal to whites had long seemed to many the "weaker cause."

The most important and most influential of the critics of rhetoric was Plato, especially in the dialogue *Gorgias.*[3] The word *rhetOr* in Greek means a public speaker, but it often had the more dubious connotation of a "politician"; the abstraction *rhetorike* could then be represented as the morally dubious technique of contemporary politicians in contast to the nobler study of philosophy with its basis in "truth." Socrates in the *Gorgias* certainly criticizes fifth-century political orators as having corrupted the people, but his criticism is more immediately addressed to Gorgias and Gorgias' follower Polus for teaching a form of flattery and for their ignorance of the subjects on which they spoke. Gorgias was one of several traveling lecturers, called "sophists" (literally "wise men"), who sought to teach techniques of success in civic life, including what came to be called rhetoric. The sophists as a group were philosophical relativists, skeptical about the possibility of knowledge of universal truth. The earliest of the sophists, Protagoras, had begun a treatise with the famous words "Man is the measure of all things, of things that are in so far as they are and of things that are not in so far as they

Schiappa, in "Did Plato Coin Rhitorike?" has argued that Plato actually coined the word *rhetorike,* which does not occur in any earlier text, but the dramatic date of the dialogue is in the late fifth century, and both Gorgias and Polus are represented there as accepting the term without objection.

are not." One of the surviving works of Gorgias, entitled On *Nature,* argues in outline form that nothing exists, that if it does exist it cannot be known, and that if it could be known knowledge could not be communicated by one person to another.' The consequence of this position is that the value of opinions about what is true, right, or just should he judged from the circumstances as understood by individuals at a particular time; courses of practical action Can best he determined by considering the advantages of the alternatives This opens up a place for rhetoric in debate and a need to argue hot h sides of an issue as persuasively as possible, but it also opens up a place for skill in -making the weaker the stronger cause.¯ Socrates in the *Gorgias,* and elsewhere in Plato's dialogues, contends that there is such a thing as absolute truth and universal principles of right and wrong. In the *Gorgias* (463a-b) he describes rhetoric as a form of flattery and a sham counterpart of justice. But in a later dialogue, *Phaedrus,* Socrates is made to describe a valid, philosophical rhetoric that would be based on a knowledge of truth, of logical method, and of the psychology of the audience. As we shall see, lsocrates and others attempted to answer Plato's objections, and Aristotle eventually provided the best solution to the argument by showing that rhetoric, like dialectic, is a morally neutral art, which can argue both sides of an issue but which draws on knowledge from other disciplines in the interests of determining what is advantageous, just, or honorable and employs a distinct method of its own.

Although criticisms of rhetoric were occasionally voiced by others in the fourth and third centuries B.C., the utility of the study of rhetoric for civic life and for writing became generally recognized. The question was, however, reopened in the middle of the second century B.C. by teachers of philosophy, who seem to have been threatened by the number of students flocking to rhetoricians for advanced study rather than to the philosophical schools, traditionally the source of higher education in antiquity. These students included Romans interested in acquiring a knowledge of Greek culture. Cicero (On *the Orator* 1.46) says that the philosophers in Athens in the late second century B.C. "all with one voice drove the orator from the government of states, excluded him from all learning and knowledge of greater things, and pushed down and locked him up in courts of justice and insignificant disputes as though in a mill." Cicero's dialogue On *the Orator,* written in the middle of the first century B.C., is an eloquent and thoughtful response to criticisms of rhetoric, which are blamed in the first instance on Socrates' division between tongue and brain (3.61). In books I and 3, Crassus, the character in the dialogue with whom Cicero clearly most identified,

For discussion of this statement as well as "making the weaker the strong cause" as applied to Protagoras. see Schiappa, *Protagoras and Logos,* 103-33.

For English translations of the surviving writings of the sophists, see Sprague, *The Older Sophists*

describes an ideal orator trained in rhetoric, philosophy, law, history, and all knowledge. Such an orator should be morally good and an active participant in public life. The more practical process of rhetoric is substituted for the more theoretical goal of philosophy, but with a deeper basis of knowledge than could be derived solely from the study of rhetorical rules.

Hostility between rhetoric and philosophy existed throughout the period of the Roman Empire. The problem was acerbated by Stoic and Cynic philosophers who criticized the emperors as autocratic. The emperor Domitian, toward the end of the first century after Christ, expelled philosophers from Rome, and the rhetorician Quintilian, who enjoyed Domitian's patronage, scorned them as antisocial dissidents. The emperor Marcus Aurelius in the second century had studied with the rhetorician Fronto but increasingly turned to the attractions of philosophy. That Plato's criticisms of rhetoric were still regarded as forceful is seen in the fact that Aelius Aristides in the mid-second century composed an extended reply to Plato entitled *In Defense of Oratory.* Later in the century the skeptical philosopher Sextus Empiricus in *Against the Rhetoricians* dismissed the study of rhetoric as a waste of time. Rhetoric was a problem for early Christian thinkers. Saint Paul in first Corinthians (2:4) rejects the "wisdom of this world": "My speech and my proclamation are not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and power, in order that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men but in the power of God." Radical early Christians often scorned rhetoric as worldly, but Paul was, within his own faith, a skilled rhetorician, and the Apologists of the second century found traditional rhetorical skills useful in presenting the new faith to larger audiences. With the toleration and official establishment of Christianity in the fourth century, Christian leaders show a greater openness to the study of rhetoric. Saint Augustine began his career as a teacher of rhetoric; though he abandoned that on his conversion, he eventually worked out a synthesis of the place of rhetoric in interpretation of the Bible and in preaching as described in On *Christian Doctrine.*

Some modern readers sympathize with philosophy in its dispute with rhetoric. In the former discipline they see devotion to truth, intellectual honesty, depth of perception, consistency, and sincerity; in the later, verbal dexterity, empty pomposity, triviality, moral ambivalence, and a desire to achieve self-interest by any means. The picture is not quite so clear cut. Rhetorical theorists such as Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian are not unscrupulous tricksters with words. Furthermore, rhetoric was at times a greater liberalizing force in ancient intellectual life than was philosophy, which tended to become dogmatic. The basic principle of humane law—that anyone, however clear the evidence on the other side seems to be, has a right to present a case in the best light possible—is an inheritance from Greek justice and Roman law. Political debaters under democracy in Greece and

republican government in Rome recognized the need to entertain opposing views when expressed with rhetorical effectiveness. Finally, linguistic, philosophical, and critical studies in the twentieth century have pointed to the conclusion that there is no such a thing as nonrhetorical discourse; even ostensibly objective scientific and philosophical writing contains social and political assumptions that may be questioned and uses rhetorical techniques that carry ethical and emotional connotations to argue its case. In the first chapter of *On Rhetoric* Aristotle presents reasons for concluding that rhetoric is useful; we can go beyond that to say it is necessary and inevitable. In speaking, writing, hearing, and reading, we are better off if we understand the process.

Aristotle: Art of Rhetoric

(Book 1, Chapters 1-3)

Translated by W. Rhys Roberts

BOOK ONE

I

RHETORIC is the counterpart of Dialectic. Both alike are concerned with such things as come, more or less, within the general ken of all men and belong to no definite science. Accordingly all men make use, more or less, of both; for to a certain extent all men attempt to discuss statements and to maintain them, to defend themselves and to attack others. Ordinary people do this either at random or through practice and from acquired habit. Both ways being possible, the subject can plainly be handled systematically, for it is possible to inquire the reason why some speakers succeed through practice and others spontaneously; and every one will at once agree that such an inquiry is the function of an art.

Now, the framers of the current treatises on rhetoric have constructed but a small portion of that art. The modes of persuasion are the only true constituents of the art: everything else is merely accessory. These writers, however, say nothing about enthymemes, which are the substance of rhetorical persuasion, but deal mainly with non-essentials. The arousing of prejudice, pity, anger, and similar emotions has nothing to do with the essential facts, but is merely a personal appeal to the man who is judging the case. Consequently if the rules for trials which are now laid down some states-especially in well-governed states-were applied everywhere, such people would have nothing to say. All men, no doubt, think that the laws should prescribe such rules, but some, as in the court of Areopagus, give practical effect to their thoughts and forbid talk about non-essentials. This is sound law and custom. It is not right to pervert the judge by moving him to anger or envy or pity-one might as well warp a carpenter's rule before using it. Again, a litigant has clearly nothing to do but to show that the alleged fact is so or is not so, that it has or has not happened. As to whether a thing is important or unimportant, just or unjust, the judge must surely refuse to take his instructions from the litigants: he must decide for himself all such points as the law-giver has not already defined for him.

Now, it is of great moment that well-drawn laws should themselves define all the points they possibly can and leave as few as may be to the decision of the judges; and this for several reasons. First, to find one man, or a few men, who are sensible persons and capable of legislating and administering justice is easier than to find a large number. Next, laws are made after long consideration, whereas decisions in the courts are given at short notice, which makes it hard for those who try the case to satisfy the claims of justice and expediency. The weightiest reason of all is that the decision of the lawgiver is not particular but prospective and general, whereas members of the assembly and the jury find it their duty to decide on definite cases brought before them. They will often have allowed themselves to be so much influenced by feelings of friendship or hatred or self-interest that they lose any clear vision of the truth and have their judgment obscured by considerations of personal pleasure or pain. In general, then, the judge should, we say, be allowed to decide as few things as possible. But questions as to whether something has happened or has not happened, will be or will not be, is or is not, must of necessity be left to the judge, since the lawgiver cannot foresee them. If this is so, it is evident that any one who lays down rules about other matters, such as what must be the contents of the 'introduction' or the 'narration' or any of the other divisions of a speech, is theorizing about non-essentials as if they belonged to the art. The only

question with which these writers here deal is how to put the judge into a given frame of mind. About the orator's proper modes of persuasion they have nothing to tell us; nothing, that is, about how to gain skill in enthymemes.

Hence it comes that, although the same systematic principles apply to political as to forensic oratory, and although the former is a nobler business, and fitter for a citizen, than that which concerns the relations of private individuals, these authors say nothing about political oratory, but try, one and all, to write treatises on the way to plead in court. The reason for this is that in political oratory there is less inducement to talk about nonessentials. Political oratory is less given to unscrupulous practices than forensic, because it treats of wider issues. In a political debate the man who is forming a judgement is making a decision about his own vital interests. There is no need, therefore, to prove anything except that the facts are what the supporter of a measure maintains they are. In forensic oratory this is not enough; to conciliate the listener is what pays here. It is other people's affairs that are to be decided, so that the judges, intent on their own satisfaction and listening with partiality, surrender themselves to the disputants instead of judging between them. Hence in many places, as we have said already, irrelevant speaking is forbidden in the law-courts: in the public assembly those who have to form a judgment are themselves well able to guard against that.

It is clear, then, that rhetorical study, in its strict sense, is concerned with the modes of persuasion. Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration, since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated. The orator's demonstration is an enthymeme, and this is, in general, the most effective of the modes of persuasion. The enthymeme is a sort of syllogism, and the consideration of syllogisms of all kinds, without distinction, is the business of dialectic, either of dialectic as a whole or of one of its branches. It follows plainly, therefore, that he who is best able to see how and from what elements a syllogism is produced will also be best skilled in the enthymeme, when he has further learnt what its subject-matter is and in what respects it differs from the syllogism of strict logic. The true and the approximately true are apprehended by the same faculty; it may also be noted that men have a sufficient natural instinct for what is true, and usually do arrive at the truth. Hence the man who makes a good guess at truth is likely to make a good guess at probabilities.

It has now been shown that the ordinary writers on rhetoric treat of non-essentials; it has also been shown why they have inclined more towards the forensic branch of oratory.

Rhetoric is useful (1) because things that are true and things that are just have a natural tendency to prevail over their opposites, so that if the decisions of judges are not what they ought to be, the defeat must be due to the speakers themselves, and they must be blamed accordingly. Moreover, (2) before some audiences not even the possession of the exactest knowledge will make it easy for what we say to produce conviction. For argument based on knowledge implies instruction, and there are people whom one cannot instruct. Here, then, we must use, as our modes of persuasion and argument, notions possessed by everybody, as we observed in the Topics when dealing with the way to handle a popular audience. Further, (3) we must be able to employ persuasion, just as strict reasoning can be employed, on opposite sides of a question, not in order that we may in practice employ it in both ways (for we must not make people believe what is wrong), but in order that we may see clearly what the facts are, and that, if another man argues unfairly, we on our part may be able to confute him. No other of the arts draws opposite conclusions: dialectic and rhetoric alone do this. Both these arts draw opposite conclusions impartially. Nevertheless, the underlying facts do not lend themselves equally well to the contrary views. No; things that are true and things that are better are, by their nature, practically always easier to prove and easier to believe in. Again, (4)

it is absurd to hold that a man ought to be ashamed of being unable to defend himself with his limbs, but not of being unable to defend himself with speech and reason, when the use of rational speech is more distinctive of a human being than the use of his limbs. And if it be objected that one who uses such power of speech unjustly might do great harm, that is a charge which may be made in common against all good things except virtue, and above all against the things that are most useful, as strength, health, wealth, generalship. A man can confer the greatest of benefits by a right use of these, and inflict the greatest of injuries by using them wrongly.

It is clear, then, that rhetoric is not bound up with a single definite class of subjects, but is as universal as dialectic; it is clear, also, that it is useful. It is clear, further, that its function is not simply to succeed in persuading, but rather to discover the means of coming as near such success as the circumstances of each particular case allow. In this it resembles all other arts. For example, it is not the function of medicine simply to make a man quite healthy, but to put him as far as may be on the road to health; it is possible to give excellent treatment even to those who can never enjoy sound health. Furthermore, it is plain that it is the function of one and the same art to discern the real and the apparent means of persuasion, just as it is the function of dialectic to discern the real and the apparent syllogism. What makes a man a 'sophist' is not his faculty, but his moral purpose. In rhetoric, however, the term 'rhetorician' may describe either the speaker's knowledge of the art, or his moral purpose. In dialectic it is different: a man is a 'sophist' because he has a certain kind of moral purpose, a 'dialectician' in respect, not of his moral purpose, but of his faculty.

Let us now try to give some account of the systematic principles of Rhetoric itself- of the right method and means of succeeding in the object we set before us. We must make as it were a fresh start, and before going further define what rhetoric is.

II

Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. This is not a function of any other art. Every other art can instruct or persuade about its own particular subject-matter; for instance, medicine about what is healthy and unhealthy, geometry about the properties of magnitudes, arithmetic about numbers, and the same is true of the other arts and sciences. But rhetoric we look upon as the power of observing the means of persuasion on almost any subject presented to us; and that is why we say that, in its technical character, it is not concerned with any special or definite class of subjects.

Of the modes of persuasion some belong strictly to the art of rhetoric and some do not. By the latter I mean such things as are not supplied by the speaker but are there at the outset-witnesses, evidence given under torture, written contracts, and so on. By the former I mean such as we can ourselves construct by means of the principles of rhetoric. The one kind has merely to be used, the other has to be invented.

Of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself. Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible. We believe good men more fully and more readily than others: this is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided. This kind of persuasion, like the others, should be achieved by what the speaker says, not by what people think of his character before he begins to speak. It is not true, as some writers assume in their treatises on rhetoric, that the personal goodness revealed by the speaker contributes nothing to his power of persuasion; on the contrary, his character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion he possesses. Secondly,

persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. Our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile. It is towards producing these effects, as we maintain, that present-day writers on rhetoric direct the whole of their efforts. This subject shall be treated in detail when we come to speak of the emotions. Thirdly, persuasion is effected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question.

There are, then, these three means of effecting persuasion. The man who is to be in command of them must, it is clear, be able (1) to reason logically, (2) to understand human character and goodness in their various forms, and (3) to understand the emotions-that is, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited. It thus appears that rhetoric is an offshoot of dialectic and also of ethical studies. Ethical studies may fairly be called political; and for this reason rhetoric masquerades as political science, and the professors of it as political experts-sometimes from want of education, sometimes from ostentation, sometimes owing to other human failings. As a matter of fact, it is a branch of dialectic and similar to it, as we said at the outset. Neither rhetoric nor dialectic is the scientific study of any one separate subject: both are faculties for providing arguments. This is perhaps a sufficient account of their scope and of how they are related to each other.

With regard to the persuasion achieved by proof or apparent proof: just as in dialectic there is induction on the one hand and syllogism or apparent syllogism on the other, so it is in rhetoric. The example is an induction, the enthymeme is a syllogism, and the apparent enthymeme is an apparent syllogism. I call the enthymeme a rhetorical syllogism, and the example a rhetorical induction. Every one who effects persuasion through proof does in fact use either enthymemes or examples: there is no other way. And since every one who proves anything at all is bound to use either syllogisms or inductions (and this is clear to us from the Analytics), it must follow that enthymemes are syllogisms and examples are inductions. The difference between example and enthymeme is made plain by the passages in the Topics where induction and syllogism have already been discussed. When we base the proof of a proposition on a number of similar cases, this is induction in dialectic, example in rhetoric; when it is shown that, certain propositions being true, a further and quite distinct proposition must also be true in consequence, whether invariably or usually, this is called syllogism in dialectic, enthymeme in rhetoric. It is plain also that each of these types of oratory has its advantages. Types of oratory, I say: for what has been said in the Methodics applies equally well here; in some oratorical styles examples prevail, in others enthymemes; and in like manner, some orators are better at the former and some at the latter. Speeches that rely on examples are as persuasive as the other kind, but those which rely on enthymemes excite the louder applause. The sources of examples and enthymemes, and their proper uses, we will discuss later. Our next step is to define the processes themselves more clearly.

A statement is persuasive and credible either because it is directly self-evident or because it appears to be proved from other statements that are so. In either case it is persuasive because there is somebody whom it persuades. But none of the arts theorize about individual cases. Medicine, for instance, does not theorize about what will help to cure Socrates or Callias, but only about what will help to cure any or all of a given class of patients: this alone is business: individual cases are so infinitely various that no systematic knowledge of them is possible. In the same way the theory of rhetoric is concerned not with what seems probable to a given individual like Socrates or Hippias, but with what seems probable to men of a given type; and this is true of dialectic also. Dialectic does not construct its syllogisms out of any haphazard materials, such as the fancies of crazy people, but out of materials that call for

discussion; and rhetoric, too, draws upon the regular subjects of debate. The duty of rhetoric is to deal with such matters as we deliberate upon without arts or systems to guide us, in the hearing of persons who cannot take in at a glance a complicated argument, or follow a long chain of reasoning. The subjects of our deliberation are such as seem to present us with alternative possibilities: about things that could not have been, and cannot now or in the future be, other than they are, nobody who takes them to be of this nature wastes his time in deliberation.

It is possible to form syllogisms and draw conclusions from the results of previous syllogisms; or, on the other hand, from premises which have not been thus proved, and at the same time are so little accepted that they call for proof. Reasonings of the former kind will necessarily be hard to follow owing to their length, for we assume an audience of untrained thinkers; those of the latter kind will fail to win assent, because they are based on premises that are not generally admitted or believed.

The enthymeme and the example must, then, deal with what is in the main contingent, the example being an induction, and the enthymeme a syllogism, about such matters. The enthymeme must consist of few propositions, fewer often than those which make up the normal syllogism. For if any of these propositions is a familiar fact, there is no need even to mention it; the hearer adds it himself. Thus, to show that Dorieus has been victor in a contest for which the prize is a crown, it is enough to say 'For he has been victor in the Olympic games,' without adding 'And in the Olympic games the prize is a crown,' a fact which everybody knows.

There are few facts of the 'necessary' type that can form the basis of rhetorical syllogisms. Most of the things about which we make decisions, and into which therefore we inquire, present us with alternative possibilities. For it is about our actions that we deliberate and inquire, and all our actions have a contingent character; hardly any of them are determined by necessity. Again, conclusions that state what is merely usual or possible must be drawn from premises that do the same, just as 'necessary' conclusions must be drawn from 'necessary' premises; this too is clear to us from the Analytics. It is evident, therefore, that the propositions forming the basis of enthymemes, though some of them may be 'necessary,' will most of them be only usually true. Now the materials of enthymemes are Probabilities and Signs, which we can see must correspond respectively with the propositions that are generally and those that are necessarily true. A Probability is a thing that usually happens; not, however, as some definitions would suggest, anything whatever that usually happens, but only if it belongs to the class of the 'contingent' or 'variable.' It bears the same relation to that in respect of which it is probable as the universal bears to the particular. Of Signs, one kind bears the same relation to the statement it supports as the particular bears to the universal, the other the same as the universal bears to the particular. The infallible kind is a 'complete proof' (*tekmerhiou*); the fallible kind has no specific name. By infallible signs I mean those on which syllogisms proper may be based: and this shows us why this kind of Sign is called 'complete proof': when people think that what they have said cannot be refuted, they then think that they are bringing forward a 'complete proof,' meaning that the matter has now been demonstrated and completed (*peperhasmeuou*); for the word 'perhas' has the same meaning (of 'end' or 'boundary') as the word 'tekmarh' in the ancient tongue. Now the one kind of Sign (that which bears to the proposition it supports the relation of particular to universal) may be illustrated thus. Suppose it were said, 'The fact that Socrates was wise and just is a sign that the wise are just.' Here we certainly have a Sign; but even though the proposition be true, the argument is refutable, since it does not form a syllogism. Suppose, on the other hand, it were said, 'The fact that he has a fever is a sign that he is ill,' or, 'The fact that she is giving milk is a sign that she has lately borne a child.' Here we have the

infallible kind of Sign, the only kind that constitutes a complete proof, since it is the only kind that, if the particular statement is true, is irrefutable. The other kind of Sign, that which bears to the proposition it supports the relation of universal to particular, might be illustrated by saying, 'The fact that he breathes fast is a sign that he has a fever.' This argument also is refutable, even if the statement about the fast breathing be true, since a man may breathe hard without having a fever.

It has, then, been stated above what is the nature of a Probability, of a Sign, and of a complete proof, and what are the differences between them. In the Analytics a more explicit description has been given of these points; it is there shown why some of these reasonings can be put into syllogisms and some cannot.

The 'example' has already been described as one kind of induction; and the special nature of the subject-matter that distinguishes it from the other kinds has also been stated above. Its relation to the proposition it supports is not that of part to whole, nor whole to part, nor whole to whole, but of part to part, or like to like. When two statements are of the same order, but one is more familiar than the other, the former is an 'example.' The argument may, for instance, be that Dionysius, in asking as he does for a bodyguard, is scheming to make himself a despot. For in the past Peisistratus kept asking for a bodyguard in order to carry out such a scheme, and did make himself a despot as soon as he got it; and so did Theagenes at Megara; and in the same way all other instances known to the speaker are made into examples, in order to show what is not yet known, that Dionysius has the same purpose in making the same request: all these being instances of the one general principle, that a man who asks for a bodyguard is scheming to make himself a despot. We have now described the sources of those means of persuasion which are popularly supposed to be demonstrative.

There is an important distinction between two sorts of enthymemes that has been wholly overlooked by almost everybody-one that also subsists between the syllogisms treated of in dialectic. One sort of enthymeme really belongs to rhetoric, as one sort of syllogism really belongs to dialectic; but the other sort really belongs to other arts and faculties, whether to those we already exercise or to those we have not yet acquired. Missing this distinction, people fail to notice that the more correctly they handle their particular subject the further they are getting away from pure rhetoric or dialectic. This statement will be clearer if expressed more fully. I mean that the proper subjects of dialectical and rhetorical syllogisms are the things with which we say the regular or universal Lines of Argument are concerned, that is to say those lines of argument that apply equally to questions of right conduct, natural science, politics, and many other things that have nothing to do with one another. Take, for instance, the line of argument concerned with 'the more or less.' On this line of argument it is equally easy to base a syllogism or enthymeme about any of what nevertheless are essentially disconnected subjects-right conduct, natural science, or anything else whatever. But there are also those special Lines of Argument which are based on such propositions as apply only to particular groups or classes of things. Thus there are propositions about natural science on which it is impossible to base any enthymeme or syllogism about ethics, and other propositions about ethics on which nothing can be based about natural science. The same principle applies throughout. The general Lines of Argument have no special subject-matter, and therefore will not increase our understanding of any particular class of things. On the other hand, the better the selection one makes of propositions suitable for special Lines of Argument, the nearer one comes, unconsciously, to setting up a science that is distinct from dialectic and rhetoric. One may succeed in stating the required principles, but one's science will be no longer dialectic or rhetoric, but the science to which the principles thus discovered belong. Most enthymemes are in fact based upon these

particular or special Lines of Argument; comparatively few on the common or general kind. As in the therefore, so in this work, we must distinguish, in dealing with enthymemes, the special and the general Lines of Argument on which they are to be founded. By special Lines of Argument I mean the propositions peculiar to each several class of things, by general those common to all classes alike. We may begin with the special Lines of Argument. But, first of all, let us classify rhetoric into its varieties. Having distinguished these we may deal with them one by one, and try to discover the elements of which each is composed, and the propositions each must employ.

III

Rhetoric falls into three divisions, determined by the three classes of listeners to speeches. For of the three elements in speech-making--speaker, subject, and person addressed--it is the last one, the hearer, that determines the speech's end and object. The hearer must be either a judge, with a decision to make about things past or future, or an observer. A member of the assembly decides about future events, a juryman about past events: while those who merely decide on the orator's skill are observers. From this it follows that there are three divisions of oratory-(1) political, (2) forensic, and (3) the ceremonial oratory of display.

Political speaking urges us either to do or not to do something: one of these two courses is always taken by private counselors, as well as by men who address public assemblies. Forensic speaking either attacks or defends somebody: one or other of these two things must always be done by the parties in a case. The ceremonial oratory of display either praises or censures somebody. These three kinds of rhetoric refer to three different kinds of time. The political orator is concerned with the future: it is about things to be done hereafter that he advises, for or against. The party in a case at law is concerned with the past; one man accuses the other, and the other defends himself, with reference to things already done. The ceremonial orator is, properly speaking, concerned with the present, since all men praise or blame in view of the state of things existing at the time, though they often find it useful also to recall the past and to make guesses at the future.

Rhetoric has three distinct ends in view, one for each of its three kinds. The political orator aims at establishing the expediency or the harmfulness of a proposed course of action; if he urges its acceptance, he does so on the ground that it will do good; if he urges its rejection, he does so on the ground that it will do harm; and all other points, such as whether the proposal is just or unjust, honorable or dishonorable, he brings in as subsidiary and relative to this main consideration. Parties in a law-case aim at establishing the justice or injustice of some action, and they too bring in all other points as subsidiary and relative to this one. Those who praise or attack a man aim at proving him worthy of honor or the reverse, and they too treat all other considerations with reference to this one.

That the three kinds of rhetoric do aim respectively at the three ends we have mentioned is shown by the fact that speakers will sometimes not try to establish anything else. Thus, the litigant will sometimes not deny that a thing has happened or that he has done harm. But that he is guilty of injustice he will never admit; otherwise there would be no need of a trial. So too, political orators often make any concession short of admitting that they are recommending their hearers to take an inexpedient course or not to take an expedient one. The question whether it is not unjust for a city to enslave its innocent neighbors often does not trouble them at all. In like manner those who praise or censure a man do not consider whether his acts have been expedient or not, but often make it a ground of actual praise that he has neglected his own interest to do what was honorable. Thus, they praise Achilles because he championed his fallen friend Patroclus, though he knew that this meant death, and that otherwise he need not die: yet while to die thus was the nobler thing for

him to do, the expedient thing was to live on.

It is evident from what has been said that it is these three subjects, more than any others, about which the orator must be able to have propositions at his command. Now the propositions of Rhetoric are Complete Proofs, Probabilities, and Signs. Every kind of syllogism is composed of propositions, and the enthymeme is a particular kind of syllogism composed of the aforesaid propositions.

Since only possible actions, and not impossible ones, can ever have been done in the past or the present, and since things which have not occurred, or will not occur, also cannot have been done or be going to be done, it is necessary for the political, the forensic, and the ceremonial speaker alike to be able to have at their command propositions about the possible and the impossible, and about whether a thing has or has not occurred, will or will not occur. Further, all men, in giving praise or blame, in urging us to accept or reject proposals for action, in accusing others or defending themselves, attempt not only to prove the points mentioned but also to show that the good or the harm, the honor or disgrace, the justice or injustice, is great or small, either absolutely or relatively; and therefore it is plain that we must also have at our command propositions about greatness or smallness and the greater or the lesser-propositions both universal and particular. Thus, we must be able to say which is the greater or lesser good, the greater or lesser act of justice or injustice; and so on.

Such, then, are the subjects regarding which we are inevitably bound to master the propositions relevant to them. We must now discuss each particular class of these subjects in turn, namely those dealt with in political, in ceremonial, and lastly in legal, oratory.

Lecture 16

Herodotus, The Persian Wars (excerpts)

Aristotle, Politics (excerpts: Book 1, Chapters 4-5).

The Histories of Herodotus: The Persian Wars

Translated by G. C. MACAULAY, M.A.

From THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIES, CALLED CLIO

THIS is the Showing forth of the Inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassos, to the end that neither the deeds of men may be forgotten by lapse of time, nor the works great and marvelous, which have been produced some by Hellenes and some by Barbarians, may lose their renown; and especially that the causes may be remembered for which these waged war with one another.

1. Those of the Persians who have knowledge of history declare that the Phoenicians first began the quarrel. These, they say, came from that which is called the Erythraian Sea to this of ours; and having settled in the land where they continue even now to dwell, set themselves forthwith to make long voyages by sea. And conveying merchandise of Egypt and of Assyria they arrived at other places and also at Argos; now Argos was at that time in all points the first of the States within that land which is now called Hellas;—the Phoenicians arrived then at this land of Argos, and began to dispose of their ship's cargo: and on the fifth or sixth day after they had arrived, when their goods had been almost all sold, there came down to the sea a great company of women, and among them the daughter of the king; and her name, as the Hellenes also agree, was Io the daughter of Inachos. These standing near to the stern of the ship were buying of the wares such as pleased them most, when of a sudden the Phoenicians, passing the word from one to another, made a rush upon them; and the greater part of the women escaped by flight, but Io and certain others were carried off. So they put them on board their ship, and forthwith departed, sailing away to Egypt. 2. In this manner the Persians report that Io came to Egypt, not agreeing therein with the Hellenes, and this they say was the first beginning of wrongs. Then after this, they say, certain Hellenes (but the name of the people they are not able to report) put in to the city of Tyre in Phoenicia and carried off the king's daughter Europa;—these would doubtless be Cretans;—and so they were quits for the former injury. After this however the Hellenes, they say, were the authors of the second wrong; for they sailed in to Aia of Colchis and to the river Phasis with a ship of war, and from thence, after they had done the other business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea: and the king of Colchis sent a herald to the land of Hellas and demanded satisfaction for the rape and to have his daughter back; but they answered that, as the Barbarians had given them no satisfaction for the rape of Io the Argive, so neither would they give satisfaction to the Barbarians for this.

3. In the next generation after this, they say, Alexander the son of Priam, having heard of these things, desired to get a wife for himself by violence from Hellas, being fully assured that he would not be compelled to give any satisfaction for this wrong, inasmuch as the Hellenes gave none for theirs. So he carried off Helen, and the Hellenes resolved to send messengers first and to demand her back with satisfaction for the rape; and when they put forth this demand, the others alleged to them the rape of Medea, saying that the Hellenes were now desiring satisfaction to be given to them by others, though they had given none themselves nor had surrendered the person when demand was made.

4. Up to this point, they say, nothing more happened than the carrying away of women on both sides; but after this the Hellenes were very greatly to blame; for they set the first example of war, making an expedition into Asia before the Barbarians made any into Europe. Now they say that in their judgment, though it is an act of wrong to carry away women by force, it is a folly to set one's heart on taking vengeance for their rape, and the wise course is to pay no regard when they have been carried away; for it is evident that

they would never be carried away if they were not themselves willing to go. And the Persians say that they, namely the people of Asia, when their women were carried away by force, had made it a matter of no account, but the Hellenes on account of a woman of Lacedemon gathered together a great armament, and then came to Asia and destroyed the dominion of Priam; and that from this time forward they had always considered the Hellenic race to be their enemy: for Asia and the Barbarian races which dwell there the Persians claim as belonging to them; but Europe and the Hellenic race they consider to be parted off from them.

5. The Persians for their part say that things happened thus; and they conclude that the beginning of their quarrel with the Hellenes was on account of the taking of Ilion: but as regards Io the Phoenicians do not agree with the Persians in telling the tale thus; for they deny that they carried her off to Egypt by violent means, and they say on the other hand that when they were in Argos she was intimate with the master of their ship, and perceiving that she was with child, she was ashamed to confess it to her parents, and therefore sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own will, for fear of being found out. These are the tales told by the Persians and the Phoenicians severally: and concerning these things I am not going to say that they happened thus or thus, but when I have pointed to the man who first within my own knowledge began to commit wrong against the Hellenes, I shall go forward further with the story, giving an account of the cities of men, small as well as great: for those which in old times were great have for the most part become small, while those that were in my own time great used in former times to be small: so then, since I know that human prosperity never continues steadfast, I shall make mention of both indifferently.

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6. Crœsus was Lydian by race, the son of Alyattes and ruler of the nations which dwell on this side of the river Halys; which river, flowing from the South between the Syrians and the Paphlagonians, runs out towards the North Wind into that Sea which is called the Euxine. This Crœsus, first of all the Barbarians of whom we have knowledge, subdued certain of the Hellenes and forced them to pay tribute, while others he gained over and made them his friends. Those whom he subdued were the Ionians, the Aiolians, and the Dorians who dwell in Asia; and those whom he made his friends were the Lacedemonians. But before the reign of Crœsus all the Hellenes were free; for the expedition of the Kimmerians, which came upon Ionia before the time of Crœsus, was not a conquest of the cities but a plundering incursion only.

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From THE THIRD BOOK OF THE HISTORIES, CALLED THALEIA

80. When the tumult had subsided and more than five days had elapsed, those who had risen against the Magians began to take counsel about the general state, and there were spoken speeches which some of the Hellenes do not believe were really uttered, but spoken they were nevertheless. On the one hand Otanes urged that they should resign the government into the hands of the whole body of the Persians, and his words were as follows: “To me it seems best that no single one of us should henceforth be ruler, for that is neither pleasant nor profitable. Ye saw the insolent temper of Cambyses, to what lengths it went, and ye have had experience also of the insolence of the Magian: and how should the rule of one alone be a well-ordered thing, seeing that the monarch may do what he desires without rendering any account of his acts? Even the best of all men, if he were placed in this disposition, would be caused by it to change from his wonted disposition: for insolence is engendered in him by the good things which he possesses, and envy is implanted in man from the beginning; and having these two things, he has all vice: for he does many deeds of reckless wrong, partly moved by insolence proceeding from satiety,

and partly by envy. And yet a despot at least ought to have been free from envy, seeing that he has all manner of good things. He is however naturally in just the opposite temper towards his subjects; for he grudges to the nobles that they should survive and live, but delights in the basest of citizens, and he is more ready than any other man to receive calumnies. Then of all things he is the most inconsistent; for if you express admiration of him moderately, he is offended that no very great court is paid to him, whereas if you pay court to him extravagantly, he is offended with you for being a flatterer. And the most important matter of all is that which I am about to say:—he disturbs the customs handed down from our fathers, he is a ravisher of women, and he puts men to death without trial. On the other hand the rule of many has first a name attaching to it which is the fairest of all names, that is to say 'Equality'; next, the multitude does none of those things which the monarch does: offices of state are exercised by lot, and the magistrates are compelled to render account of their action: and finally all matters of deliberation are referred to the public assembly. I therefore give as my opinion that we let monarchy go and increase the power of the multitude; for in the many is contained everything."

81. This was the opinion expressed by Otanes; but Megabyzos urged that they should entrust matters to the rule of a few, saying these words: "That which Otanes said in opposition to a tyranny, let it be counted as said for me also, but in that which he said urging that we should make over the power to the multitude, he has missed the best counsel: for nothing is more senseless or insolent than a worthless crowd; and for men flying from the insolence of a despot to fall into that of unrestrained popular power, is by no means to be endured: for he, if he does anything, does it knowing what he does, but the people cannot even know; for how can that know which has neither been taught anything noble by others nor perceived anything of itself, but pushes on matters with violent impulse and without understanding, like a torrent stream? Rule of the people then let them adopt who are foes to the Persians; but let us choose a company of the best men, and to them attach the chief power; for in the number of these we shall ourselves also be, and it is likely that the resolutions taken by the best men will be the best."

82. This was the opinion expressed by Megabyzos; and thirdly Dareios proceeded to declare his opinion, saying: "To me it seems that in those things which Megabyzos said with regard to the multitude he spoke rightly, but in those which he said with regard to the rule of a few, not rightly: for whereas there are three things set before us, and each is supposed to be the best in its own kind, that is to say a good popular government, and the rule of a few, and thirdly the rule of one, I say that this last is by far superior to the others; for nothing better can be found than the rule of an individual man of the best kind; seeing that using the best judgment he would be guardian of the multitude without reproach; and resolutions directed against enemies would so best be kept secret. In an oligarchy however it happens often that many, while practising virtue with regard to the commonwealth, have strong private enmities arising among themselves; for as each man desires to be himself the leader and to prevail in counsels, they come to great enmities with one another, whence arise factions among them, and out of the factions comes murder, and from murder results the rule of one man; and thus it is shown in this instance by how much that is the best. Again, when the people rules, it is impossible that corruption should not arise, and when corruption arises in the commonwealth, there arise among the corrupt men not enmities but strong ties of friendship: for they who are acting corruptly to the injury of the commonwealth put their heads together secretly to do so. And this continues so until at last some one takes the leadership of the people and stops the course of such men. By reason of this the man of whom I speak is admired by the people, and being so admired he suddenly appears as monarch. Thus he too furnishes herein an example to prove that the rule of one is the best thing. Finally, to sum up all in a single word, whence arose the liberty

which we possess, and who gave it to us? Was it a gift of the people or of an oligarchy or of a monarch? I therefore am of opinion that we, having been set free by one man, should preserve that form of rule, and in other respects also that we should not annul the customs of our fathers which are ordered well; for that is not the better way."

83. These three opinions then had been proposed, and the other four men of the seven gave their assent to the last. So when Otanes, who was desirous to give equality to the Persians, found his opinion defeated, he spoke to those assembled thus: "Partisans, it is clear that some one of us must become king, selected either by casting lots, or by entrusting the decision to the multitude of the Persians and taking him whom it shall choose, or by some other means. I therefore shall not be a competitor with you, for I do not desire either to rule or to be ruled; and on this condition I withdraw from my claim to rule, namely that I shall not be ruled by any of you, either I myself or my descendants in future time." When he had said this, the six made agreement with him on those terms, and he was no longer a competitor with them, but withdrew from the assembly; and at the present time this house remains free alone of all the Persian houses, and submits to rule only so far as it wills to do so itself, not transgressing the laws of the Persians.

84. The rest however of the seven continued to deliberate how they should establish a king in the most just manner; and it was resolved by them that to Otanes and his descendants in succession, if the kingdom should come to any other of the seven, there should be given as special gifts a Median dress every year and all those presents which are esteemed among the Persians to be the most valuable: and the reason why they determined that these things should be given to him, was because he first suggested to them the matter and combined them together. These were special gifts for Otanes; and this they also determined for all in common, namely that any one of the seven who wished might pass in to the royal palaces without any to bear in a message, unless the king happened to be sleeping with his wife; and that it should not be lawful for the king to marry from any other family, but only from those of the men who had made insurrection with him: and about the kingdom they determined this, namely that the man whose horse should first neigh at sunrise in the suburb of the city when they were mounted upon their horses, he should have the kingdom.

Aristotle: Politics

(Book 1, Chapters 4 & 5)

Translated by Benjamin Jowett

BOOK ONE

IV

PROPERTY is a part of the household, and the art of acquiring property is a part of the art of managing the household; for no man can live well, or indeed live at all, unless he be provided with necessaries. And as in the arts which have a definite sphere the workers must have their own proper instruments for the accomplishment of their work, so it is in the management of a household. Now instruments are of various sorts; some are living, others lifeless; in the rudder, the pilot of a ship has a lifeless, in the look-out man, a living instrument; for in the arts the servant is a kind of instrument. Thus, too, a possession is an instrument for maintaining life. And so, in the arrangement of the family, a slave is a living possession, and property a number of such instruments; and the servant is himself an instrument which takes precedence of all other instruments. For if every instrument could accomplish its own work, obeying or anticipating the will of others, like the statues of Daedalus, or the tripods of Hephaestus, which, says the poet, "of their own accord entered the assembly of the Gods"; if, in like manner, the shuttle would weave and the plectrum touch the lyre without a hand to guide them, chief workmen would not want servants, nor masters slaves. Here, however, another distinction must be drawn; the instruments commonly so called are instruments of production, whilst a possession is an instrument of action. The shuttle, for example, is not only of use; but something else is made by it, whereas of a garment or of a bed there is only the use. Further, as production and action are different in kind, and both require instruments, the instruments which they employ must likewise differ in kind. But life is action and not production, and therefore the slave is the minister of action. Again, a possession is spoken of as a part is spoken of; for the part is not only a part of something else, but wholly belongs to it; and this is also true of a possession. The master is only the master of the slave; he does not belong to him, whereas the slave is not only the slave of his master, but wholly belongs to him. Hence we see what is the nature and office of a slave; he who is by nature not his own but another's man, is by nature a slave; and he may be said to be another's man who, being a human being, is also a possession. And a possession may be defined as an instrument of action, separable from the possessor.

V

But is there any one thus intended by nature to be a slave, and for whom such a condition is expedient and right, or rather is not all slavery a violation of nature?

There is no difficulty in answering this question, on grounds both of reason and of fact. For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule.

And there are many kinds both of rulers and subjects (and that rule is the better which is exercised over better subjects- for example, to rule over men is better than to rule over wild beasts; for the work is better which is executed by better workmen, and where one man rules and another is ruled, they may be said to have a work); for in all things which form a composite whole and which are made up of parts, whether continuous or discrete, a distinction between the ruling and the subject element comes to fight. Such a duality exists in living creatures, but not in them only; it originates in the constitution of the universe; even in things which have no life there is a ruling principle, as in a musical mode. But we are

wandering from the subject. We will therefore restrict ourselves to the living creature, which, in the first place, consists of soul and body: and of these two, the one is by nature the ruler, and the other the subject. But then we must look for the intentions of nature in things which retain their nature, and not in things which are corrupted. And therefore we must study the man who is in the most perfect state both of body and soul, for in him we shall see the true relation of the two; although in bad or corrupted natures the body will often appear to rule over the soul, because they are in an evil and unnatural condition. At all events we may firstly observe in living creatures both a despotical and a constitutional rule; for the soul rules the body with a despotical rule, whereas the intellect rules the appetites with a constitutional and royal rule. And it is clear that the rule of the soul over the body, and of the mind and the rational element over the passionate, is natural and expedient; whereas the equality of the two or the rule of the inferior is always hurtful. The same holds good of animals in relation to men; for tame animals have a better nature than wild, and all tame animals are better off when they are ruled by man; for then they are preserved. Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind.

Where then there is such a difference as that between soul and body, or between men and animals (as in the case of those whose business is to use their body, and who can do nothing better), the lower sort are by nature slaves, and it is better for them as for all inferiors that they should be under the rule of a master. For he who can be, and therefore is, another's and he who participates in rational principle enough to apprehend, but not to have, such a principle, is a slave by nature. Whereas the lower animals cannot even apprehend a principle; they obey their instincts. And indeed the use made of slaves and of tame animals is not very different; for both with their bodies minister to the needs of life. Nature would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making the one strong for servile labor, the other upright, and although useless for such services, useful for political life in the arts both of war and peace. But the opposite often happens- that some have the souls and others have the bodies of freemen. And doubtless if men differed from one another in the mere forms of their bodies as much as the statues of the Gods do from men, all would acknowledge that the inferior class should be slaves of the superior. And if this is true of the body, how much more just that a similar distinction should exist in the soul? but the beauty of the body is seen, whereas the beauty of the soul is not seen. It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right.

Lecture 17

Precepts of Ptah-Hotep (excerpts)

The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep, c. 2200 BCE

**Precepts of the prefect, the lord Ptah-hotep,
under the Majesty of the King of the South and North,
Assa, living eternally forever.**

The prefect, the feudal lord Ptah-hotep, says: O Ptah with the two crocodiles, my lord, the progress of age changes into senility. Decay falls upon man and decline takes the place of youth. A vexation weighs upon him every day; sight fails, the ear becomes deaf; his strength dissolves without ceasing. The mouth is silent, speech fails him; the mind decays, remembering not the day before. The whole body suffers. That which is good becomes evil; taste completely disappears. Old age makes a man altogether miserable; the nose is stopped up, breathing no more from exhaustion. Standing or sitting there is here a condition of . . . Who will cause me to have authority to speak, that I may declare to him the words of those who have heard the counsels of former days? And the counsels heard of the gods, who will give me authority to declare them? Cause that it be so and that evil be removed from those that are enlightened; send the double . . . The majesty of this god says: Instruct him in the sayings of former days. It is this which constitutes the merit of the children of the great. All that which makes the soul equal penetrates him who hears it, and that which it says produces no satiety.

Beginning of the arrangement of the good sayings, spoken by the noble lord, the divine father, beloved of Ptah, the son of the king, the first-born of his race, the prefect and feudal lord Ptah-hotep, so as to instruct the ignorant in the knowledge of the arguments of the good sayings. It is profitable for him who hears them, it is a loss to him who shall transgress them. He says to his son:

Be not arrogant because of that which you know; deal with the ignorant as with the learned; for the barriers of art are not closed, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire. But good words are more difficult to find than the emerald, for it is by slaves that that is discovered among the rocks of pegmatite.

If you find a disputant while he is hot, and if he is superior to you in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let you destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him; that proclaims that you are incapable of keeping yourself calm, when you are contradicted. If then you have to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. You have the advantage over him if you keep silence when he is uttering evil words. "The better of the two is he who is impassive," say the bystanders, and you are right in the opinion of the great.

If you find a disputant while he is hot, do not despise him because you are not of the same opinion. Be not angry against him when he is wrong; away with such a thing. He fights against himself; require him not further to flatter your feelings. Do not amuse yourself with the spectacle which you have before you; it is odious, it is mean, it is the part of a despicable soul so to do. As soon as you let yourself be moved by your feelings, combat this desire as a thing that is reproved by the great.

If you have, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner of doing so that your own conduct may be without reproach. Justice is great, invariable, and assured; it has not been disturbed since the age of Ptah. To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way before violence. Shall that which is below gain the upper hand, if the unjust does not attain to the place of justice? Even he who says: I take for myself, of my own free-will; but says not: I take by virtue of my authority. The limitations of justice are

invariable; such is the instruction which every man receives from his father.

Inspire not men with fear, else Ptah will fight against you in the same manner. If any one asserts that he lives by such means, Ptah will take away the bread from his mouth; if any one asserts that he enriches himself thereby, Ptah says: I may take those riches to myself. If any one asserts that he beats others, Ptah will end by reducing him to impotence. Let no one inspire men with fear; this is the will of Ptah. Let one provide sustenance for them in the lap of peace; it will then be that they will freely give what has been torn from them by terror.

If you are among the persons seated at meat in the house of a greater man than yourself, take that which he gives you, bowing to the ground. Regard that which is placed before you, but point not at it; regard it not frequently; he is a blameworthy person who departs from this rule. Speak not to the great man more than he requires, for one knows not what may be displeasing to him. Speak when he invites you and your worth will be pleasing. As for the great man who has plenty of means of existence, his conduct is as he himself wishes. He does that which pleases him; if he desires to repose, he realizes his intention. The great man stretching forth his hand does that to which other men do not attain. But as the means of existence are under the will of Ptah, one can not rebel against it.

If you are one of those who bring the messages of one great man to another, conform yourself exactly to that wherewith he has charged you; perform for him the commission as he has enjoined you. Beware of altering in speaking the offensive words which one great person addresses to another; he who perverts the trustfulness of his way, in order to repeat only what produces pleasure in the words of every man, great or small, is a detestable person.

If you are a farmer, gather the crops in the field which the great Ptah has given you, do not boast in the house of your neighbors; it is better to make oneself dreaded by one's deeds. As for him who, master of his own way of acting, being all-powerful, seizes the goods of others like a crocodile in the midst even of watchment, his children are an object of malediction, of scorn, and of hatred on account of it, while his father is grievously distressed, and as for the mother who has borne him, happy is another rather than herself. But a man becomes a god when he is chief of a tribe which has confidence in following him.

If you abase yourself in obeying a superior, your conduct is entirely good before Ptah. Knowing who you ought to obey and who you ought to command, do not lift up your heart against him. As you know that in him is authority, be respectful toward him as belonging to him. Wealth comes only at Ptah's own good-will, and his caprice only is the law; as for him who . . Ptah, who has created his superiority, turns himself from him and he is overthrown.

Be active during the time of your existence, do no more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of your activity; he is a blameworthy person who makes a bad use of his moments. Do not lose the daily opportunity of increasing that which your house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not endure when it slackens.

If you are a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to Ptah. If he conforms his conduct to your way and occupies himself with your affairs as is right, do to him all the good you can; he is your son, a person attached to you whom your own self has begotten. Separate not your heart from him.... But if he conducts himself ill and transgresses your wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. Give orders without hesitation to those who do wrong, to him whose temper is turbulent; and he will not deviate from the straight path, and there will be no obstacle to interrupt the way.

If you are employed in the larit, stand or sit rather than walk about. Lay down rules for yourself from the first: not to absent yourself even when weariness overtakes you. Keep an eye on him who enters announcing that what he asks is secret; what is entrusted to you is above appreciation, and all contrary argument is a matter to be rejected. He is a god who penetrates into a place where no relaxation of the rules is made for the privileged.

If you are with people who display for you an extreme affection, saying: "Aspiration of my heart, aspiration of my heart, where there is no remedy! That which is said in your heart, let it be realized by springing up spontaneously. Sovereign master, I give myself to your opinion. Your name is approved without speaking. Your body is full of vigor, your face is above your neighbors." If then you are accustomed to this excess of flattery, and there be an obstacle to you in your desires, then your impulse is to obey your passion. But he who . . . according to his caprice, his soul is . . ., his body is . . . While the man who is master of his soul is superior to those whom Ptah has loaded with his gifts; the man who obeys his passion is under the power of his wife.

Declare your line of conduct without reticence; give your opinion in the council of your lord; while there are people who turn back upon their own words when they speak, so as not to offend him who has put forward a statement, and answer not in this fashion: "He is the great man who will recognize the error of another; and when he shall raise his voice to oppose the other about it he will keep silence after what I have said."

If you are a leader, setting forward your plans according to that which you decide, perform perfect actions which posterity may remember, without letting the words prevail with you which multiply flattery, which excite pride and produce vanity.

If you are a leader of peace, listen to the discourse of the petitioner. Be not abrupt with him; that would trouble him. Say not to him: "You have already recounted this." Indulgence will encourage him to accomplish the object of his coming. As for being abrupt with the complainant because he described what passed when the injury was done, instead of complaining of the injury itself let it not be! The way to obtain a clear explanation is to listen with kindness.

If you desire to excite respect within the house you enter, for example the house of a superior, a friend, or any person of consideration, in short everywhere where you enter, keep yourself from making advances to a woman, for there is nothing good in so doing. There is no prudence in taking part in it, and thousands of men destroy themselves in order to enjoy a moment, brief as a dream, while they gain death, so as to know it. It is a villainous intention, that of a man who thus excites himself; if he goes on to carry it out, his mind abandons him. For as for him who is without repugnance for such an act, there is no good sense at all in him.

If you desire that your conduct should be good and preserved from all evil, keep yourself from every attack of bad humor. It is a fatal malady which leads to discord, and there is no longer any existence for him who gives way to it. For it introduces discord between fathers and mothers, as well as between brothers and sisters; it causes the wife and the husband to hate each other; it contains all kinds of wickedness, it embodies all kinds of wrong. When a man has established his just equilibrium and walks in this path, there where he makes his dwelling, there is no room for bad humor.

Be not of an irritable temper as regards that which happens at your side; grumble not over your own affairs. Be not of an irritable temper in regard to your neighbors; better is a compliment to that which displeases than rudeness. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbors, to be no longer master of one's words. When there is only a little irritation, one

creates for oneself an affliction for the time when one will again be cool.

If you are wise, look after your house; love your wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back; these are the cares to be bestowed on her person. Caress her, fulfil her desires during the time of her existence; it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. Be not brutal; tact will influence her better than violence; her . . . behold to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards. It is that which fixes her in your house; if you repel her, it is an abyss. Open your arms for her, respond to her arms; call her, display to her your love.

Treat your dependents well, in so far as it belongs to you to do so; and it belongs to those whom Ptah has favored. If any one fails in treating his dependents well it is said: "He is a person . . ." As we do not know the events which may happen tomorrow, he is a wise person by whom one is well treated. When there comes the necessity of showing zeal, it will then be the dependents themselves who say: "Come on, come on," if good treatment has not quitted the place; if it has quitted it, the dependents are defaulters.

Do not repeat any extravagance of language; do not listen to it; it is a thing which has escaped from a hasty mouth. If it is repeated, look, without hearing it, toward the earth; say nothing in regard to it. Cause him who speaks to you to know what is just, even him who provokes to injustice; cause that which is just to be done, cause it to triumph. As for that which is hateful according to the law, condemn it by unveiling it.

If you are a wise man, sitting in the council of your lord, direct your thought toward that which is wise. Be silent rather than scatter your words. When you speak, know that which can be brought against you. To speak in the council is an art, and speech is criticized more than any other labor; it is contradiction which puts it to the proof.

If you are powerful, respect knowledge and calmness of language. Command only to direct; to be absolute is to run into evil. Let not your heart be haughty, neither let it be mean. Do not let your orders remain unsaid and cause your answers to penetrate; but speak without heat, assume a serious countenance. As for the vivacity of an ardent heart, temper it; the gentle man penetrates all obstacles. He who agitates himself all the day long has not a good moment; and he who amuses himself all the day long keeps not his fortune. Aim at fulness like pilots; once one is seated another works, and seeks to obey one's orders.

Disturb not a great man; weaken not the attention of him who is occupied. His care is to embrace his task, and he strips his person through the love which he puts into it. That transports men to Ptah, even the love for the work which they accomplish. Compose then your face even in trouble, that peace may be with you, when agitation is with . . .These are the people who succeed in what they desire.

Teach others to render homage to a great man. If you gather the crop for him among men, cause it to return fully to its owner, at whose hands is your subsistence. But the gift of affection is worth more than the provisions with which your back is covered. For that which the great man receives from you will enable your house to live, without speaking of the maintenance you enjoy, which you desire to preserve; it is thereby that he extends a beneficent hand, and that in your home good things are added to good things. Let your love pass into the heart of those who love you; cause those about you to be loving and obedient.

If you are a son of the guardians deputed to watch over the public tranquillity, execute your commission without knowing its meaning, and speak with firmness. Substitute not for that which the instructor has said what you believe to be his intention; the great use words as it suits them. Your part is to transmit rather than to comment upon.

If you are annoyed at a thing, if you are tormented by someone who is acting within his right, get out of his sight, and remember him no more when he has ceased to address you.

If you have become great after having been little, if you have become rich after having been poor, when you are at the head of the city, know how not to take advantage of the fact that you have reached the first rank, harden not your heart because of your elevation; you are become only the administrator, the prefect, of the provisions which belong to Ptah. Put not behind you the neighbor who is like you; be unto him as a companion.

Bend your back before your superior. You are attached to the palace of the king; your house is established in its fortune, and your profits are as is fitting. Yet a man is annoyed at having an authority above himself, and passes the period of life in being vexed thereat. Although that hurts not your . . . Do not plunder the house of your neighbors, seize not by force the goods which are beside you. Exclaim not then against that which you hear, and do not feel humiliated. It is necessary to reflect when one is hindered by it that the pressure of authority is felt also by one's neighbor.

Do not make . . . you know that there are obstacles to the water which comes to its hinder part, and that there is no trickling of that which is in its bosom. Let it not . . . after having corrupted his heart.

If you aim at polished manners, call not him whom you accost. Converse with him especially in such a way as not to annoy him. Enter on a discussion with him only after having left him time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If he lets his ignorance display itself, and if he gives you all opportunity to disgrace him, treat him with courtesy rather; proceed not to drive him into a corner; do not . . . the word to him; answer not in a crushing manner; crush him not; worry him not; in order that in his turn he may not return to the subject, but depart to the profit of your conversation.

Let your countenance be cheerful during the time of your existence. When we see one departing from the storehouse who has entered in order to bring his share of provision, with his face contracted, it shows that his stomach is empty and that authority is offensive to him. Let not that happen to you; it is . . .

Know those who are faithful to you when you are in low estate. Your merit then is worth more than those who did you honor. His . . ., behold that which a man possesses completely. That is of more importance than his high rank; for this is a matter which passes from one to another. The merit of one's son is advantageous to the father, and that which he really is, is worth more than the remembrance of his father's rank.

Distinguish the superintendent who directs from the workman, for manual labor is little elevated; the inaction of the hands is honorable. If a man is not in the evil way, that which places him there is the want of subordination to authority.

If you take a wife, do not . . . Let her be more contented than any of her fellow-citizens. She will be attached to you doubly, if her chain is pleasant. Do not repel her; grant that which pleases her; it is to her contentment that she appreciates your work.

If you hear those things which I have said to you, your wisdom will be fully advanced. Although they are the means which are suitable for arriving at the maat, and it is that which makes them precious, their memory would recede from the mouth of men. But thanks to the beauty of their arrangement in rhythm all their words will now be carried without alteration over this earth eternally. That will create a canvass to be embellished, whereof the great will speak, in order to instruct men in its sayings. After having listened to them the pupil will become a master, even he who shall have properly listened to the sayings because he shall have heard them. Let him win success by

placing himself in the first rank; that is for him a position perfect and durable, and he has nothing further to desire forever. By knowledge his path is assured, and he is made happy by it on the earth. The wise man is satiated by knowledge; he is a great man through his own merits. His tongue is in accord with his mind; just are his lips when he speaks, his eyes when he gazes, his ears when he hears. The advantage of his son is to do that which is just without deceiving himself.

To attend therefore profits the son of him who has attended. To attend is the result of the fact that one has attended. A teachable auditor is formed, because I have attended. Good when he has attended, good when he speaks, he who has attended has profited, and it is profitable to attend to him who has attended. To attend is worth more than anything else, for it produces love, the good thing that is twice good. The son who accepts the instruction of his father will grow old on that account. What Ptah loves is that one should attend; if one attends not, it is abhorrent to Ptah. The heart makes itself its own master when it attends and when it does not attend; but if it attends, then his heart is a beneficent master to a man. In attending to instruction, a man loves what he attends to, and to do that which is prescribed is pleasant. When a son attends to his father, it is a twofold joy for both; when wise things are prescribed to him, the son is gentle toward his master. Attending to him who has attended when such things have been prescribed to him, he engraves upon his heart that which is approved by his father; and the recollection of it is preserved in the mouth of the living who exist upon this earth.

When a son receives the instruction of his father there is no error in all his plans. Train your son to be a teachable man whose wisdom is agreeable to the great. Let him direct his mouth according to that which has been said to him; in the docility of a son is discovered his wisdom. His conduct is perfect while error carries away the unteachable. Tomorrow knowledge will support him, while the ignorant will be destroyed.

As for the man without experience who listens not, he effects nothing whatsoever. He sees knowledge in ignorance, profit in loss; he commits all kinds of error, always accordingly choosing the contrary of what is praiseworthy. He lives on that which is mortal, in this fashion. His food is evil words, whereat he is filled with astonishment. That which the great know to be mortal he lives upon every day, flying from that which would be profitable to him, because of the multitude of errors which present themselves before him every day.

A son who attends is like a follower of Horus; he is happy after having attended. He becomes great, he arrives at dignity, he gives the same lesson to his children. Let none innovate upon the precepts of his father; let the same precepts form his lessons to his children. “Verily,” will his children say to him, “to accomplish what you say works marvels.” Cause therefore that to flourish which is just, in order to nourish your children with it. If the teachers allow themselves to be led toward evil principles, verily the people who understand them not will speak accordingly, and that being said to those who are docile they will act accordingly. Then all the world considers them as masters and they inspire confidence in the public; but their glory endures not so long as would please them. Take not away then a word from the ancient teaching, and add not one; put not one thing in place of another; beware of uncovering the rebellious ideas which arise in you; but teach according to the words of the wise. Attend if you wish to dwell in the mouth of those who shall attend to your words, when you have entered upon the office of master, that your words may be upon our lips . . . and that there may be a chair from which to deliver your arguments.

Let your thoughts be abundant, but let your mouth be under restraint, and you shall argue with the great. Put yourself in unison with the ways of your master; cause him to say: “He is my son,” so that those who shall hear it shall say “Praise be to her who has borne him to him!”

Apply yourself while you speak; speak only of perfect things; and let the great who shall hear you say: "Twice good is that which issues from his mouth!"

Do that which your master bids you. Twice good is the precept of his father, from whom he has issued, from his flesh. What he tells us, let it be fixed in our heart; to satisfy him greatly let us do for him more than he has prescribed. Verily a good son is one of the gifts of Ptah, a son who does even better than he has been told to do. For his master he does what is satisfactory, putting himself with all his heart on the part of right. So I shall bring it about that your body shall be healthful, that the Pharaoh shall be satisfied with you in all circumstances and that you shall obtain years of life without default. It has caused me on earth to obtain one hundred and ten years of life, along with the gift of the favor of the Pharoah among the first of those whom their works have ennobled, satisfying the Pharoah in a place of dignity.

It is finished, from its beginning to its end, according to that which is found in writing.

Source:
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Lecture 22

Confucius Analects, parts 12-14

Ban Zhao (Pan Chao), Lessons for a Woman.

Confucius
(551-479 BCE)
The Analects

From: http://classics.mit.edu/Confucius/analects.3.3.html

Part 12

Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, an under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself, or is it from others?"

Yen Yuan said, "I beg to ask the steps of that process." The Master replied, "Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety." Yen Yuan then said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigor, I will make it my business to practice this lesson."

Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself; to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family." Chung-kung said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigor, I will make it my business to practice this lesson."

Sze-ma Niu asked about perfect virtue.
The Master said, "The man of perfect virtue is cautious and slow in his speech."

"Cautious and slow in his speech!" said Niu;-"is this what is meant by perfect virtue?" The Master said, "When a man feels the difficulty of doing, can he be other than cautious and slow in speaking?"

Sze-ma Niu asked about the superior man. The Master said, "The superior man has neither anxiety nor fear."

"Being without anxiety or fear!" said Nui;" does this constitute what we call the superior man?"

The Master said, "When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"

Sze-ma Niu, full of anxiety, said, "Other men all have their brothers, I only have not."

Tsze-hsia said to him, "There is the following saying which I have heard-'Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honors depend upon Heaven.'

"Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct, and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety:-then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?"

Tsze-chang asked what constituted intelligence. The Master said, "He with whom neither slander that gradually soaks into the mind, nor statements that startle like a wound in the flesh, are successful may be called intelligent indeed. Yea, he with whom neither soaking slander, nor startling statements, are successful, may be called farseeing."

Tsze-kung asked about government. The Master said, "The requisites of government are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said, "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?" "The military equipment," said the Master.

Tsze-kung again asked, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?" The Master answered, "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of an men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state."

Chi Tsze-ch'ang said, "In a superior man it is only the substantial qualities which are wanted;-why should we seek for ornamental accomplishments?"

Tsze-kung said, "Alas! Your words, sir, show you to be a superior man, but four horses cannot overtake the tongue. Ornament is as substance; substance is as ornament. The hide of a tiger or a leopard stripped of its hair, is like the hide of a dog or a goat stripped of its hair."

The Duke Ai inquired of Yu Zo, saying, "The year is one of scarcity, and the returns for expenditure are not sufficient;-what is to be done?"

Yu Zo replied to him, "Why not simply tithe the people?"
"With two tenths, said the duke, "I find it not enough;-how could I do with that system of one tenth?"

Yu Zo answered, "If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince cannot enjoy plenty alone."

Tsze-chang having asked how virtue was to be exalted, and delusions to be discovered, the Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles, and be moving

continually to what is right,-this is the way to exalt one's virtue.

"You love a man and wish him to live; you hate him and wish him to die. Having wished him to live, you also wish him to die. This is a case of delusion. 'It may not be on account of her being rich, yet you come to make a difference.'"

The Duke Ching, of Ch'i, asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "There is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son."

"Good!" said the duke; "if, indeed, the prince be not prince, the not minister, the father not father, and the son not son, although I have my revenue, can I enjoy it?"

The Master said, "Ah! it is Yu, who could with half a word settle litigations!"

Tsze-lu never slept over a promise.
The Master said, "In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations."

Tsze-chang asked about government. The Master said, "The art of governing is to keep its affairs before the mind without weariness, and to practice them with undeviating consistency."

The Master said, "By extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, one may thus likewise not err from what is right."

The Master said, "The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not seek to perfect their bad qualities. The mean man does the opposite of this."

Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

Chi K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius said, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."

Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied, "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend, when the wind blows across it."

Tsze-chang asked, "What must the officer be, who may be said to be distinguished?"

The Master said, "What is it you call being distinguished?"

Tsze-chang replied, "It is to be heard of through the state, to be heard of throughout his clan."

The Master said, "That is notoriety, not distinction.
"Now the man of distinction is solid and straightforward, and loves righteousness. He examines people's words, and looks at their countenances. He is anxious to humble himself to others. Such a man will be distinguished in the country; he will be distinguished in his clan.

"As to the man of notoriety, he assumes the appearance of virtue, but his actions are opposed to it, and he rests in this character without any doubts about himself. Such a man will be heard of in the country; he will be heard of in the clan."

Fan Ch'ih rambling with the Master under the trees about the rain altars, said, "I venture to ask how to exalt virtue, to correct cherished evil, and to discover delusions."

The Master said, "Truly a good question!
"If doing what is to be done be made the first business, and success a secondary consideration:-is not this the way to exalt virtue? To assail one's own wickedness and not assail that of others;-is not this the way to correct cherished evil? For a morning's anger to disregard one's own life, and involve that of his parents;-is not this a case of delusion?"

Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence. The Master said, "It is to love all men." He asked about knowledge. The Master said, "It is to know all men."

Fan Ch'ih did not immediately understand these answers.
The Master said, "Employ the upright and put aside all the crooked; in this way the crooked can be made to be upright."

Fan Ch'ih retired, and, seeing Tsze-hsia, he said to him, "A Little while ago, I had an interview with our Master, and asked him about knowledge. He said, 'Employ the upright, and put aside all the crooked;-in this way, the crooked will be made to be upright.' What did he mean?"

Tsze-hsia said, "Truly rich is his saying!
"Shun, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed Kai-yao-on which all who were devoid of virtue disappeared. T'ang, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed I Yin-and an who were devoid of virtue disappeared."

Tsze-kung asked about friendship. The Master said, "Faithfully admonish your friend, and skillfully lead him on. If you find him impracticable, stop. Do not disgrace yourself."

The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man on grounds of culture meets with his

friends, and by friendship helps his virtue."

Part 13

Tsze-lu asked about government. The Master said, "Go before the people with your example, and be laborious in their affairs."

He requested further instruction, and was answered, "Be not weary in these things."

Chung-kung, being chief minister to the head of the Chi family, asked about government. The Master said, "Employ first the services of your various officers, pardon small faults, and raise to office men of virtue and talents."

Chung-kung said, "How shall I know the men of virtue and talent, so that I may raise them to office?" He was answered, "Raise to office those whom you know. As to those whom you do not know, will others neglect them?"

Tsze-lu said, "The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?"

The Master replied, "What is necessary is to rectify names."
"So! indeed!" said Tsze-lu. "You are wide of the mark! Why must there be such rectification?"

The Master said, "How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve.

"If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success.

"When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music do not flourish. When proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot.

"Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect."

Fan Ch'ih requested to be taught husbandry. The Master said, "I am not so good for that as an old husbandman." He requested also to be taught gardening, and was answered, "I

am not so good for that as an old gardener."

Fan Ch'ih having gone out, the Master said, "A small man, indeed, is Fan Hsu! If a superior man love propriety, the people will not dare not to be reverent. If he love righteousness, the people will not dare not to submit to his example. If he love good faith, the people will not dare not to be sincere. Now, when these things obtain, the people from all quarters will come to him, bearing their children on their backs; what need has he of a knowledge of husbandry?"

The Master said, "Though a man may be able to recite the three hundred odes, yet if, when intrusted with a governmental charge, he knows not how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it?"

The Master said, "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed."

The Master said, "The governments of Lu and Wei are brothers."
The Master said of Ching, a scion of the ducal family of Wei, that he knew the economy of a family well. When he began to have means, he said, "Ha! here is a collection-!" When they were a little increased, he said, "Ha! this is complete!" When he had become rich, he said, "Ha! this is admirable!"

When the Master went to Weil Zan Yu acted as driver of his carriage.
The Master observed, "How numerous are the people!"
Yu said, "Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?" "Enrich them, was the reply.

"And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?" The Master said, "Teach them."

The Master said, "If there were any of the princes who would employ me, in the course of twelve months, I should have done something considerable. In three years, the government would be perfected."

The Master said, "'If good men were to govern a country in succession for a hundred years, they would be able to transform the violently bad, and dispense with capital punishments.' True indeed is this saying!"

The Master said, "If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would stir require a generation, and then virtue would prevail."

The Master said, "If a minister make his own conduct correct, what difficulty will he have in assisting in government? If he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?"

The disciple Zan returning from the court, the Master said to him, "How are you so late?" He replied, "We had government business." The Master said, "It must have been family affairs. If there had been government business, though I am not now in office, I should have been consulted about it."

The Duke Ting asked whether there was a single sentence which could make a country prosperous. Confucius replied, "Such an effect cannot be expected from one sentence.

"There is a saying, however, which people have -'To be a prince is difficult; to be a minister is not easy.'

"If a ruler knows this,-the difficulty of being a prince,-may there not be expected from this one sentence the prosperity of his country?"

The duke then said, "Is there a single sentence which can ruin a country?" Confucius replied, "Such an effect as that cannot be expected from one sentence. There is, however, the saying which people have-'I have no pleasure in being a prince, but only in that no one can offer any opposition to what I say!'

"If a ruler's words be good, is it not also good that no one oppose them? But if they are not good, and no one opposes them, may there not be expected from this one sentence the ruin of his country?"

The Duke of Sheh asked about government.
The Master said, "Good government obtains when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted."

Tsze-hsia! being governor of Chu-fu, asked about government. The Master said, "Do not be desirous to have things done quickly; do not look at small advantages. Desire to have things done quickly prevents their being done thoroughly. Looking at small advantages prevents great affairs from being accomplished."

The Duke of Sheh informed Confucius, saying, "Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact."

Confucius said, "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

Fan Ch'ih asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere. Though a man go among rude, uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected."

Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called an officer? The Master said, "He who in his conduct of himself maintains a sense of shame, and when sent to any quarter will not disgrace his prince's commission, deserves to be called an officer."

Tsze-kung pursued, "I venture to ask who may be placed in the next lower rank?" And he was told, "He whom the circle of his relatives pronounce to be filial, whom his fellow villagers and neighbors pronounce to be fraternal."

Again the disciple asked, "I venture to ask about the class still next in order." The Master said, "They are determined to be sincere in what they say, and to carry out what they do. They are obstinate little men. Yet perhaps they may make the next class."

Tsze-kung finally inquired, "Of what sort are those of the present day, who engage in government?" The Master said "Pooh! they are so many pecks and hampers, not worth being taken into account."

The Master said, "Since I cannot get men pursuing the due medium, to whom I might communicate my instructions, I must find the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent will advance and lay hold of truth; the cautiously-decided will keep themselves from what is wrong."

The Master said, "The people of the south have a saying -'A man without constancy cannot be either a wizard or a doctor.' Good!

"Inconstant in his virtue, he will be visited with disgrace."
The Master said, "This arises simply from not attending to the prognostication."

The Master said, "The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory, but not affable."

Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What do you say of a man who is loved by all the people of his neighborhood?" The Master replied, "We may not for that accord our approval of him." "And what do you say of him who is hated by all the people of his neighborhood?" The Master said, "We may not for that conclude that he is bad. It is better than either of these cases that the good in the neighborhood love him, and the bad hate him."

The Master said, "The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve, and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything."

The Master said, "The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified ease."

The Master said, "The firm, the enduring, the simple, and the modest are near to virtue."

Tsze-lu asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called a scholar?" The Master said, "He must be thus,-earnest, urgent, and bland:-among his friends, earnest and urgent; among his brethren, bland."

The Master said, "Let a good man teach the people seven years, and they may then likewise be employed in war."

The Master said, "To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away."

Part 14

Hsien asked what was shameful. The Master said, "When good government prevails in a state, to be thinking only of salary; and, when bad government prevails, to be thinking, in the same way, only of salary;-this is shameful."

"When the love of superiority, boasting, resentments, and covetousness are repressed, this may be deemed perfect virtue."

The Master said, "This may be regarded as the achievement of what is difficult. But I do not know that it is to be deemed perfect virtue."

The Master said, "The scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar."

The Master said, "When good government prevails in a state, language may be lofty and bold, and actions the same. When bad government prevails, the actions may be lofty and bold, but the language may be with some reserve."

The Master said, "The virtuous will be sure to speak correctly, but those whose speech is good may not always be virtuous. Men of principle are sure to be bold, but those who are bold may not always be men of principle."

Nan-kung Kwo, submitting an inquiry to Confucius, said, "I was skillful at archery, and Ao could move a boat along upon the land, but neither of them died a natural death. Yu and Chi personally wrought at the toils of husbandry, and they became possessors of the kingdom." The Master made no reply; but when Nan-kung Kwo went out, he said, "A superior man indeed is this! An esteemer of virtue indeed is this!"

The Master said, "Superior men, and yet not always virtuous, there have been, alas! But there never has been a mean man, and, at the same time, virtuous."

The Master said, "Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the instruction of its object?"

The Master said, "In preparing the governmental notifications, P'i Shan first made the rough draft; Shi-shu examined and discussed its contents; Tsze-yu, the manager of foreign intercourse, then polished the style; and, finally, Tsze-ch'an of Tung-li gave it the proper elegance and finish."

Some one asked about Tsze-ch'an. The Master said, "He was a kind man."

He asked about Tsze-hsi. The Master said, "That man! That man!"
He asked about Kwan Chung. "For him," said the Master, "the city of Pien, with three hundred families, was taken from the chief of the Po family, who did not utter a murmuring word, though, to the end of his life, he had only coarse rice to eat."

The Master said, "To be poor without murmuring is difficult. To be rich without being proud is easy."

The Master said, "Mang Kung-ch'o is more than fit to be chief officer in the families of Chao and Wei, but he is not fit to be great officer to either of the states Tang or Hsieh."

Tsze-lu asked what constituted a COMPLETE man. The Master said, "Suppose a man with the knowledge of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch'o, the bravery of Chwang of Pien, and the varied talents of Zan Ch'iu; add to these the accomplishments of the rules of propriety and music;-such a one might be reckoned a Complete man."

He then added, "But what is the necessity for a complete man of the present day to have all these things? The man, who in the view of gain, thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends:-such a man may be reckoned a COMPLETE man."

The Master asked Kung-ming Chia about Kung-shu Wan, saying, "Is it true that your master speaks not, laughs not, and takes not?"

Kung-ming Chia replied, "This has arisen from the reporters going beyond the truth.-My master speaks when it is the time to speak, and so men do not get tired of his speaking. He laughs when there is occasion to be joyful, and so men do not get tired of his laughing. He takes when it is consistent with righteousness to do so, and so men do not get tired of his taking." The Master said, "So! But is it so with him?"

The Master said, "Tsang Wu-chung, keeping possession of Fang, asked of the duke of Lu to appoint a successor to him in his family. Although it may be said that he was not using force with his sovereign, I believe he was."

The Master said, "The duke Wan of Tsin was crafty and not upright. The duke Hwan of Ch'i was upright and not crafty."

Tsze-lu said, "The Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, when Shao Hu died, with his master, but Kwan Chung did not die. May not I say that he was wanting in virtue?"

The Master said, "The Duke Hwan assembled all the princes together, and that not with weapons of war and chariots:-it was all through the influence of Kwan Chung. Whose beneficence was like his? Whose beneficence was like his?"

Tsze-kung said, "Kwan Chung, I apprehend was wanting in virtue. When the Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, Kwan Chung was not able to die with him. Moreover, he became prime minister to Hwan."

The Master said, "Kwan Chung acted as prime minister to the Duke Hwan made him leader of all the princes, and united and rectified the whole kingdom. Down to the present day, the people enjoy the gifts which he conferred. But for Kwan Chung, we should now be wearing our hair unbound, and the lappets of our coats buttoning on the left side.

"Will you require from him the small fidelity of common men and common women, who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch, no one knowing anything about them?"

The great officer, Hsien, who had been family minister to Kung-shu Wan, ascended to the prince's court in company with Wan.

The Master, having heard of it, said, "He deserved to be considered WAN (the accomplished)."

The Master was speaking about the unprincipled course of the duke Ling of Weil when Ch'i K'ang said, "Since he is of such a character, how is it he does not lose his state?"

Confucius said, "The Chung-shu Yu has the superintendence of his guests and of strangers; the litanist, T'o, has the management of his ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Chia has the direction of the army and forces:-with such officers as these, how should he lose his state?"

The Master said, "He who speaks without modesty will find it difficult to make his words good."

Chan Ch'ang murdered the Duke Chien of Ch'i.
Confucius bathed, went to court and informed the Duke Ai, saying, "Chan Hang has slain his sovereign. I beg that you will undertake to punish him."

The duke said, "Inform the chiefs of the three families of it."
Confucius retired, and said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter, and my prince says, "Inform the chiefs of the three families of it."

He went to the chiefs, and informed them, but they would not act. Confucius then said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter."

Tsze-lu asked how a ruler should be served. The Master said, "Do not impose on him, and, moreover, withstand him to his face."

The Master said, "The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downwards."

The Master said, "In ancient times, men learned with a view to their own improvement. Nowadays, men learn with a view to the approbation of others."

Chu Po-yu sent a messenger with friendly inquiries to Confucius.
Confucius sat with him, and questioned him. "What," said he! "is your master engaged in?" The messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded." He then went out, and the Master said, "A messenger indeed! A messenger indeed!"

The Master said, "He who is not in any particular office has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties."

The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man, in his thoughts, does not go out of his place."

The Master said, "The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions."

The Master said, "The way of the superior man is threefold, but I am not equal to it. Virtuous, he is free from anxieties; wise, he is free from perplexities; bold, he is free from fear.

Tsze-kung said, "Master, that is what you yourself say."
Tsze-kung was in the habit of comparing men together. The Master said, "Tsze must have reached a high pitch of excellence! Now, I have not leisure for this."

The Master said, "I will not be concerned at men's not knowing me; I will be concerned at my own want of ability."

The Master said, "He who does not anticipate attempts to deceive him, nor think beforehand of his not being believed, and yet apprehends these things readily when they occur;-is he not a man of superior worth?"

Wei-shang Mau said to Confucius, "Ch'iu, how is it that you keep roosting about? Is it not that you are an insinuating talker?

Confucius said, "I do not dare to play the part of such a talker, but I hate obstinacy."

The Master said, "A horse is called a ch'i, not because of its strength, but because of its other good qualities."

Some one said, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?"

The Master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness?"
"Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."

The Master said, "Alas! there is no one that knows me."
Tsze-kung said, "What do you mean by thus saying-that no one knows you?" The Master replied, "I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven;-that knows me!"

The Kung-po Liao, having slandered Tsze-lu to Chi-sun, Tsze-fu Ching-po informed Confucius of it, saying, "Our master is certainly being led astray by the Kung-po Liao, but I have still power enough left to cut Liao off, and expose his corpse in the market and in the court."

The Master said, "If my principles are to advance, it is so ordered. If they are to fall to the ground, it is so ordered. What can the Kung-po Liao do where such ordering is concerned?"

The Master said, "Some men of worth retire from the world. Some retire from particular states. Some retire because of disrespectful looks. Some retire because of contradictory language."

The Master said, "Those who have done this are seven men."
Tsze-lu happening to pass the night in Shih-man, the gatekeeper said to him, "Whom do you come from?" Tsze-lu said, "From Mr. K'ung." "It is he,-is it not?"-said the other, "who knows the impracticable nature of the times and yet will be doing in them."

The Master was playing, one day, on a musical stone in Weil when a man carrying a straw basket passed door of the house where Confucius was, and said, "His heart is full who so beats the musical stone."

A little while after, he added, "How contemptible is the one-ideaed obstinacy those sounds display! When one is taken no notice of, he has simply at once to give over his wish for public employment. 'Deep water must be crossed with the clothes on; shallow water may be crossed with the clothes held up.'"

The Master said, "How determined is he in his purpose! But this is not difficult!"

Tsze-chang said, "What is meant when the Shu says that Kao-tsung, while observing the usual imperial mourning, was for three years without speaking?"

The Master said, "Why must Kao-tsung be referred to as an example of this? The ancients all did so. When the sovereign died, the officers all attended to their several duties, taking instructions from the prime minister for three years."

The Master said, "When rulers love to observe the rules of propriety, the people respond readily to the calls on them for service."

Tsze-lu asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, "The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness." "And is this all?" said Tsze-lu. "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others," was the reply. "And is this all?" again asked Tsze-lu. The Master said, "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people. He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people:-even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this."

Yuan Zang was squatting on his heels, and so waited the approach of the Master, who said to him, "In youth not humble as befits a junior; in manhood, doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to old age:-this is to be a pest." With this he hit him on the shank with his staff.

A youth of the village of Ch'ueh was employed by Confucius to carry the messages between him and his visitors. Some one asked about him, saying, "I suppose he has made great progress."

The Master said, "I observe that he is fond of occupying the seat of a full-grown man; I observe that he walks shoulder to shoulder with his elders. He is not one who is seeking to make progress in learning. He wishes quickly to become a man."

Ban Zhao Pan Chao's *Lessons for a Woman*
From Paul Halsall's *The Views of A Female Confucian*:
http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/core9/phalsall/texts/banzhao.html

Excerpt:

Nancy Lee Swann, trans, *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China*, (New York: Century Co., 1932), pp. 82-90 repr. in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, *Vol 1*, 2d. ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), pp. 148-53

[Andrea Introduction] Education in the Confucian classics increasingly became one of several avenues to a position of social and political power in Han China. Confucian doctrine, however, did not accord women a status equal to that of men, because women were generally regarded as unworthy or incapable of a literary education. In fact, the Confucian classics say little about women, which shows how little they mattered in the scheme of Confucian values. Most Confucians accepted the subservience of women to men as natural and proper. In their view, failure to maintain a proper relationship between two such obviously unequal people as a husband and wife or brother and sister would result in social disharmony and a breakdown of all the rules of propriety.

Yet this was only part of the traditional Chinese view of women. Both Confucian doctrine and Chinese society at large accorded women, as mothers and mothers-in-law, a good deal of honor, and with that honor came power within the family structure. In every age, moreover, a handful of extraordinary women managed to acquire literary educations or otherwise achieve positions of far-ranging influence and authority despite social constraints. The foremost female Confucian of the age of Han was Ban Zhao (ca 45-116 CE), younger sister of the court historian Ban Gu (32 - 92 CE). Upon Gu's death, Zhao served as imperial historian under Emperor Han Hedi (r. 88-105 CE) and completed her brother's *Han Annals*, a history of the Former Han Dynasty, which is generally regarded as second only to the historical work of Sima Qian. Ban Zhao also served as an adviser on state matters to the Empress Deng, who assumed power as regent for her infant son in 106 CE.

Madame Ban was the daughter of the widely respected writer and administrator Ban Biao (3- 54 CE) and received her elementary education from her literate mother while still a child in her father's house. Otherwise, her early life appears to have been quite conventional. She married at the age of 14, thereby becoming the lowest-ranking member of her husband's family, and bore children. Although her husband died young, Ban Zhao never remarried, devoting herself instead to literary pursuits and acquiring a reputation for scholarship and compositional grace that eventually brought her to the imperial [capital].

Among her many literary works, Ban Zhao composed a commentary on the popular *Lives of Admirable Women* by Liu Kiang (77- 6 BC) and later in life produced her most famous work, *Nü Jie*, or *Lessons for Women*, which purports to be an instructional manual on feminine behavior and virtue for her daughters. In fact, she intended it for a much wider audience. Realizing that Confucian texts contained little in the way of specific and practical guidelines for a woman's everyday life, Ban Zhao sought to fill that void with a coherent set of rules for women, especially young women.

Ban Zhao Pan Chao's ***Lessons for a Woman***

I, the unworthy writer, am unsophisticated, unenlightened, and by nature unintelligent, but I am fortunate both to have received not a little favor from my scholarly Father, and to have had a cultured mother and instructresses upon whom to rely for a literary education as well as for training in good manners. More than forty years have passed since at the age of fourteen I took up the dustpan and the broom in the Cao family [*the family into which she married*]. During this time with trembling heart I feared constantly that I might disgrace my parents, and that I might multiply difficulties for both the women and the men of my husband's family. Day and night I was distressed in heart, but I labored without confessing weariness. Now and hereafter, however, I know how to escape from such fears.

Being careless, and by nature stupid, I taught and trained my children without system. Consequently I fear that my son Gu may bring disgrace upon the Imperial Dynasty by whose Holy Grace he has unprecedentedly received the extraordinary privilege of wearing the Gold and the Purple, a privilege for the attainment of which by my son, I, a humble subject, never even hoped. Nevertheless, now that he is a man and able to plan his own life, I need not again have concern for him. But I do grieve that you, my daughters, just now at the age for marriage, have not at this time had gradual training and advice; that you still have not learned the proper customs for married women. I fear that by failure in good manners in other families you will humiliate both your ancestors and your clan. I am now seriously ill, life is uncertain. As I have thought of you all in so untrained a state, I have been uneasy many a time for you. At hours of leisure I have composed... these instructions under the title, "Lessons for Women." In order that you may have something wherewith to benefit your persons, I wish every one of you, my daughters each to write out a copy for yourself.

From this time on every one of you strive to practice these lessons.

HUMILITY

On the third day after the birth of a girl the ancients observed three customs: first to place the baby below the bed; second to give her a potsherd [*a piece of broken pottery*] with which to play; and third to announce her birth to her ancestors by an offering. Now to lay the baby below the bed plainly indicated that she is lowly and weak, and should regard it as her primary duty to humble herself before others. To give her potsherds with which to play indubitably signified that she should practice labor and consider it her primary duty

to be industrious. To announce her birth before her ancestors clearly meant that she ought to esteem as her primary duty the continuation of the observance of worship in the home.

These three ancient customs epitomize woman's ordinary way of life and the teachings of the traditional ceremonial rites and regulations. Let a woman modestly yield to others; 1et her respect others; let her put others first, herself last. Should she do something good, let her not mention it; should she do something bad let her not deny it. Let her bear disgrace; let her even endure when others speak or do evil to her. Always let her seem to tremble and to fear. When a woman follows such maxims as these then she may be said to humble herself before others.

Let a woman retire late to bed, but rise early to duties; let her nor dread tasks by day or by night. Let her not refuse to perform domestic duties whether easy or difficult. That which must be done, let her finish completely, tidily, and systematically, When a woman follows such rules as these, then she may be said to be industrious.

Let a woman be correct in manner and upright in character in order to serve her husband. Let her live in purity and quietness of spirit, and attend to her own affairs. Let her love not gossip and silly laughter. Let her cleanse and purify and arrange in order the wine and the food for the offerings to the ancestors. When a woman observes such principles as these, then she may be said to continue ancestral worship.

No woman who observes these three fundamentals of life has ever had a bad reputation or has fallen into disgrace. If a woman fail to observe them, how can her name be honored; how can she but bring disgrace upon herself?

HUSBAND AND WIFE

The Way of husband and wife is intimately connected with Yin and Yang [*these are the two basis elements of the Universe: Yin, the soft yielding feminine element, and Yang the hard aggressive male element. Every substance contains both elements in varying proportions]* and relates the individual to gods and ancestors. Truly it is the great principle of Heaven and Earth, and the great basis of human relationships. Therefore the "Rites" [*The Classic of Rites*] honor union of man and woman; and in the "Book of Poetry" [*The Classic of Odes*] the "First Ode" manifests the principle of marriage. For these reasons the relationships cannot but be an important one.

If a husband be unworthy, then he possesses nothing by which to control his wife. If a wife be unworthy, then she possesses nothing with which to serve her husband. If a husband does not control his wife, then the rules of conduct manifesting his authority are abandoned and broken. If a wife does not serve her husband, when the proper relationship between men and women and the natural order of things are neglected and destroyed. As a matter of fact the purpose of these two [the controlling of women by men, and the serving of men by women] is the same.

Now examine the gentlemen of the present age. They only know their wives must be controlled, and that the husband's rules of conduct manifesting his authority must be established. They therefore teach their boys to read books and study histories. But they do not in the least understand that husbands and masters must also be served, and that the proper relationship and the rites should be maintained. Yet only to teach men and not to teach women -- is that not ignoring the essential relation between them? According to the "Rites," it is the rule to begin to teach children to read at the age of eight years, and by the age of fifteen years they ought then to be ready for cultural training. Only why should it not be that girls' education as well as boys' be according to this principle?

RESPECT AND CAUTION

As Yin and Yang are not of the same nature, so man and woman have different characteristics. The distinctive quality of the Yang is rigidity; the function of the Yin is yielding. Man is honored for strength; a woman is beautiful on account of her gentleness. Hence there arose the common saying: "A man though born like a wolf may, it is feared, become a weak monstrosity; a woman though born like a mouse may, it is feared, become a tiger."

Now for self-culture nothing equals respect for others. To counteract firmness nothing equals compliance. Consequently it can be said that the Way of respect and acquiescence is woman's most important principle of conduct. So respect may be defined as nothing other than holding on to that which is permanent; and acquiescence nothing other than being liberal and generous. Those who are steadfast in devotion know that they should stay in their proper places; those who are liberal and generous esteem others, and honor and serve chem.

If husband and wife have the habit of staying together, never leaving one another, and following each other around within the limited space of their own rooms, then they will lust after and take liberties with one another. From such action improper language will arise between the two. This kind of discussion may lead co-licentiousness. But of licentiousness will be born a heart of disrespect to the husband. Such a result comes. From not knowing that one should stay in one's proper place.

Furthermore, affairs may be either crooked or straight; words may be either right or wrong. Straightforwardness cannot but lead to quarreling; crookedness cannot but lead to accusation. If there are really accusations and quarrels, then undoubtedly there will be angry affairs. Such a result comes from not esteeming others, and not honoring and serving them.

If wives suppress not contempt for husbands, then it follows that such wives rebuke and scold their husbands. If husbands stop not short of anger, then they are certain to beat their wives. The correct relationship between husband and wife is based upon harmony and intimacy, and conjugal love is grounded in proper union. Should actual blows be dealt, how could matrimonial relationship be preserved? Should sharp words be spoken,

how could conjugal love exist? If love and proper relationship both be destroyed, then husband and wife are divided.

WOMANLY QUALIFICATIONS

A woman ought to have four qualifications: (1) womanly virtue; (2) womanly words; (3) womanly bearing; and (4) womanly work. Now what is called womanly virtue need not be brilliant ability, exceptionally different from others. Womanly words need be neither clever in debate nor keen in conversation. Womanly appearance requires neither a pretty nor a perfect face and form. Womanly work need not be work done more skillfully than that of others.

To guard carefully her chastity; to control circumspectly her behavior; in every motion to exhibit modesty; and to model each act on the best usage, this is womanly virtue.
To choose her words with care; to avoid vulgar language; to speak at appropriate times; and nor to weary others with much conversation, may be called the characteristics of womanly words.

To wash and scrub filth away; to keep clothes and ornaments fresh and clean; to wash the head and bathe the body regularly, and to keep the person free from disgraceful filth, may be called the characteristics of womanly bearing.

With whole-hearted devotion to sew and to weave; to love not gossip and silly laughter; in cleanliness and order to prepare the wine and food for serving guests, may be called the characteristics of womanly work.

These four qualifications characterize the greatest virtue of a woman. No woman can afford to be without them. In fact they are very easy to possess if a woman only treasure them in her heart. The ancients had a saying: "Is love afar off? If I desire love, then love is at hand!" So can it be said of these qualifications.

IMPLICIT OBEDIENCE

Whenever the mother-in-law says, "Do not do that," and if what she says is right, unquestionably the daughter-in-law obeys. Whenever the mother-in-law says, "Do that," even if what she says is wrong, still the daughter-in-law submits unfailingly to the command. Let a woman not act contrary to the wishes and the opinions of parents-in-law about right and wrong; let her not dispute with them what is straight and what is crooked.

Such docility may called obedience which sacrifices personal opinion. Therefore the ancient book, "A Pattern for Women," says: "If a daughter-in-law who follows the wishes of her parents-in-law is like and echo and shadow, how could she not be praised?

Lecture 23

Mencius, Book One, Part A;

Mo Tzu, Honoring the Worthy, pages 18-33, and Against Fatalism, pages 117-123;

Hsun Tzu, The Regulations of a King, pages 33-55;

Han Fei Tzu, The Way of the Ruler, pages 16-20 and Wielding Power, pages 35-43.

Basic Writings of MO TZU, HSÜN TZU, *and* HAN FEI TZU

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HONORING THE WORTHY

PART I

(SECTION 8)

Master Mo Tzu[1] said: These days the rulers and high officials who govern the nation all desire their states to be rich, their population numerous, and their administration well ordered. And yet what they achieve is not wealth but poverty, not a numerous population but a meager one, not order but chaos. In actual fact, they fail to get what they seek and instead achieve what they abhor. Why is this?

Mo Tzu said: It is because the rulers and high officials who govern the nation fail to honor the worthy and employ the capable in their administration. If a government is rich in worthy men, then the administration will be characterized by weight and substance; but if it is poor in such men, then the administration will be a paltry affair. Therefore the task confronting the high officials is simply to increase the number of worthy men. But what means are to be used to increase the number of worthy men?

Mo Tzu said: Let us suppose that one wishes to increase the number of skilled archers and chariot drivers in the state. One must set about enriching and honoring such men, respecting and praising them. Once this has been done, one will have no difficulty in obtaining a multitude of them. How

[1] This title, Tzu Mo Tzu (Master Mo Tzu), is repeated innumerable times in the text. For the sake of brevity, I shall hereafter translate it simply as "Mo Tzu."

much more appropriate, therefore, that one should do this for worthy men, who are ardent in the practice of virtue, skilled in discourse, and broad in learning! Men such as these are the treasures of the nation and the keepers of its altars of the soil and grain. They too should be enriched and honored, respected and praised, and when this has been done, they may be obtained in plenty.

Therefore, when the sage kings of ancient times administered their states, they announced: "The unrighteous shall not be enriched, the unrighteous shall not be exalted, the unrighteous shall be no kin to us, the unrighteous shall not be our intimates!" When the rich and exalted men of the kingdom heard this, they all began to deliberate among themselves, saying, "We have trusted in our wealth and exalted position, but now the lord promotes the righteous without caring whether they are poor or humble. We too, then, must become righteous." Likewise the kin of the ruler began to deliberate, saying, "We have trusted in the bond of kinship, but now the lord promotes the righteous without caring how distant the relationship. We too, then, must become righteous." Those who were intimate with the ruler deliberated, saying, "We have trusted in the intimacy we enjoyed, but now the lord promotes the righteous without caring how far removed they may have been from him until now. We too, then, must become righteous." And when those who were far removed from the ruler heard it, they also deliberated, saying, "We used to believe that, since we were so far removed from the ruler, we had nothing to trust in. But now the lord promotes the righteous without caring how far removed they may be. We too, then, must become righteous." So the vassals of distant and outlying areas, as well as the noblemen's sons serving in the

palace, the multitudes of the capital, and the peasants of the four borders, in time came to hear of this, and all strove to become righteous.

Why did the ancient kings do this? Those in a superior position have one thing by which to attract men to their service—the promise of material benefits; those in a subordinate position have one thing to offer to their superiors—a knowledge of the arts of government. Let us suppose there is a rich man who has built a high wall all around his house. When the wall is finished and plastered with mud, he pierces it with only one gate. Then, if a thief steals in, he may shut the gate by which the thief entered and set about searching for him, confident that the thief has no means of escape. Why? Because the rich man, like the ruler, has control of the vital point.

Therefore in their administration the sage kings of ancient times ranked the virtuous high and honored the worthy, and although a man might be a farmer or an artisan from the shops, if he had ability they promoted him. Such men were honored with titles, treated to generous stipends, entrusted with important matters, and empowered to see that their orders were carried out. For it was said that if their stipends were not generous, the people would have no confidence in them; and if their orders were not carried out, the people would not stand in awe of them. These three benefits were bestowed upon the worthy not because the ruler wished to reward them for their worth but because he hoped thereby to bring about success in the affairs of government. Therefore at that time ranks were assigned according to virtue, duties allotted according to the office held, and rewards given according to the effort expended; achievements were weighed and stipends distributed accordingly. Thus no official was necessarily assured of an exalted position for life, nor was any member of the common people

necessarily condemned to remain forever humble. Those with ability were promoted, those without it were demoted. This is what it means to promote public righteousness and do away with private likes and dislikes.

In ancient times Yao raised up Shun from the sunny side of Fu Lake and entrusted the government to him, and the world was at peace. Yü raised up Yi from the land of Yin and entrusted the government to him, and the nine provinces were well ordered. T'ang raised up Yi Yin from his labors in the kitchen and entrusted the government to him, and his plans were successful. King Wen raised up Hung-yao T'ai-tien from his place among the hunting and fishing nets and entrusted the government to him, and the western regions bowed in submission.[2]

So among the officials who enjoyed high ranks and generous stipends in those days, there were none who were not unfailingly cautious and respectful, none who did not encourage and strive with each other in honoring virtue. It is gentlemen of true worth, therefore, who must act to assist and carry on the government. If the ruler can obtain the services of such gentlemen, then his plans will never be thwarted nor his body worn by care; his fame will be established and his undertakings brought to a successful conclusion; his excellence will be manifest and no evil will appear to mar it. All this will come about because he has obtained the services of gentlemen.

Therefore Mo Tzu said: When things are going well, gen-

[2] Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, and King Wen were all ancient sage rulers, the last three the founders of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties respectively, the so-called Three Dynasties. Yi of the land of Yin was an eminent minister of Shun and Yü. Yi Yin was supposed to have been working in T'ang's royal kitchens when his worth was recognized. The identity of Hung-yao T'ai-tien and the anecdote upon which Mo Tzu's statement is based are unknown.

tlemen of worth must be promoted; and when they are not going well, gentlemen of worth must be promoted. If one wishes to emulate and carry on the ways of Yao, Shun, Yü, and T'ang, then one must honor the worthy, for honoring the worthy is the foundation of good government.

PART II

(SECTION 9)

Mo Tzu said: In caring for the people, presiding over the altars of the soil and grain, and ordering the state, the rulers and high officials these days strive for stability and seek to avoid any error. But why do they fail to perceive that honoring the worthy is the foundation of government?

How do we know that honoring the worthy is the foundation of government? Because when the eminent and wise rule over the stupid and humble, then there will be order; but when the stupid and humble rule over the eminent and wise, there will be chaos. Therefore we know that honoring the worthy is the foundation of government.

Therefore the sage kings of ancient times took great pains to honor the worthy and employ the capable, showing no special consideration for their own kin, no partiality for the eminent and rich, no favoritism for the good-looking and attractive. They promoted the worthy to high places, enriched and honored them, and made them heads of government; the unworthy they demoted and rejected, reduced to poverty and humble station, and condemned to penal servitude. Thus the people, encouraged by the hope of reward and awed by the fear of punishment, led each other on to become worthy, so

that worthy men increased in number and unworthy men became few. This is what is called advancing the worthy. And when this had been done, the sage kings listened to the words of the worthy, watched their actions, observed their abilities, and on this basis carefully assigned them to office. This is called employing the capable. Those who were capable of ordering the state were employed to order the state; those who were capable of heading a government bureau were employed as heads of bureaus; and those who were capable of governing an outlying district were employed to govern the outlying districts. Thus the administration of the state, of the government bureaus, and of the outlying districts was in every case in the hands of the most worthy men of the nation.

When a worthy man is given the task of ordering the state, he appears at court early and retires late, listens to lawsuits and attends to the affairs of government. As a result the state is well ordered and laws and punishments are justly administered. When a worthy man heads a government bureau, he goes to bed late and gets up early, collecting taxes on the barriers and markets and on the resources of the hills, forests, lakes, and fish weirs, so that the treasury will be full. As a result the treasury is full and no source of revenue is neglected. When a worthy man governs an outlying district, he leaves his house early and returns late, plowing and sowing seed, planting trees, and gathering vegetables and grain.[3] As a result there will be plenty of vegetables and grain and the people will have enough to eat. When the state is well ordered, the

[3] The text reads as though the officials of the outlying districts actually go out and work in the fields, which seems highly unlikely. The probable meaning is that they supervise the work of the peasants. Mo Tzu, like many earlier Chinese writers, is sometimes betrayed by his fondness for strict verbal parallelism into saying something other than just what he means.

laws and punishments will be justly administered, and when the treasury is full, the people will be well off. The rulers will thus be supplied with wine and millet to use in their sacrifices to Heaven and the spirits, with hides and currency to use in their intercourse with the feudal lords of neighboring states, and with the means to feed the hungry and give rest to the weary within their realm, to nourish their subjects and attract virtuous men from all over the world. Then Heaven and the spirits will send down riches, the other feudal lords will become their allies, the people of their own realm will feel affection for them, and worthy men will come forward to serve them. Thus all that they plan for they will achieve, and all that they undertake will be brought to a successful conclusion. If they stay within their realm, their position will be secure, and if they venture forth to punish an enemy, they will be victorious. It was by this method alone that the sage kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, and Wu, were able to rule the world and become the leaders of the other lords.

But if one knows only the policy to be adopted, but does not know what means to use in carrying it out, then he cannot be sure of success in government. Therefore three principles should be established. What are these three principles? They are that if the titles and positions of worthy men are not exalted enough, then the people will not respect such men; if their stipends are not generous, then the people will not have confidence in them; and if their orders are not enforced, then the people will not stand in awe of them. Therefore the sage kings of antiquity honored the worthy with titles, treated them to generous stipends, entrusted them with important affairs, and empowered them to see that their orders were carried out. These benefits were bestowed not because the ruler wished to

reward his ministers, but because he hoped thereby to bring about success in the affairs of government.

The *Book of Odes* says:

> I admonish you to take thought for the needy;
> I teach you how to assign the titles;
> For who can take hold of something hot
> Without first moistening his hand?[4]

This verse shows how important it was for the rulers and lords of antiquity to secure good men to be their ministers and aides, and compares this to the necessity of moistening the hand before grasping anything hot so as to spare the hand from injury.

Thus the sage kings of antiquity gave all their thought to finding worthy men and employing them, handing out titles to honor them, apportioning lands to enfeoff them, and never to the end of their days stinting their efforts. Worthy men for their part thought only of finding an enlightened lord and serving him, exhausting the strength of their four limbs in carrying out their lord's business, never to the end of their days growing weary, and if they achieved anything that was beautiful or good, they gave credit for it to the ruler. Thus all that was beautiful and good came to reside in the ruler, while all grudges and complaints were directed against his subordinates. Peace and joy was the portion of the ruler, care and sorrow that of his ministers. This was how the sage kings of ancient times administered their rule.

Now the rulers and high officials of the present day attempt to imitate the ancients in honoring the worthy and employing the capable in their governments. But although they honor them with titles, the stipends which they allot to them do

[4] *Ta ya* section, "Sang jou" (Mao text no. 257).

not follow in proportion. Now if an official has a high-sounding title but a meager stipend, he can hardly inspire the confidence of the people. Such an official will say to himself, "The ruler does not really appreciate me, but is only making use of me as a means for his own ends." And how can men who feel that they are being made use of ever have any affection for their superiors? Therefore the kings of antiquity used to say: "He who is greedy for power in government can never bring himself to assign responsibility to others, and he who is too fond of wealth can never bring himself to dole out stipends." And if one refuses to delegate responsibility or dole out stipends, though one invites all the worthy men of the world, what inducement will they have to come to the side of the ruler and his officers?

If the worthy do not come to the side of the ruler and his officers, it will be the unworthy who will wait at their left and right, and when the unworthy wait upon their left and right, then praise will not be meted out to the worthy and censure to the wicked. If the ruler honors unworthy men such as these and uses them in governing the state, then rewards will not necessarily find their way into the hands of the worthy, and punishments will not necessarily fall upon those who deserve them. If the worthy are not rewarded and the wicked are not punished, then there will be no way to encourage the worthy or put a stop to evil. Unworthy men such as these are not loving or filial to their parents at home nor respectful and friendly to the people of their neighborhood. Their actions show no sense of propriety, their comings and goings no sense of restraint, and their relations with the opposite sex no sense of decorum. Put in charge of a government bureau, they steal and plunder; assigned to guard a city, they betray

their trust or rebel. If their lord encounters difficulty, they will not accompany him into exile. When they are assigned the task of hearing lawsuits, their judgments are not apt; when they are given that of apportioning wealth, their allotments are not equitable. With men such as these to work with, the ruler's plans will reach no fulfillment and his undertakings no success. Though he stays within his realm, he will know no security, and if he ventures forth to battle, he will win no victory. It was for this reason alone that the evil kings of the Three Dynasties, Chieh, Chou, Yu, and Li, lost their kingdoms and brought destruction to their altars of the soil and grain.[5]

All of this comes about as a result of understanding petty affairs but failing to understand important ones. Now the rulers and high officials know that if they cannot cut a suit of clothes for themselves, they must employ the services of a skilled tailor, and if they cannot slaughter an ox or a sheep for themselves, they must employ the services of a skilled butcher. In these two instances the rulers are perfectly aware of the need to honor worthy men and employ the capable to get things done. And yet when they see the state in confusion and their altars of the soil and grain in danger, they do not know enough to employ capable men to correct the situation. Instead they employ their relatives, or men who happen to be rich and eminent or pleasant-featured and attractive. But just because a man happens to be rich and eminent or pleasant-featured and attractive, he will not necessarily turn out to be wise and alert when placed in office. If men such as these are

[5] Chieh was the last ruler of the Hsia dynasty, Chou the last ruler of the Shang, and Yu and Li two rulers of the Chou dynasty in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. All four are symbols of evil and incompetent rulers.

given the task of ordering the state, then this is simply to entrust the state to men who are neither wise nor intelligent, and anyone knows that this will lead to ruin.

Moreover, the rulers and high officials trust a man's mental ability because they are attracted by his looks, and treat him with affection without bothering to examine his knowledge. As a result a man who is incapable of taking charge of a hundred persons is assigned to a post in charge of a thousand, and a man who is incapable of taking charge of a thousand persons is assigned to a post in charge of ten thousand. Why do the rulers do this? Because if they assign a man they like to such a post, he will receive an exalted title and a generous stipend. Hence they employ the man simply because they are attracted by his looks.

Now if a man who is incapable of taking charge of a thousand persons is given a post in charge of ten thousand, then he is being given a post that requires ten times what he is capable of. Affairs of government arise every day and must be attended to each day, and yet the day cannot be made ten times longer for the sake of such a man. Furthermore, it takes knowledge to attend to such affairs, but if the man's knowledge cannot be increased tenfold and he is still assigned to a post that requires ten times what he is capable of, then it will result in his attending to one matter and neglecting nine others. Though the man works day and night to attend to the duties of his post, it is obvious that they will never be attended to. All of this comes about because the rulers and high officials do not understand how to honor the worthy and employ the capable in their government.

Earlier I described the method for honoring the worthy and employing the capable in government so as to achieve order, and here I have described how rejecting the worthy

and failing to employ the capable in government leads to chaos. Now if the rulers and high officials truly wish to order the state properly, to achieve stability and avoid error, why do they fail to perceive that honoring the worthy is the foundation of good government?

Moreover, this principle, that honoring the worthy is the foundation of government, is not something asserted by Mo Tzu alone. It is the way of the sage kings, and is found recorded in the books of the former kings and embodied in the sayings which have been handed down from antiquity. Thus one book says: "Seek out sages and wise men to protect and aid you!" And the "Oath of T'ang" states: "Then I sought out a great sage with whom to unite my strength and join my mind in governing the empire." [6] These quotations show that the sages did not fail to honor the worthy and employ the capable in their government. Thus the sage kings of ancient times gave all their attention to this problem alone, and did not allow themselves to become distracted by other affairs, and all the world enjoyed the benefits thereof.

In ancient times Shun farmed at Mount Li, made pottery on the banks of the river, and fished at Thunder Lake. Yao discovered him on the sunny side of Fu Lake and promoted him to the position of Son of Heaven, turning over to him the task of ruling the empire and governing the people. Yi Chih served in the bridal party of the daughter of the Hsin clan when she went to marry T'ang, and by his own wish became a cook in T'ang's kitchens. There T'ang discovered him and made him his chief minister, turning over to him the task of ruling the empire and governing the people. Fu Yüeh,

[6] The "Oath of T'ang" is one of the sections of the *Book of Documents,* but no such passage is found in the present text of that section. The source of the preceding quotation is unknown.

wearing a coarse robe and a girdle of rope, was working as a convict laborer at Fu-yen when Wu-ting discovered him and made him one of the three highest officers, turning over to him the task of ruling the empire and governing the people.

How did it happen that these men started out in humble positions and ended in exalted ones, began in poverty and ended in riches? Because the rulers and their high officials understood the importance of honoring the worthy and employing the capable. So among their people were none who were hungry and yet found no food, cold and yet found no clothing, weary and yet found no rest; there were none who were disorderly and yet in time did not learn obedience.

The ancient sage kings, in giving all their thought to honoring the worthy and employing the capable in government, were patterning their actions on the ways of Heaven. For Heaven too shows no discrimination between rich and poor, eminent and humble, near and far, the closely and the distantly related. It promotes and honors the worthy, and demotes and rejects the unworthy.

If this is so, then who were those that, possessing wealth and eminence, still strove to be worthy, and received their reward? The sage kings of the Three Dynasties of old, Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, and Wu, were such. And how were they rewarded? When they ruled the world, they loved all men universally, worked to benefit them, and taught their subjects to honor Heaven and serve the spirits. Because they loved and benefited their subjects, Heaven and the spirits rewarded them by setting them up as Sons of Heaven and causing them to act as fathers and mothers to the people. The people in turn praised them, calling them sage kings, and so they are called even today. These then were the rich and eminent ones who strove to be worthy and who received their reward.

Who were those that, possessing wealth and eminence, still practiced evil, and were punished for it? The wicked kings of the Three Dynasties of old, Chieh, Chou, Yu, and Li, were such. How do we know that this is so? Because when they ruled the world, they hated all men universally, set about to oppress them, and taught the people of the world to curse Heaven and abuse the spirits. Because they oppressed and tyrannized their subjects, Heaven and the spirits punished them by bringing execution and death to their persons, scattering their sons and grandsons, destroying their houses, and cutting off their descendants. The people accordingly condemned them, calling them wicked kings, and so they are called even today. These then were the rich and eminent ones who practiced evil and who were punished for it.

Who was it that, though closely related to the ruler, failed to do good and was punished for it? Such was Lord Kun, the eldest son of the emperor.[7] He turned his back on the virtuous ways of the emperor and so was banished to the fields of Yü and imprisoned where no warmth nor light could reach him, and the emperor showed him no favor. He, then, was one who, though closely related to the ruler, failed to do good and was punished for it.

Who were the capable ones who were employed by Heaven? Such were Yü, Chi, and Kao T'ao.[8] How do we know that this is so? Because among the documents of the former kings is the "Penal Code of Lü," which says: "The august emperor carefully inquired among the lower people, and there were

[7] Various accounts are given of this mythical figure. According to the one which Mo Tzu appears to be following, he was the son of a ruler named Chuan Hsü. It is not clear whether Chuan Hsü himself, or one of his successors, banished Lord Kun.

[8] These men were all said to have been enlightened ministers under the sage Shun. In the quotation from the *Book of Documents* which follows, however, Kao T'ao is not mentioned, but instead Po Yi, another eminent minister of Shun.

complaints against the Miao barbarians. . . . The attention of the various lords was extended among the lower people and they brought to light the enlightened, no matter who they were, so that even widowers and widows were not left unrecognized. The virtuous might of the sovereign overawed the people; his virtuous enlightenment made them bright. Then he charged three lords to be zealous in doing good for the people. Po Yi handed down the statutes, restraining the people with punishments. Yü regulated the water and the land and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers. Chi descended from his high position to sow seed and teach the people to grow fine grain. When these three lords had completed their work, the people were greatly benefited." [9]

The three sages mentioned in this passage were careful in their words, circumspect in their actions, and thorough in their thoughts and plans. They sought to discover every hidden matter in the world, every benefit that had previously been overlooked. They served Heaven above, and Heaven responded to their virtue. They acted for the sake of the people below, and the people received benefit their whole life through.

Thus the former kings used to say: "This Way! Use it on a grand scale throughout the world and it will never prove too petty; use it on a small scale and it will never prove confining; use it for a long time and the people will benefit their whole lives through." The hymns of Chou speak of it in these words:

> The virtue of the sage
> Is high as heaven,

[9] From the *Lü hsing,* or "Penal Code of Lü," in the *Book of Documents.* On the whole I have followed the interpretation of Karlgren, though for "they brought to light the enlightened, no matter who they were," he reads "clearly elucidated the irregular practices (*sc.* punishments)." In most cases we can only guess from context how Mo Tzu himself interpreted the passages which he quotes from the *Odes* and *Documents.*

Broad as the earth;
It shines upon the world,
Solid as the ground,
Lofty as the mountains,
Never faltering, never failing,
Brilliant like the sun,
Bright like the moon,
Constant as heaven and earth.[10]

This describes how brilliant, broad, deep-rooted, and everlasting is the virtue of the sage. The virtue of the sage may in fact be said to embrace all heaven and earth!

Now the rulers and high officials wish to rule the world and become leaders of the feudal lords. Yet if they are without such virtue and righteousness, what means will they have to achieve their aims? Some say that such aims can be accomplished through a display of might and power, but why should the rulers attempt to display might and power? Those who strive to overthrow others simply drive the people to their death. What the people long for most is life, and what they hate most is death. Yet under such rulers they cannot achieve what they long for, but are subjected in case after case to what they hate. From ancient times down to the present there has never been anyone who succeeded in ruling the world and becoming the leader of the feudal lords in this way. Now the rulers and high officials say they want to rule the world and become leaders of the feudal lords. But if they really wish to have their way with the world and leave behind them a name for future generations to remember, why do they not realize that honoring the worthy is the foundation of good government? This is a principle which the sages were most careful to practice.

[10] No such passage is found among the hymns (*sung*) of Chou preserved in the *Book of Odes*.

AGAINST FATALISM

PART I

(SECTION 35)

Mo Tzu said: These days the rulers and high officials who govern the nation all desire their states to be rich, their population to be numerous, and their administration to be well ordered. And yet what they achieve is not wealth but poverty, not a numerous population but a meager one, not order but chaos. In actual fact, they fail to get what they seek and achieve what they abhor. Why is this? Mo Tzu said: It is because of the large number of fatalists among the people.

The advocates of fatalism say, "If fate decrees that the state will be wealthy, it will be wealthy; if it decrees that it will be poor, it will be poor. If it decrees that the population will be numerous, it will be numerous; if it decrees that it will be meager, it will be meager. If it decrees that there will be order, there will be order; if it decrees that there will be chaos, there will be chaos. If it decrees that a man will have a long life, he will have a long life; if it decrees that he will die young, he will die young. Though a man tries to combat fate, what can he do?" They expound such doctrines to the rulers and high officials, and keep the people from pursuing their tasks. Hence the fatalists are lacking in benevolence, and their words must therefore be carefully examined.

Now how are we to go about examining their doctrines? Mo Tzu said: We must set up a standard of judgment, for to try to speak without a standard of judgment is like trying to

establish the direction of sunrise and sunset with a revolving potter's wheel. It will be impossible to determine the difference between what is right and wrong, what is beneficial and what is harmful. Therefore a theory must be judged by three tests. What are these three tests of a theory? Its origin, its validity, and its applicability. How do we judge its origin? We judge it by comparing the theory with the deeds of the sage kings of antiquity. How do we judge its validity? We judge it by comparing the theory with the evidence of the eyes and ears of the people. And how do we judge its applicability? We judge it by observing whether, when the theory is put into practice in the administration, it brings benefit to the state and the people. This is what is meant by the three tests of a theory.

Now among the gentlemen of the world there are those who believe in the existence of fate. Let us try examining this belief in the light of what we know of the sage kings. In ancient times chaos prevailed under Chieh, but T'ang followed him and there was order; chaos prevailed under Chou, but King Wu followed him and there was order. Within a single generation, with the same people, the world was in chaos under Chieh and Chou, and well ordered under T'ang and Wu. How then can we say that order or chaos in the world are decreed by fate? [1]

Yet there are still some gentlemen in the world who believe in the existence of fate. Let us try examining this belief in the light of the writings of the former kings. Among the writings of the former kings are those that were issued by the state and promulgated among the people, and these were called "stat-

[1] This argument, needless to say, does not refute the claims of the fatalists, who can just as well assert that the decree of fate changed abruptly when the rule passed from Chieh to T'ang and from Chou to Wu.

utes." Among the statutes of the former kings, were there ever any that said: "Good fortune cannot be sought for and bad fortune cannot be avoided. Being reverent will not help your chances, and doing evil will not harm them."? The writings by which law cases were settled and crimes punished were called "codes of punishment." Among the codes of punishment of the former kings, were there ever any that said: "Good fortune cannot be sought for and bad fortune cannot be avoided. Being reverent will not help your chances, and doing evil will not harm them."? The writings by which the armies were organized and the soldiers commanded to advance or retreat were called "declarations." Among the declarations of the former kings, were there ever any that said: "Good fortune cannot be sought for and bad fortune cannot be avoided. Being reverent will not help your chances, and doing evil will not harm them."? I have not exhausted all the evidence—it would be impossible to cite all the excellent writings in the world—but have enumerated only a few important examples, namely, the three types of writings mentioned above. Yet no matter how we search, we can find no evidence to support the theories of the fatalists. Should not such theories be rejected then?

To accept the theories of the fatalists would be to overthrow righteousness in the world. To overthrow righteousness in the world would be to replace it with the concept of fate and create worry for the people. And to expound a doctrine that creates worry for the people is to destroy the men of the world.

Why do we desire righteous men to be in authority? Because when righteous men are in authority, the world will be ordered, the Lord on High, the hills and rivers, and the ghosts and spirits will have worshipers to sacrifice to them, and the people will enjoy great benefit. How do we know? Mo Tzu

said: In ancient times T'ang was enfeoffed in Po. Making allowances for the irregular boundary line, his domain measured only a hundred square *li*. He worked with his people for universal love and mutual benefit, and shared with them what was in abundance. He led his people to honor Heaven and serve the spirits above, and therefore Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords became his allies, the people loved him, and worthy men came to serve him. Before he died he became ruler of the world and leader of the other lords.

In former times King Wen was enfeoffed in Chou at Mount Ch'i. Making allowances for the irregular boundary line, his domain measured only a hundred square *li*. He worked with his people for universal love and mutual benefit, and shared with them what was in abundance. So those nearby found security in his government and those far away were won by his virtue. All those who heard of King Wen rose up and went to him, and the morally weak, the unworthy, and the crippled who could not rise stayed where they were and pleaded, saying, "Couldn't the domain of King Wen be extended to our borders, so that we too could benefit? Why can't we too be like the people of King Wen?" Therefore Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords became his allies, the people loved him, and worthy men came to serve him. Before he died he became ruler of the world and leader of the other lords. Previously I said that when righteous men are in authority, the world will be ordered, the Lord on High, the hills and rivers, and the ghosts and spirits will have worshipers to sacrifice to them, and the people will enjoy great benefit. And this is how I know that it is so.

Therefore the ancient sage kings issued statutes and published laws, providing rewards and punishments in order to

encourage good and prevent evil. So men were loving and filial to their parents at home and respectful and friendly to the people of their neighborhood. Their actions showed a sense of propriety, their comings and goings a sense of restraint, and their relations with the opposite sex a sense of decorum. Thus, if they were put in charge of a government bureau, they did not steal or plunder; assigned to guard a city, they did not betray their trust or rebel. If their lord encountered difficulties, they would risk death for him; if he was forced to flee the state, they would accompany him into exile. Conduct like this was what the authorities rewarded and people praised. And yet the advocates of fatalism say: "Whoever is rewarded by the authorities was destined by fate to be rewarded. It is not because of his worthiness that he is rewarded!"

If this were so, then men would not be loving or filial to their parents at home nor respectful and friendly to the people of their neighborhood. Their actions would show no sense of propriety, their comings and goings no sense of restraint, and their relations with the opposite sex no sense of decorum. Put in charge of a government bureau, they would steal and plunder; assigned to guard a city, they would betray their trusts or rebel. If their lord encountered difficulty, they would not risk death for him; if he was forced to flee the state, they would not accompany him into exile. Conduct like this is what the authorities punish and the people condemn, and yet the advocates of fatalism say: "Whoever is punished by the authorities was destined by fate to be punished. It is not because of his evil actions that he is punished!" Believing this, rulers would not be righteous and subjects would not be loyal; fathers would not be loving and sons would not be filial; older brothers would not be brotherly and younger brothers would

not be respectful. Those who insist upon holding such views are the source of pernicious doctrines. Theirs is the way of evil men!

How do we know that fatalism is the way of evil men? In ancient times there were impoverished people who were greedy for food and drink and lazy in pursuing their tasks, and as a result they did not have enough food and clothing, and found themselves troubled by cold and hunger. But they did not have sense enough to say, "We are weak in virtue and unworthy, and we have not been diligent in pursuing our tasks." Instead they said, "Fate has decreed that we shall be poor!" In ancient times there were evil kings who could not control the passions of their ears and eyes, or the wicked desires of their hearts. They did not follow the way of their ancestors, and so in time they lost their countries and brought destruction to their altars of the soil and grain. But they did not have sense enough to say, "We are weak in virtue and unworthy, and have not governed well." Instead they said, "Fate has decreed that we shall fail!"

The "Announcement of Chung Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Hsia, pretending that he was acting under the mandate of Heaven, issued orders to his people. God was displeased and destroyed his hosts." [2] This shows how T'ang condemned Chieh's belief in fate.[3]

The "Great Declaration" says: "Chou lived in insolence and would not serve the Lord on High and the spirits. He cast

[2] The "man of Hsia" is Chieh; Chung Hui is identified as a minister of King T'ang, who overthrew Chieh. Both this and the following quotation are presumably from lost sections of the *Book of Documents*.

[3] Mo Tzu apparently feels justified in making this statement because the words translated as "mandate" and "orders" are written with the same character as the word "fate." Taken in context, however, the words are so far apart in meaning that the quotation can hardly be said to prove that Chieh believed in fate.

aside his ancestors and the spirits and would not sacrifice to them, saying, 'My people are ruled by fate.' He gave himself up to arrogance and tyranny, and Heaven thereupon cast him aside and would not protect him." This shows how King Wu condemned Chou's belief in fate.

Now if we were to accept the theories of the fatalists, then those above would not attend to affairs of state and those below would not pursue their tasks. If those above do not attend to affairs of state, then the government will fall into disorder, while if those below do not pursue their tasks, there will not be enough wealth and goods. There will be no way to provide millet and wine for offerings to the Lord on High and the spirits above, and no way to provide security for the worthy and able men of the world below. There will be no means to entertain and conduct exchanges with the feudal lords who come as guests from abroad, while within the state there will be no means to feed the hungry, clothe the cold, and care for the aged and weak. Hence fatalism brings no benefit to Heaven above, no benefit to the spirits in the middle realm, and no benefit to mankind below. Those who insist upon holding such views are the source of pernicious doctrines, and theirs is the way of evil men.

Therefore Mo Tzu said: If the gentlemen of the world truly hate poverty and wish to enrich the world, if they truly hate disorder and wish to bring order to the world, then they cannot but condemn the doctrines of the fatalists, for these bring great harm to the world.

THE REGULATIONS OF A KING

(SECTION 9)

Someone asked how to govern, and I replied: In the case of worthy and able men, promote them without waiting for their turn to come up. In the case of inferior and incompetent men, dismiss them without hesitation. In the case of incorrigibly evil men, punish them without trying to reform them.[1] In the case of people of average capacity, teach them what is right without attempting to force them into goodness. Thus, even where rank has not yet been fixed, the distinction between good and bad will be as clear as that between the left and right ancestors in the mortuary temple.[2] Although a man may be the descendant of kings, dukes, or high court ministers, if he cannot adhere to ritual principles, he should be ranked among the commoners. Although a man may be the descendant of commoners, if he has acquired learning, is upright in conduct, and can adhere to ritual principles, he should be promoted to the post of prime minister or high court official.

[1] This recognition of a category of incorrigibly bad men seems to contradict the rest of Hsün Tzu's philosophy and is rare in early Confucian thought as a whole. Nevertheless, Hsün Tzu refers to it elsewhere, as in sec. 18, where he argues that the existence of a very few such perverse and unteachable men even in the time of a sage ruler is not to be taken as evidence that the ruler himself is at fault.

[2] This sentence has long puzzled commentators, and the translation is tentative. According to Chou practice, the mortuary temple of the founder of a noble family was placed in the center, with the temples of the second, fourth and sixth descendants ranged to the left and called *chao,* while those of the third, fifth, and seventh descendants were ranged to the right and called *mu.*

When it comes to men of perverse words and theories, perverse undertakings and talents, or to people who are slippery or vagrant, they should be given tasks to do, taught what is right, and allowed a period of trial. Encourage them with rewards, discipline them with punishments, and if they settle down to their work, then look after them as subjects; but if not, cast them out. In the case of those who belong to the five incapacitated groups,[3] the government should gather them together, look after them, and give them whatever work they are able to do. Employ them, provide them with food and clothing, and take care to see that none are left out. If anyone is found acting or using his talents to work against the good of the time, condemn him to death without mercy. This is what is called the virtue of Heaven and the government of a true king.

These are the essential points to remember when listening to proposals in government. If a man comes forward in good faith, treat him according to ritual; if he comes forward in bad faith, meet him with punishment. In this way the two categories will be clearly distinguished, worthy and unworthy men will not be thrown together, and right and wrong will not be confused. If worthy and unworthy men are not thrown together, then men of extraordinary character will come to you, and if right and wrong are not confused, then the nation will be well ordered. This accomplished, your fame will increase each day, the world will look to you with longing, your orders will be carried out, your prohibitions heeded, and you will have fulfilled all the duties of a king.

In listening to reports and proposals, if you are too stern and severe and have no patience in guiding and drawing

[3] Defined by commentators as those who are dumb, deaf, crippled, missing an arm or leg, or dwarfed.

others out, then your subordinates will be fearful and distant and will withdraw into themselves and be unwilling to speak. In such a case important matters are likely to be left unattended to and minor matters to be botched. If, however, you are too sympathetic and understanding, too fond of leading and drawing others out, and have no sense of where to stop, then men will come with all sorts of perverse suggestions and you will be flooded with dubious proposals. In such a case you will find yourself with too much to listen to and too much to do, and this also will be inimical to good government.

If there are laws, but in actual practice they do not prove to be of general applicability, then points not specifically covered by the laws are bound to be left undecided. If men are appointed to posts but they have no over-all understanding of their duties, then matters which do not specifically fall within their jurisdiction are bound to be neglected. Therefore there must be laws that prove applicable in practice and men in office who have an over-all understanding of their duties. There must be no hidden counsels or overlooked ability on the lower levels and all matters must proceed without error. Only a gentleman is capable of such government.

Fair-mindedness is the balance in which to weigh proposals;[4] upright harmoniousness is the line by which to measure them. Where laws exist, to carry them out; where they do not exist, to act in the spirit of precedent and analogy—this is the best way to hear proposals. To show favoritism and partisan feeling and be without any constant principles—this is the worst you can do. It is possible to have good laws and still have disorder in the state. But to have a gentleman acting as ruler and disorder in the state—from ancient times to the present I have never heard of such a thing. This is what the

[4] Reading *t'ing* instead of *chih*.

old text means when it says, "Order is born from the gentleman, disorder from the petty man."

Where ranks are all equal, there will not be enough goods to go around; where power is equally distributed, there will be a lack of unity; where there is equality among the masses, it will be impossible to employ them. The very existence of Heaven and Earth exemplifies the principle of higher and lower, but only when an enlightened king appears on the throne can the nation be governed according to regulation. Two men of equal eminence cannot govern each other; two men of equally humble station cannot employ each other. This is the rule of Heaven. If men are of equal power and station and have the same likes and dislikes, then there will not be enough goods to supply their wants and they will inevitably quarrel. Quarreling must lead to disorder, and disorder to exhaustion. The former kings abhorred such disorder and therefore they regulated the principles of ritual in order to set up ranks. They established the distinctions between rich and poor, eminent and humble, making it possible for those above to join together and watch over those below. This is the basis upon which the people of the world are nourished. This is what the *Documents* means when it says, "Equality is based upon inequality." [5]

If the horses are frightened of the carriage, then the gentleman cannot ride in safety; if the common people are frightened of the government, then the gentleman cannot occupy his post in safety. If the horses are frightened of the carriage, the best thing to do is to quiet them; if the common people are frightened of the government, the best thing to do is to treat them

[5] I take it that this is the way Hsün Tzu, quoting very much out of context, wishes us to understand these four characters. In context, in the section called *Lü-hsing* or "The Code of Marquis Lü," they have a quite different meaning.

with kindness. Select men who are worthy and good for government office, promote those who are kind and respectful, encourage filial piety and brotherly affection, look after orphans and widows and assist the poor, and then the common people will feel safe and at ease with their government. And once the common people feel safe, then the gentleman may occupy his post in safety. This is what the old text means when it says, "The ruler is the boat and the common people are the water. It is the water that bears the boat up, and the water that capsizes it." Therefore, if the gentleman desires safety, the best thing for him to do is to govern fairly and to love the people. If he desires glory, the best thing is to honor ritual and treat men of breeding with respect. If he desires to win fame and merit, the best thing is to promote the worthy and employ men of ability. These are the three great obligations of the ruler. If he meets these three, then all other obligations will likewise be met; if he does not meet these three, then, although he manages to meet his other obligations, it will scarcely be of any benefit to him. Confucius has said, "If he meets both his major and minor obligations correctly, he is a superior ruler. If he meets his major obligations but is inconsistent in meeting his minor ones, he is a mediocre ruler. If he fails to meet his major obligations, though he may meet his minor ones correctly enough, I do not care to see any more of him."

Marquis Ch'eng and Lord Ssu were rulers who knew how to collect taxes and keep accounts, but they did not succeed in winning the support of the people.[6] Tzu-ch'an won the sup-

[6] Two rulers of the state of Wei (the small state northwest of Ch'i, not to be confused with the much more powerful state in the old territory of Chin whose name is also read "Wei") in the late fourth century B.C. As the state of Wei dwindled in size and power, its rulers voluntarily downgraded themselves from the title of duke to marquis, and later from marquis to lord.

port of the people but did not succeed in governing them.[7] Kuan Chung governed the state but did not get around to promoting ritual.[8] He who promotes ritual will become a true king; he who governs well will be strong; he who wins over the people will find safety; but he who pays attention only to the collection of taxes will be lost. Thus, a king enriches his people, a dictator enriches his soldiers, a state that is barely managing to survive enriches its high officers, and a doomed state enriches only its coffers and stuffs its storehouses. But if its coffers are heaped up and its storehouses full, while its people are impoverished, this is what is called to overflow at the top but dry up at the bottom. Such a state will be unable to protect itself at home and unable to fight its enemies abroad, and its downfall and destruction can be looked for at any moment. The ruler of such a state, by collecting excessive taxes, brings about his own destruction, and his enemies, by seizing his territory, make themselves stronger than ever. Too much attention to tax collecting invites bandits and fattens

[7] Chief minister of the small state of Cheng in the 6th century B.C. (The *Tso chuan* records his death in 522 B.C.) He was widely praised for his wise and benevolent policies, especially by Confucius (see *Analects* V, 15). But Hsün Tzu here follows the more reserved estimation of Mencius (*Mencius* IVB, 2): "Tzu-ch'an . . . was kind but did not understand how to govern."

[8] Chief minister to Duke Huan of Ch'i in the 7th century B.C. and a well-known figure in history and legend. According to *Shih chi* 32, he died in 645 B.C. The philosophic work known as *Kuan Tzu* is said to embody his teachings on economics and statecraft. He is credited with having made Duke Huan the first of the *pa* (overlords, dictators, or hegemons). Hsün Tzu, like all early Confucian writers, distinguishes carefully between the *wang,* the true kings who qualify for their position by virtue and public sanction and who conduct their government on the basis of correct ritual principles, and the *pa,* feudal lords who, by strengthening their military and economic power and overawing the other feudal lords, were for a time able to dictate to the empire and even force a kind of recognition from the Chou king.

one's enemies. It is the path which leads to the destruction of the state and the peril of its lord, and for that reason the enlightened ruler does not follow it.

The king works to acquire men, the dictator works to acquire allies, and the ruler who relies on force works to acquire territory. He who acquires men wins the allegiance of the feudal lords; he who acquires allies wins the friendship of the feudal lords; but he who acquires territory incurs their enmity. He who commands the allegiance of the feudal lords may become a king; he who wins their friendship may become a dictator; but he who incurs their enmity is in danger.

He who lives by force must use his might to conquer the cities that other men guard and to defeat the soldiers[9] that other men send forth to battle, and in doing so he inevitably inflicts great injury upon the people of other states. If he inflicts great injury upon them, they will inevitably hate him fiercely and will day by day grow more eager to fight against him. Moreover, he who uses his might to conquer the cities that other men guard and to defeat the soldiers that other men send forth to battle must inevitably inflict great injury upon his own people as well. If he inflicts great injury upon his own people, they will inevitably hate him fiercely and will day by day grow less eager to fight his battles. With the people of other states growing daily more eager to fight against him, and his own people growing daily less eager to fight in his defense, the ruler who relies upon strength will on the contrary be reduced to weakness. He acquires territory but loses the support of his people; his worries increase while his accomplishments dwindle. He finds himself with more and more cities to guard and less and less of the means to guard them with; thus in time the great state will on the contrary be stripped

[9] Reading *shih* instead of *ch'u* here and in the parallel sentence below.

down in this way to insignificance. The other feudal lords never cease to eye him with hatred and to dream of revenge;[10] never do they forget their enmity. They spy out his weak points and take advantage of his defects, so that he lives in constant peril.

One who truly understands how to use force[11] does not rely upon force. He is careful to follow the commands of the nominal king, builds up his might, and creates a fund of good will.[12] With his might well established, he cannot be weakened by the other feudal lords; with a fund of good will to rely on, he cannot be reduced to insignificance by the other feudal lords. Thus, if he happens to live in a time when there is no true king or dictator in the world, he will always be victorious. This is the way of one who truly understands how to use force.

The dictator is not like this. He opens up lands for cultivation, fills the granaries, and sees that the people are provided with the goods they need. He is careful in selecting his officials and employs men of talent, leading them on with rewards and correcting them with punishments. He restores states that have perished, protects ruling lines that are in danger of dying out, guards the weak, and restrains the violent. If he shows no intention of annexing the territories of his neighbors, then the other feudal lords will draw close to him. If he treats them as friends and equals and is respectful in his dealings with them, he will win their favor. He can win their intimacy by not attempting to annex them, but if he shows any inclination to annex their lands, they will turn away from him. He can win their favor by treating them as friends and equals, but if he

[10] Following the interpretation of Liu Shih-p'ei.

[11] Reading *tao* instead of *ta*.

[12] Hsün Tzu says, literally, "establishes his virtue." But it is clear that he is using the word *te* (virtue), not in the higher ethical sense, but in the sense of favors or good turns done to others which put them in debt to one.

shows any inclination to treat them as subjects, they will reject him. Therefore he makes it clear from his actions that he does not wish to annex their territory, and inspires faith in them that he will always treat them as friends and equals. Thus, if he happens to live in a time when there is no true king[13] in the world, he will always be victorious. This is the way of one who truly understands how to be a dictator. The reason that King Min of Ch'i was defeated by the armies of the five states, and that Duke Huan of Ch'i was threatened by Duke Chuang of Lu was none other than this: they did not follow the way appropriate to their own positions, but tried to act in the manner of a true king.[14]

The true king is not like this. His benevolence is the loftiest in the world, his righteousness is the loftiest in the world, and his authority is the loftiest in the world. Since his benevolence is the loftiest in the world, there is no one in the world who does not draw close to him. Since his righteousness is the loftiest in the world, there is no one who does not respect him. Since his authority is the loftiest in the world, there is no one who dares to oppose him. With an authority that cannot be opposed, abetted by ways which win men's allegiance, he gains victory without battle and acquires territory without attack. He need not wear out his men and arms, and yet the whole world is won over to him. This is the way of one who understands how to be a king. He who understands these

[13] Omitting the *pa,* which is clearly superfluous here.

[14] In 285 B.C., according to *Shih chi* 46, King Min, who had aroused the anger of the other feudal lords, was attacked by a combination of them and driven from his capital. In 681 B.C., Duke Huan of Ch'i, the first of the *pa* or dictators, called the other feudal lords to a conference in Ch'i. According to what is probably a late legend, recorded in the *Kung yang Commentary* (Duke Chuang 13), the general of Duke Chuang of Lu managed to threaten Duke Huan with assassination and force him to return to Lu the territory which he had earlier seized.

three ways may choose to become a king, a dictator, or a man of force as he wishes.

These are the king's regulations: they do not seek to pattern themselves on anything earlier than the Three Dynasties,[15] they do not reject the model of later kings. Seeking a pattern in the age before the Three Dynasties will lead to confusion; rejecting the model of later kings will lead to inelegance. Clothing should be of a fixed type, dwellings of fixed size, and servants and followers of fixed number. Likewise, the vessels and trappings used in mourning and sacrifice should all be fixed in accordance with social rank. All music that is lacking in classical elegance should be abandoned; all decorations that do not follow old patterns should be given up; all vessels and trappings that are not like those of earlier times should be discarded. This is what is called reviving the old. These are the king's regulations.

These are the judgments of a king: no man of virtue shall be left unhonored; no man of ability shall be left unemployed; no man of merit shall be left unrewarded; no man of guilt shall be left unpunished. No man by luck alone shall attain a position at court; no man by luck alone shall make his way among the people. The worthy shall be honored, the able employed, and each shall be assigned to his appropriate position without oversight. The violent[16] shall be repressed, the evil restrained, and punishments shall be meted out without error. The common people will then clearly understand that, if they do evil in secret, they will suffer punishment in public. This is what is called having fixed judgments. These are the king's judgments.

[15] The Hsia, Shang or Yin, and Chou dynasties. By Hsün Tzu's time the Chou dynasty was regarded as extinct in all but name.

[16] Reading *pao* instead of *yüan*.

These are the king's laws.[17] They fix the various rates of taxation, regulate all affairs, exploit the ten thousand things, and thereby provide nourishment for all people. The tax on the fields shall be one tenth. At barriers and in markets, the officials shall examine the goods but levy no tax. The mountains, forests, lakes, and fish weirs shall at certain seasons be closed and at others opened for use, but no taxes shall be levied on their resources. Lands shall be inspected and the amount of tax graded according to their productivity. The distance over which articles of tribute must be transported shall be taken into consideration and the amount of tribute fixed accordingly. Goods and grain shall be allowed to circulate freely, so that there is no hindrance or stagnation in distribution; they shall be transported from one place to another as the need may arise, so that the entire region within the four seas becomes like one family. Thus those close to the king will not hide their talents or be stinted in their labors, and all regions, even the most distant and out of the way, will hasten to serve him and find peace and joy under his rule. This is what is called being the leader of men. These are the king's laws.

In the far north there are fast horses and howling dogs; China acquires and breeds them and puts them to work. In the far south there are feathers, tusks, hides, pure copper, and cinnabar; China acquires them and uses them in its manufactures. In the far east there are plants with purple dye, coarse hemp, fish, and salt; China acquires them for its food and clothing. In the far west there are skins and colored yaks' tails; China acquires them for its needs. Thus the people living in lake regions have plenty of lumber and those living

[17] Supplying the word *fa* from the end of the paragraph.

in the mountains have plenty of fish. The farmers do not have to carve or chisel, to fire or forge, and yet they have all the tools and utensils they need; the artisans and merchants do not have to work the fields, and yet they have plenty of vegetables and grain. The tiger and leopard are fierce beasts, but the gentleman strips off their hides for his personal use. Thus, wherever the sky stretches and the earth extends, there is nothing beautiful left unfound, nothing useful left unused. Such goods serve above to adorn worthy and good men, and below to nourish the common people and bring them security and happiness. This is what is called a state of godlike order. The *Odes* refers to this when it says:

> Heaven made a high hill;
> T'ai Wang opened it up.
> He began the work
> And King Wen dwelt there in peace.[18]

One starts with general categories and moves to particular ones; one starts with unity and moves to plurality. What begins must end; what ends must begin again; and so the cycle repeats itself without interruption. Abandon this principle, and the empire will fall into decay. Heaven and earth are the beginning of life, ritual principles are the beginning of order, and the gentleman is the beginning of ritual principles. Acting on them, practicing them, guarding them, and loving them more than anything else—this is the beginning of the gentleman. Therefore Heaven and earth produce the gentleman and the gentleman brings order to Heaven and earth. The gentleman forms a triad with Heaven and earth; he is the controller of all things, the father and mother of the people. Without

[18] "Hymns of Chou," *T'ien-tso,* Mao text no. 270. The high hill is Mount Ch'i, where T'ai Wang, the ancestor of the Chou royal family, built his capital.

the gentleman, Heaven and earth will lack order and ritual principles will lack unity. There will be no true ruler or leader above, no true father or son below. This is what is called the extreme of chaos. The correct relationships between ruler and subject, father and son, elder and younger brother, and husband and wife begin and are carried through to the end, end and begin again. They share the order of Heaven and earth, they last for ten thousand generations. They are what is called the great foundation. The rules that govern mourning and sacrificial rites and the ceremonies of the court and army are based upon this single foundation. Those which guide the ruler in honoring or humbling, punishing or freeing, giving or taking from his subjects are based upon this unity. Those which teach men how to treat rulers as rulers, subjects as subjects, fathers as fathers, sons as sons, elder brothers as elder brothers, younger brothers as younger brothers are based upon this unity. Those which make a farmer a farmer, a man of breeding a man of breeding, an artisan an artisan, and a merchant a merchant are based upon this unity.

Fire and water possess energy but are without life. Grass and trees have life but no intelligence. Birds and beasts have intelligence but no sense of duty.[19] Man possesses energy, life, intelligence, and, in addition, a sense of duty. Therefore he is the noblest being on earth. He is not as strong as the ox, nor as swift as the horse, and yet he makes the ox and the horse work for him. Why? Because he is able to organize himself in society and they are not. Why is he able to organize himself in society? Because he sets up hierarchical divisions. And how is he able to set up hierarchical divisions? Because he has a sense of duty. If he employs this sense of duty to set up hier-

[19] *Yi.* Elsewhere I have translated this word as righteousness.

archical divisions, then there will be harmony. Where there is harmony there will be unity; where there is unity there will be strength; and where there is strength there will be the power to conquer all things. Thus men can dwell in security in their houses and halls. The reason that men are able to harmonize their actions with the order of the seasons, utilize all things, and bring universal profit to the world is simply this: they have established hierarchical divisions and possess a sense of duty.

Men, once born, must organize themselves into a society. But if they form a society without hierarchical divisions, then there will be quarreling. Where there is quarreling, there will be chaos; where there is chaos, there will be fragmentation; and where there is fragmentation, men will find themselves too weak to conquer other beings. Thus they will be unable to dwell in security in their houses and halls. This is why I say that ritual principles must not be neglected even for a moment. He who can follow them in serving his parents is called filial; he who can follow them in serving his elder brothers is called brotherly. He who can follow them in serving his superiors is called obedient; he who can follow them in employing his inferiors is called a ruler.

The ruler is one who is good at organizing men in society.[20] When society is properly organized, then all things will find their proper place, the six domestic animals[21] will breed and flourish, and all living beings will fulfill their allotted span of life. If breeding and tending is done at the proper time, the six domestic animals will increase. If planting and cutting is

[20] Hsün Tzu is here punning on the words *chün* (ruler) and *ch'ün* (to form a group).

[21] Horses, cows, sheep, pigs, dogs, and chickens. Dogs were raised to be eaten.

done at the proper time, plants and trees will flourish. If government commands are issued at the proper time, then the common people will be unified, and worthy and good men will offer their services. These are the regulations of a sage king.

When plants and trees are flowering or putting out new growth, no axes may be taken into the hills and forests, for they would destroy life and injure the growing things. When fish and other water creatures are breeding, no nets or poisons may be used in the lakes, for they would destroy life and injure the growing things. The farmers plow in spring, weed in summer, reap in fall, and store away in winter. Because they do each at the proper season, there is a never-ending supply of grain and the people have more than enough to eat. Because the lakes and rivers are watched over carefully and closed off at the proper time, there is an ever-increasing supply of fish and other water creatures and the people have more than they can use. Because the felling of trees and cutting of brush is done only at the proper time, the hills are never denuded and yet the people have all the wood they need. These are the measures of a sage king. He looks up to examine heaven, looks down to direct the work of the earth, completes all that is necessary between heaven and earth, and applies his action to all things. His actions are dark and yet of bright result, brief and yet long-lasting, narrow and yet broad. His understanding is of godlike clarity and breadth, and yet of the finest simplicity. Therefore it is said, he whose every move is founded on unity is a sage.[22]

The list of officials. The master of tiles shall have charge of

[22] The end of this paragraph is couched in highly mysterious language and the translation, particularly of the last sentence, is tentative. Commentators offer various suggestions for amending the text, but none seems convincing enough to adopt.

matters pertaining to the reception of guests, religious ceremonies, banquets, and sacrifices. The minister of the interior shall have charge of matters pertaining to clan regulations, the walling of cities, and the standardization of utensils. The minister of war shall have charge of matters pertaining to military expeditions, weapons, carriages, and troop divisions.

To enforce the ordinances and commands, examine songs and writings, and abolish licentious music, attending to all matters at the appropriate time, so that strange and barbaric music is not allowed to confuse the elegant classical modes—these are the duties of the chief director of music. To repair dikes and weirs, open up canals and irrigation ditches, and cause water to flow freely and to be stored up properly in the reservoirs, opening or closing the sluice gates at the appropriate time, so that even in times of bad weather, flood, or drought, the people have fields that can be planted—these are the duties of the minister of works. To inspect the elevation of the fields, determine the fertility of the soil, decide what type of grain should be planted, examine the harvest and see that it is properly stored away, attending to all matters at the appropriate time, so that the farmers remain honest and hard-working and do not turn to other occupations—these are the duties of the administrator of the fields. To enforce the laws pertaining to the burning off of forests, and to conserve the resources of the mountains and woods, the marshes and lakes, such as trees, shrubs, fish, turtles, and various edible plants, attending to all matters at the appropriate time, so that the nation has the articles it needs and no resources are depleted —these are the duties of the director of resources. To order the provinces and communities, fix the regulations pertaining to dwellings, promote the raising of domestic animals and the planting of trees, encourage moral education, and promote

filial piety and brotherly affection, attending to all matters at the appropriate time, so that the people are obedient to commands and live in their communities in security and happiness —these are the duties of the director of communities. To judge the merits of the various artisans, determine the most appropriate time for their work, judge the quality of their manufactures, encourage efficiency and high quality, and see that all necessary goods are available, making sure that no one dares to manufacture sculptured or ornamented decorations privately at home—these are the duties of the director of artisans. To observe the yin and yang, judge the meaning of portents, divine by the tortoise and milfoil, conduct exorcisms, fortunetelling, and divination by the five types of signs, and understand all that pertains to good and bad fortune—these are the duties of hunchback shamanesses and crippled shamans. To attend to affairs of public sanitation, keep the roads in repair, eliminate thieves and highway bandits, insure a fair assignment of public buildings and market stalls,[23] attending to all matters at the appropriate time, so that traveling merchants can conduct their business in safety and there is an unobstructed flow of goods—these are the duties of the director of markets. To forestall violence and cruelty, prevent licentiousness, and wipe out evil, employing the five punishments[24] as a warning, causing the violent and cruel to change their ways and the wicked to desist from wickedness—these are the duties of the minister of justice.

To lay the foundation of governmental education, see that the laws and regulations are upright, receive reports and proposals and review them at fixed times, judge the merits of the

[23] Reading *ssu* instead of *lü*.

[24] Tattooing of criminals, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, and death.

lesser officials, and decide what rewards or punishments are to be meted out, attending to all matters carefully and at the proper time, so that the minor officials are encouraged to do their best and the common people do not dare to be slack—these are the duties of the prime minister. To fix rites and music, reform conduct, spread moral education, and beautify the customs of the people, taking cognizance of all matters and harmonizing them into a unity—these are the duties of the high officials.[25] To complete the Way and its virtue, establish the highest standards, unite the world in the fullest degree of order, overlooking not the smallest detail, and causing all men in the world to be obedient and submissive—these are the duties of the heavenly king. Therefore, if the affairs of government are in disorder, it is the fault of the prime minister. If the customs of the country are faulty, it is due to the error of the high officials. And if the world is not unified and the feudal lords are rebellious,[26] then the heavenly king is not the right man for the job.

When[27] one has all the appurtenances of a king, he can be a king; when he has all the appurtenances of a dictator, he can be a dictator; when he has the appurtenances of a ruler who can preserve his state, he will preserve his state; and when he has the appurtenances of a ruler who will destroy his state, he will destroy it. If one heads a state of ten thousand war chariots, then his might and authority will naturally com-

[25] Following Kanaya, I take the phrase *pi-kung* to refer to the *san-kung* or three high officials: the grand tutor, the grand protector, and the director of music. They had charge of affairs pertaining to manners and moral education. Some translators, however, take *pi-kung* to refer to the feudal lords.

[26] Reading *pei* instead of *su* in accordance with the suggestion of Kubo Ai.

[27] The remainder of the chapter lacks Yang Liang's commentary and is difficult to make out at numerous points. I have in general followed Kanaya and somewhat expanded the original in a few places to make it intelligible in translation.

mand respect, his fame will be widespread, and his enemies will submit. It will be within the power of the ruler himself, not men of other states, to regulate his safety and goodness. It will be within the power of the ruler himself, not other men, to decide whether he will become a king or a dictator, whether he will choose preservation or destruction. But if his might and authority are not sufficient to intimidate his neighbors and his fame is not the kind to spread throughout the world, then he does not yet have the power to stand alone, so how can he hope to escape difficulties? Threatened by the power of some evil neighbor state, he and the rulers of other states may have to ally themselves with it and be forced to do things they do not wish to do. But although they may find themselves day by day imitating the deeds and actions of the tyrant Chieh, it does not necessarily mean that, given the opportunity, they could not become sage rulers like Yao. Only this is not the way to win merit and fame and to assist other states that are in danger of being wiped out. The way to win merit and fame and to assist other states that are in danger of being wiped out is to remain free and flourishing and to act from the sincerity of one's innermost heart. If one is truly able to administer his state in the manner of a king, then he may become a king. If he administers his state so as to place it in a condition of danger and near destruction, then he will face danger and destruction.

He who is in a flourishing condition may stand upon what is right, showing no favoritism to any side but conducting all his affairs as he wishes; he may keep his armies at home and sit back and watch while the evil and violent nations of the world fall upon each other. If he regulates the teachings of his government properly, examines carefully the rules and proposals of his officials, and encourages and educates his people,

then the day will come when his armies can stand up against the strongest forces in the world. If he practices benevolence and righteousness, honors the highest principles, makes his laws upright, selects worthy and good men for his government, and looks after the needs of his people, then the day will come when his reputation may match in fairness that of any ruler in the world. Weighty in authority, strong in military might, fair in reputation—even the sages Yao and Shun who united the world could find nothing to add to such a ruler.

If schemers and plotters who would overthrow the state are forced to retire, then men of worth and sage wisdom will come forward of themselves. If punishments and government regulations are just, the people harmonious, and the customs of the country well moderated, then the armies will be strong, the cities secure against attack, and enemy nations will submit of their own free will. If attention is paid to agriculture, and wealth and goods are accumulated, if one does not forget to guard against lavishness and excessive expenditure, and causes the officials and common people to act in accordance with the rules and regulations, then wealth and goods will increase and the state will automatically grow rich. If these three conditions are realized, then the whole world will pay allegiance to such a ruler, and the rulers of evil states will automatically find themselves unable to use their armies against him. Why? Because no one will join them in the attack.

If they carry out a military expedition against him, it must be with the support of their own people. But if their own people favor the good ruler, look up to him as a father or mother and rejoice in him as in the fragrance of iris or orchid, and on the contrary regard their own rulers as so many wielders of branding irons and tattooing knives, as their foes and enemies, then, human nature being what it is, even if the

people should be as cruel and violent as the tyrant Chieh or Robber Chih, how could they be willing to fight for the sake of men they hate and do harm to one they love? For this reason such evil rulers will be overthrown. Therefore, in ancient times there were men who began as rulers of a single state and ended by becoming rulers of the world, but it was not because they went about making conquests. They conducted their government in such a way as to make all men wish to become their subjects, and in this manner they were able to punish the violent and suppress the wicked. Thus when the duke of Chou marched south, the states of the north were resentful and asked, "Why does he neglect only us?"; and when he marched east, the states of the west grew angry and asked, "Why does he leave us to the last?" [28] Who could stand up against such a ruler? Therefore he who can order his state in this way may become a true king.

He who is in a flourishing condition may hold his armies in reserve and give his soldiers rest, may love and look after his people, open up new lands for cultivation, fill his granaries, and see that all necessary goods are supplied. With care he will select men of talent and promote them to office, where he will offer rewards to encourage them and threaten strict punishments in order to restrain them from evil. He will choose men who know how to handle such things and employ them to attend to and manage all affairs. Then he may sit back at ease and goods will pile up, all will be well ordered, and there will be enough of all things to go around. When it comes to weapons and military supplies, his war-loving enemies will day by day be smashing and destroying theirs and leaving

[28] Mencius (1B, 11) quotes a similar passage from a lost section of the *Book of Documents* where the hero, however, is not the duke of Chou but T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty.

them strewn over the plains of battle, while he polishes and mends his and stacks them away in his arsenals. As for goods and grain, his enemies will day by day be wasting theirs and pouring them out to supply the campgrounds, while he gathers his in and stores them in his granaries and supply houses. As for men of talent, wise counselors, and brave and fierce warriors, his enemies will day by day be destroying and wearing theirs out in strife and battle, while he attracts more and more of them to his state, selects all those who are worthy, and trains them at his court. In this way his enemies will daily pile up depletion while he piles up abundance; they will daily pile up poverty while he piles up riches; they will daily pile up labor while he piles up ease. In the states of his enemies relations between ruler and minister, superior and inferior will be pervaded by bitterness and day by day grow more harsh and strained; while with him such relations will be marked by warmth and will daily become closer and more affectionate. Therefore he can stand by and wait for the decay of his enemies and, ordering his own state in this way, may become a dictator.

If a ruler follows ordinary customs in his behavior, attends to affairs in accordance with ordinary practice, selects ordinary men and promotes them in government, and treats his inferiors and the common people with ordinary lenience and bounty, then he may dwell in safety. If a ruler is frivolous and coarse in his behavior, hesitant and suspicious in attending to affairs, selects men for office because they flatter and are glib, and in his treatment of the common people is rapacious and grasping, then he will soon find himself in peril. If a ruler is arrogant and cruel in his behavior, attends to affairs in an irrational and perverse manner, selects and promotes men who are insidious and full of hidden schemes, and in his treatment

of the common people is quick to exploit their strength and endanger their lives but slow to reward their labors and accomplishments, loves to exact taxes and duties but neglects the state of agriculture, then he will surely face destruction.

One must be careful to choose well from among these five categories, for these are the appurtenances that make one a king, a dictator, a ruler who dwells in safety, one who faces peril, or one who faces destruction. He who chooses well can control others; he who chooses badly will be controlled by others. He who chooses well may become a king; he who chooses badly will be destroyed. To be a king or to be destroyed, to control others or to be controlled by them—the two conditions are far apart indeed!

THE WAY OF THE RULER

(SECTION 5)

The Way is the beginning of all beings and the measure of right and wrong. Therefore the enlightened ruler holds fast to the beginning in order to understand the wellspring of all beings, and minds the measure in order to know the source of good and bad. He waits, empty and still,[1] letting names define themselves and affairs reach their own settlement. Being empty, he can comprehend the true aspect of fullness; being still, he can correct the mover.[2] Those whose duty it is to speak will come forward to name themselves; those whose duty it is to act will produce results. When names and results[3] match, the ruler need do nothing more and the true aspect of all things will be revealed.

Hence it is said: The ruler must not reveal his desires; for if he reveals his desires his ministers will put on the mask that pleases him. He must not reveal his will; for if he does so his ministers will show a different face. So it is said: Discard likes and dislikes and the ministers will show their true form; discard wisdom and wile and the ministers will watch their step. Hence, though the ruler is wise, he hatches no schemes from his wisdom, but causes all men to know

[1] Omitting the first *ling*. This section, like sec. 8 below, is distinguished by the frequent use of end rhymes.

[2] Reading *wei* for the second *chih*.

[3] Literally, "forms" or "realities." But Han Fei Tzu is discussing concrete problems of political science, i.e., do the officials really do what they say they are going to do? Does their actual performance match the title they hold?

their place. Though he has worth, he does not display it in his deeds, but observes the motives of his ministers. Though he is brave, he does not flaunt his bravery in shows of indignation, but allows his subordinates to display their valor to the full. Thus, though he discards wisdom, his rule is enlightened; though he discards worth, he achieves merit; and though he discards bravery, his state grows powerful. When the ministers stick to their posts, the hundred officials have their regular duties, and the ruler employs each according to his particular ability, this is known as the state of manifold constancy.

Hence it is said: "So still he seems to dwell nowhere at all; so empty no one can seek him out." The enlightened ruler reposes in nonaction above, and below his ministers tremble with fear.

This is the way of the enlightened ruler: he causes the wise to bring forth all their schemes, and he decides his affairs accordingly; hence his own wisdom is never exhausted. He causes the worthy to display their talents, and he employs them accordingly; hence his own worth never comes to an end. Where there are accomplishments, the ruler takes credit for their worth; where there are errors, the ministers are held responsible for the blame; hence the ruler's name never suffers. Thus, though the ruler is not worthy himself, he is the leader of the worthy; though he is not wise himself, he is the corrector of the wise. The ministers have the labor; the ruler enjoys the success. This is called the maxim of the worthy ruler.

The Way lies in what cannot be seen, its function in what cannot be known. Be empty, still, and idle, and from your place of darkness observe the defects of others. See but do not appear to see; listen but do not seem to listen; know but do

not let it be known that you know. When you perceive the trend of a man's words, do not change them, do not correct them, but examine them and compare them with the results. Assign one man to each office and do not let men talk to each other, and then all will do their utmost. Hide your tracks, conceal your sources, so that your subordinates cannot trace the springs of your action. Discard wisdom, forswear ability, so that your subordinates cannot guess what you are about. Stick to your objectives and examine the results to see how they match; take hold of the handles of government carefully and grip them tightly.[4] Destroy all hope, smash all intention of wresting them from you; allow no man to covet them.

If you do not guard the door, if you do not make fast the gate, then tigers will lurk there. If you are not cautious in your undertakings, if you do not hide their true aspect, then traitors will arise. They murder their sovereign and usurp his place, and all men in fear make common cause with them: hence they are called tigers. They sit by the ruler's side and, in the service of evil ministers, spy into his secrets: hence they are called traitors. Smash their cliques, arrest their backers, shut the gate, deprive them of all hope of support, and the nation will be free of tigers. Be immeasurably great, be unfathomably deep; make certain that names and results tally, examine laws and customs, punish those who act willfully, and the state will be without traitors.

The ruler of men stands in danger of being blocked in five ways. When the ministers shut out their ruler, this is one kind of block. When they get control of the wealth and resources of the state, this is a second kind of block. When they are free to issue orders as they please, this is a third kind.

[4] On the two handles of government—punishment and favor—see below, sec. 7.

When they are able to do righteous deeds in their own name, this is a fourth kind. When they are able to build up their own cliques, this is a fifth kind. If the ministers shut out the ruler, then he loses the effectiveness of his position. If they control wealth and resources, he loses the means of dispensing bounty to others. If they issue orders as they please, he loses the means of command. If they are able to carry out righteous deeds in their own name, he loses his claim to enlightenment. And if they can build up cliques of their own, he loses his supporters. All these are rights that should be exercised by the ruler alone; they should never pass into the hands of his ministers.

The way of the ruler of men is to treasure stillness and reserve. Without handling affairs himself, he can recognize clumsiness or skill in others; without laying plans of his own, he knows what will bring fortune or misfortune. Hence he need speak no word, but good answers will be given him; he need exact no promises, but good works will increase. When proposals have been brought before him, he takes careful note of their content; when undertakings are well on their way, he takes careful note of the result; and from the degree to which proposals and results tally, rewards and punishments are born. Thus the ruler assigns undertakings to his various ministers on the basis of the words they speak, and assesses their accomplishments according to the way they have carried out the undertaking. When accomplishments match the undertaking, and the undertaking matches what was said about it, then he rewards the man; when these things do not match, he punishes the man. It is the way of the enlightened ruler never to allow[5] his ministers to speak words that cannot be matched by results.

[5] Supplying *te* before *ch'en*.

The enlightened ruler in bestowing rewards is as benign as the seasonable rain; the dew of his bounty profits all men. But in doling out punishment he is as terrible as the thunder; even the holy sages cannot assuage him. The enlightened ruler is never overliberal in his rewards, never overlenient in his punishments. If his rewards are too liberal, then ministers who have won merit in the past will grow lax in their duties; and if his punishments are too lenient, then evil ministers will find it easy to do wrong. Thus if a man has truly won merit, no matter how humble and far removed he may be, he must be rewarded; and if he has truly committed error, no matter how close and dear to the ruler he may be, he must be punished. If those who are humble and far removed can be sure of reward,[6] and those close and dear to the ruler can be sure of punishment, then the former will not stint in their efforts and the latter will not grow proud.

[6] This first clause has dropped out of the text but can be restored from a quotation preserved elsewhere.

WIELDING POWER [1]

(SECTION 8)

Both Heaven [Nature] and man have their fixed destinies. Fragrant aromas and delicate flavors, rich wine and fat meat delight the palate but sicken the body. Fair lineaments and pearly teeth warm the heart but waste the spirit. Therefore renounce riot and excess, for only then can you keep your health unharmed.

Do not let your power be seen; be blank and actionless. Government reaches to the four quarters, but its source is in the center. The sage holds to the source and the four quarters come to serve him. In emptiness he awaits them, and they spontaneously do what is needed. When all within the four seas have been put in their proper places, he sits in darkness to observe the light. When those to his left and right have taken their places, he opens the gate to face the world. He changes nothing, alters nothing, but acts with the two handles of reward and punishment, acts and never ceases: this is what is called walking the path of principle.

Things have their proper place, talents their proper use. When all are in their proper place, then superior and inferior may be free from action. Let the cock herald the dawn, let the cat catch rats. When each exercises his ability, the ruler need do nothing. If the ruler tries to excel, then nothing will go

[1] In this chapter, Han Fei Tzu borrows the laconic language of Taoist quietism to express his political philosophy, using short, neatly balanced phrases with frequent end rhymes. Because of the deliberately arcane mode of expression he employs, commentators disagree at many points on exactly what he is saying.

right. If he boasts of an eye for the abilities of others, he will invite deceit among his subordinates. If he is lenient and fond of sparing lives, his subordinates will impose upon his kind nature. If superior and inferior try to change roles, the state will never be ordered.

Use the single Way and make names the head of it. When names are correct, things stay in place; when names are twisted, things shift about. Hence the sage holds to unity in stillness; he lets names define themselves and affairs reach their own settlement. He does not reveal his nature, and his subordinates are open and upright. He assigns them tasks according to their ability and lets them settle[2] things for themselves; he hands out rewards according to the results and lets them raise their own station. He establishes the standard, abides by it, and lets all things settle themselves. On the basis of names he makes his appointments, and where the name is not clear, he looks to the actual achievement it applies to. According to how achievement and name tally, he dispenses the reward or punishment deserved. When rewards and punishments are certain to be handed out, then subordinates will bare their true nature.

Attend diligently to these matters, await the decree of Heaven, do not lose hold of the vital point, and you may become a sage. Discard wisdom and wile, for, if you do not, you will find it hard to remain constant. When the people use wisdom and wile, they bring grave danger to themselves; when the ruler uses them, his state faces peril and destruction. Follow the way of Heaven, reflect on the principle behind human affairs; investigate, examine, and compare these things, and when you come to the end, begin again. Be empty, quiet, and retiring; never put yourself forward. All the worries of

[2] Reading *ting* instead of *shih*.

the ruler come about because he tries to be like others. Trust others but never be like them, and then the myriad people will follow you as one man.

The Way is vast and great and without form; its Power is clear and orderly and extends everywhere. Since it extends to all living beings, they may use it proportionately; but, though all things flourish through it, it does not rest among things. The Way pervades all affairs here below. Therefore examine and obey the decrees of Heaven[3] and live and die at the right time; compare names, differentiate events, comprehend their unity, and identify yourself with the Way's true nature.

Thus it is said: The Way does not identify itself with the myriad beings; its Power does not identify itself with the yin and yang, any more than a scale identifies itself with heaviness or lightness, a plumb line with bumps and hollows, a reed organ with dampness or dryness,[4] or a ruler with his ministers. All these [the myriad beings, the yin and yang, heaviness and lightness, etc.] are products of the Way; but the Way itself is never plural—therefore it is called a unity. For this reason the enlightened ruler prizes solitariness, which is the characteristic of the Way. The ruler and his ministers do not follow the same way. The ministers name their proposals, the ruler holds fast to the name, and the ministers come forward with results. When names and results match, then superior and inferior will achieve harmony.

The way to listen to the words of the ministers is to take the statements that come from them and compare them with the powers that have been invested in them. Therefore you must

[3] Reading *t'ien* instead of *erh*. In Taoist terminology, Heaven is synonymous with the Way, or Tao.

[4] A kind of reed musical instrument whose pitch was said to remain unaffected by changes of humidity; it could therefore be used to set the pitch for other instruments.

examine names carefully in order to establish ranks, clarify duties in order to distinguish worth. This is the way to listen to the words of others: be silent as though in a drunken stupor. Say to yourself: Lips! teeth! do not be the first to move; lips! teeth! be thicker, be clumsier than ever! Let others say their piece—I will gain knowledge thereby.

Though right and wrong swarm about him, the ruler does not argue with them. Be empty, still, inactive, for this is the true nature of the Way. Study, compare, and see what matches, for this will reveal how much has been accomplished. Compare with concrete results; check against empty assertions. Where the root and base of the affair are unshaken, there will be no error in movement or stillness. Whether you move or remain still, transform all though inaction. If you show delight, your affairs will multiply; if you show hatred, resentment will be born. Therefore discard both delight and hatred and with an empty mind become the abode of the Way.

The ruler does not try to work side by side with his people, and they accordingly respect the dignity of his position. He does not try to tell others what to do, but leaves them to do things by themselves. Tightly he bars his inner door, and from his room looks out into the courtyard; he has provided the rules and yardsticks, so that all things know their place.[5] Those who merit reward are rewarded; those who deserve punishment are punished. Reward and punishment follow the deed; each man brings them upon himself. Therefore, whether the result is pleasant or hateful, who dares to question it? When compass and rule have marked out one corner of truth, the other three corners will become evident of themselves.

If the ruler is not godlike in his isolation, his subordinates

[5] Omitting *ts'an* and reading *chih* (to know) in place of the present *chih*.

will find ways to move him. If his management of affairs is not impartial, they will guess at his inclinations. Be like Heaven, be like earth, and all coils will be untangled. Be like Heaven, be like earth; then who will be close to you, who will be distant? He who can model himself on Heaven and earth may be called a sage.

Would you order the affairs of the palace? Delegate them and be intimate with no one. Would you order outside affairs? Appoint one man to each office. Let no one do as he pleases, and never permit men to change office or to hold two offices at the same time. Take warning when there are many men gathered at the gates of the high ministers! The height of good government is to allow your subordinates no means of taking advantage of you. Make certain that name and result match, and then the people will stick to their posts. If you discard this and look for some other method to rule, you will win the name of one who is profoundly deluded; wily men will only increase, and evil ministers fill your ranks. Hence it is said: Never enrich a man to the point where he can afford to turn against you;[6] never ennoble a man to the point where he becomes a threat; never put all your trust in a single man and thereby lose your state.

When the shin grows stouter than the thigh, it is hard to run; when the ruler loses his godlike qualities, tigers prowl behind him. If the ruler fails to take notice of them, then he and his ministers, who should be tigers themselves, become as impotent as dogs. If the ruler fails to check the danger, then the dogs will continue to increase in number; the tigers will form a band and assassinate their master. A ruler who has no ministers—how can he keep possession of a state? Let the ruler apply the laws, and the greatest tigers will tremble; let

[6] Reading *erh* instead of *tai*.

him apply punishments, and the greatest tigers will grow docile. If laws and punishments are justly applied, then tigers will be transformed into men again and revert to their true form.[7]

If you wish to govern the state, you must make certain to destroy conclaves; if you do not do so, they will only grow more numerous. If you wish to govern the land, you must make certain that your bestowals pass into the right hands; if you do not do so, then unruly men will come seeking gain. If you grant what they seek, you will be lending a battle-ax to your enemies; this you must not do, for it will only be used against you.

The Yellow Emperor used to say, "Superior and inferior fight a hundred battles a day." The subordinates hide their private desires and see what they can get from the ruler; the ruler employs his standards and measures to weigh what they are up to. Thus the standards and measures that are set up are the ruler's treasures; and the parties and cliques that are formed are the ministers' treasures. The only reason the ministers do not assassinate their sovereign is that their parties and cliques are not strong enough. Hence, if the ruler loses an inch, his subordinates gain a yard.

The ruler who knows how to govern his state does not let his cities grow too large; the ruler who understands the Way does not enrich the powerful families[8] nor ennoble his ministers. Were he to enrich and ennoble them, they would turn about and try to overthrow him. Guard against danger, fear peril, make haste to designate your heir, and misfortune will have no means to arise.

[7] There are various theories on the symbolic meaning of the tigers and dogs in this paragraph, depending upon which the interpretation of the passage differs considerably. I have followed that of T'ao Hung-ch'ing.

[8] Reading *chün* instead of *ch'en* and *fu* instead of *kuei*.

In ferreting out evil within the palace and controlling it outside, you yourself must hold fast to your standards and measurements. Whittle away from those who have too much, enhance those who have too little, but let the taking and the giving be according to measure. Never allow men to form cliques or join together to deceive their superiors. Let your whittling be as gradual as the slimming moon, your enhancing like a slow-spreading heat. Simplify the laws and be cautious in the use of penalties but, where punishments are called for, make certain they are carried out. Never loosen your bow, or you will find two cocks in a single roost, squawking in fierce rivalry. When wildcat and wolf break into the fold, the sheep are not likely to increase. When one house has two venerables, its affairs will never prosper. When husband and wife both give orders, the children are at a loss to know which one to obey.

The ruler of men must prune his trees from time to time and not let them grow too thick for, if they do, they will block his gate; while the gates of private men are crowded with visitors, the ruler's courts will stand empty, and he will be shut in and encircled. He must prune his trees from time to time and not let them obstruct the path for, if they do, they will impinge upon his dwelling. He must prune his trees from time to time and not let the branches grow larger than the trunk for, if they do, they will not be able to bear up under the spring wind, and will do injury to the heart of the tree. When cadet houses become too numerous, the royal family will face anxiety and grief. The way to prevent this is to prune your trees from time to time and not let the branches grow too luxurious. If the trees are pruned from time to time, cliques and parties will be broken up. Dig them up from the roots, and then the trees cannot spread. Fill up the pools, and

do not let water collect in them.[9] Search out the hearts of others, seize their power from them. The ruler himself should possess the power, wielding it like lightning or like thunder.

[9] Omitting *hsiung* and reading *yen* for *ch'ing* in accordance with the suggestion of Ch'en Ch'i-yu. The language of these last two paragraphs is so extravagantly metaphorical that it presents difficulties of interpretation at numerous points.

BOOK IA

[1A1] Mencius met with King Hui of Liang.[1]

The king said, "Venerable sir, you have not considered a thousand *li*[2] too far to come. Surely you have some means to profit our state?"

Mencius replied: "Why must the king speak of profit? I have only [teachings concerning] humaneness and rightness. If the king says, 'How can I profit my state?' the officers will say, 'How can I profit my house?' and the gentlemen and the common people will say, 'How can I profit myself?' Those above and those below will compete with one another for profit, and the state will be imperiled. One who murders the ruler over a state of ten thousand chariots surely will be from a house of a thousand chariots; one who murders the ruler over a state of a thousand chariots surely will be from a house of a hundred chariots.[3] A share of a thousand in ten thousand or a hundred in a thousand is hardly negligible; yet, when rightness is subordinated to profit the urge to lay claim to more becomes irresistible. It has never happened that one given to humaneness abandons his parents, nor that one given to rightness subordinates the interests of his lord. Let the king speak only of humaneness and rightness. What need has he to speak of profit?"

[1A2] Mencius went to see King Hui of Liang. As he stood overlooking a pond, watching the geese and the deer, the king asked, "Do the virtuous also enjoy such things?"

1. King Hui of Liang was known during his lifetime as Marquis Ying of Wei, or, after moving his capital to Daliang, in 361, as Marquis Ying of Liang. Having ruled from 370 to 319 B.C.E., he became known posthumously as King Hui of Liang.

2. A *li* 里 is a unit of linear measure equal to around a third of a mile.

3. The chariot was used for military purposes and therefore the importance of a state was measured in terms of the number of chariots it possessed and could field.

Mencius replied, "Only the virtuous [truly] are able to enjoy these things. Those who are not virtuous, although they might have such things, cannot [truly] enjoy them.[4] The ode says,

He began by measuring the spirit tower,
He measured it and planned it.
The common people worked on it,
Finishing before a day was out.
In beginning to measure he urged against haste,
Yet the people came as if they were his children.
The king was in the spirit park,
The doe lying down,
The doe glistening,
The white bird glittering.
The king was by his spirit pond,
How full it was with dancing fish![5]

"King Wen used the strength of the people to build his tower and his pond, and the people found their delight and their joy in it. They called his tower 'the spirit tower' and his pond 'the spirit pond' and found joy in his having deer, and birds, and turtles. The ancients shared their joys with the people and it was this that enabled them to feel joy.

" 'The Declaration of Tang' says,

O sun, when will you perish?
We will die along with you.[6]

4. As Mencius will go on to argue, only a virtuous person can enjoy such things with others and thereby enjoy them fully. He also invokes the idea, seen in texts like the *Xunzi*, that a ruler who does not share his joy with his people cannot remain secure in his enjoyment of such pleasures.

5. Ode 242. See James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 5 vols. (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1970), 4:456–57. The ode refers, as Legge puts it, to "the joy of the people in the growing opulence and dignity of King Wen."

6. From the *Classic of Documents*, in Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:175. The passage refers to the people's desire for the death of Jie, known as the "bad last ruler" of the Xia dynasty. The apparent meaning is that the people were so anxious to see Jie's death that they were willing to die themselves if this would ensure his death as well.

"If the people wished to die along with him, although he had a tower and pond, how could he enjoy them alone?"

[1A3] King Hui of Liang said, "I, this solitary man,[7] devotes his entire mind to the state. When the year is bad within the river, I transfer people to the east of the river and transfer grain to the area within the river. When the year is bad to the east of the river, again, I act accordingly. Look into the governments of neighboring states: there is no one as mindful as I, and yet people in the neighboring states do not decrease, nor do my people increase. Why should this be?"

Mencius said, "The king is fond of war; so please allow an analogy that derives from war. Drums rumbling, the soldiers having crossed weapons, some then flee, abandoning their armor and trailing their weapons behind them. Some stop after a hundred paces and some after fifty paces. How would it be if those who ran only fifty paces were to laugh at those who ran a hundred paces?"

The king said, "That would not do. It was only that they did not run a hundred paces, that is all. But they ran just the same."

Mencius said, "If the king understands this, there is no reason to expect the people to be more numerous than they are in neighboring states. If the agricultural seasons are not interfered with, there will be more grain than can be eaten. If close-meshed nets are not allowed in the pools and ponds, there will be more fish and turtles than can be eaten. And if axes are allowed in the mountains and forests only in the appropriate seasons, there will be more timber than can be used. When grain, fish, and turtles are more than can be eaten, and timber is more than can be used, this will mean that the people can nourish their lives, bury their dead, and be without rancor. Making it possible for them to nourish their lives, bury their dead, and be without rancor is the beginning of kingly government.

"Let mulberry trees be planted around households of five *mu*,[8] and people of fifty will be able to be clothed in silk. In the raising of chickens,

7. The Chinese term *gua ren* 寡人 (literally, lonely or friendless person) was one used by rulers to speak of themselves. It implies a sense (or pretense) of self-depreciation. Hereafter, it will be translated simply as "I."

8. A *mu* 畝 is a measure of area; 6.6 *mu* equal 1 acre.

pigs, dogs, and swine, do not neglect the appropriate breeding times, and people of seventy will be able to eat meat. With fields of a hundred *mu* do not interfere with the appropriate seasons of cultivation, and families with several mouths to feed will be able to avoid hunger. Attend carefully to the education provided in the schools,[9] which should include instruction in the duty of filial and fraternal devotion, and gray-haired people will not be seen carrying burdens on the roads. The ruler of a state in which people of seventy wear silk and eat meat and where the black-haired people are neither hungry nor cold has never failed to become a true king.[10]

"The king's dogs and pigs eat food intended for human beings and he does not know enough to prohibit this. On the roads there are people dying of starvation, and he does not know enough to distribute food. People die, and he says, 'It was not I; it was the year.' How is this different from killing a person by stabbing him and then saying, 'It was not I; it was the weapon'? When the king ceases to place the blame on the year, then the people of the world will come to him."

[1A4] King Hui of Liang said, "I would like a quiet moment in which to receive your instruction."

Mencius replied, saying, "Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick or killing him with a blade?"

He said, "There is no difference."

"And if it were done with a blade or through government, would there be any difference?"

He said, "There is no difference."

Mencius said, "In your kitchen, there is fat meat, and in your stables fat horses. Yet the people have a hungry look, and out beyond, in the more wild regions, lie the bodies of those who have died of starvation. This is to lead animals to devour people.[11] Now, animals devour

9. Mencius here mentions two kinds of schools, the *xiang* 庠 and the *xu* 序. In 3A3, he refers to these and several more, explaining that *xiang* was a Zhou term, while *xu* was a term used in the Yin or Shang dynasty.

10. That is to say, one who attracts loyal subjects to him and thereby unifies the empire.

11. In 3B9, the preceding three sentences are attributed to Gongming Yi, identified by Zheng Xuan in his commentary on the "Jiyi" chapter of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) as a disciple of Zengzi.

one another, and people hate this about them. If one governs as father and mother of the people and yet is not deterred from leading animals to devour people, in what sense is he father and mother of the people? Confucius said, 'The one who first made grave figures—was he not without posterity?'[12] This was because he made human images for such a use. How then should it be with one who causes his people to die of starvation?"

[1A5] King Hui of Liang said, "Under Heaven there was no state stronger than Jin,[13] as you, venerable sir, are aware. But when it came to my reign, Jin was defeated by Qi in the east, and my oldest son died there. In the west seven hundred *li* were lost to Qin, while in the south we were humiliated by Chu.[14] Having incurred such shame, I wish, for the sake of the departed, to expunge it. How may this be done?"

Mencius replied, "With a territory of no more than one hundred *li*, one can become a true king. If the king bestows humane government on the people, reduces punishments, and lightens taxes, causing the plowing to be deep and the weeding thorough, the strong will be able to use their leisure time to cultivate filiality and brotherliness. Within the home they will serve their fathers and brothers; outside they will serve their elders and superiors. They can then be made to take up sticks and overcome the strong armor and the sharp weapons of Qin and Chu.

"Those other rulers lay claim to the time of their people, so that they are unable to plow or to weed and thus to nourish their parents. Their parents then suffer from cold and hunger; older and younger brothers are parted; wives and children are separated. These rulers bury their people and drown them. Were you to go and punish them, who would

12. These were wooden images in human form used in burials in the belief that they could perform service for the deceased. This, though, reinforces the deeply inhumane idea and encourages the practice of human sacrifices to the dead.

13. In the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., the state of Jin was divided up among the ruling families of Han, Zhao, and Wei and became known as the three Jin. King Hui is here referring to his state of Wei.

14. The chain of events referred to by King Hui began when Jin attacked Han and Han called for help from Qi.

oppose you?[15] Therefore, it may be said that the humane man has no enemy. May it please the king to have no doubt about this."[16]

[1A6] Mencius saw King Xiang of Liang.[17] On emerging he said to someone, "Seeing him from a distance, he does not appear to be a ruler of men; approaching him, one sees nothing imposing about him. He abruptly asked, 'How can the empire be settled?'

"I replied: 'It can be settled through unity.'

" 'Who is able to unite it?'

"I replied: 'One who is not fond of killing people can unite it.'

" 'Who can give it to him?'

"I replied: 'There is no one in the empire who will deny it to him. Does the king know the way of seedlings? If there is drought in the seventh or eighth month, the seedlings dry out. But when dense clouds gather in the sky and the rain falls in torrents the plants spring up and are revived. When this happens, who can stop them? Now, among the herders of men in the world there is none who is not fond of killing people. If there were one who was not fond of killing people, the people of the empire would crane their necks to look for him. If this were truly to happen, the people would return to him like water flowing downward, torrentially—who could stop them?' "

[1A7] King Xuan of Qi[18] asked, "Would it be possible to hear about the affairs of Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Jin?"[19]

15. The word translated "punish" here is *zheng* 征, which has the special connotation of a justified military campaign carried out by a legitimate authority. Compare 1B11, 7B2, and 7B4.

16. For Mencius's judgment of King Hui, see 7B1.

17. The successor to King Hui, he ruled from 318 to 296 B.C.E.

18. King Xuan ruled in the powerful state of Qi from 319 to 301 B.C.E.

19. Duke Huan of Qi (r. 685–643 B.C.E.), one of the most powerful feudal lords of the seventh century, was considered the first of the "Five Hegemons," and Duke Wen of Jin (r. 636–628 B.C.E.) was considered the second. Mencius's statement in the ensuing passage that he has "heard nothing about" these hegemons is not to be taken literally. The reputation of neither ruler was entirely negative, but Mencius is making the point here that he prefers to talk about true kings (*wang* 王) rather than lord-protectors or hegemons (*ba* 霸), whose claim to rule was believed by Confucians to be, morally speaking, more ambiguous.

Mencius replied, "The followers of Confucius did not speak of the affairs of Huan and Wen, and thus nothing about them has been transmitted to later generations. Not having heard, and having nothing to say on that matter, how would it be if I were to speak about being a true king?"

The king said, "What must one's Virtue be like in order to become a true king?"[20]

Mencius said, "One who protects the people becomes a true king, and no one is able to stop him."

"Could someone like me protect the people?"

"He could."

"How do you know that I could?"

"I have heard Hu He say that while the king was seated in the upper part of the hall someone led an ox past the hall below [in the courtyard]. On seeing this, the king asked where the ox was going and was told that it was being taken to serve as a blood sacrifice in the consecration of a bell. The king said, 'Spare it. I cannot bear its trembling, like one who, though blameless, is being led to the execution ground.' Asked whether in that case the consecration of the bell should be dispensed with, the king said, 'How can it be dispensed with? Substitute a sheep instead.' Did this actually happen?"

"It did."

Mencius said, "With such a mind[21] one has what it takes to become a true king. Though the people all thought it was because the king grudged the ox, I know it was surely because the king could not bear to see its suffering."

The king said, "That is so. The people must truly have thought this, but, although the state of Qi is small and narrow, how could I grudge a single ox? It was because I could not bear its trembling—like one who,

20. The word translated "Virtue" here is *de* 德. It connotes the moral quality of a person's character—good or bad. One with abundant, good Virtue enjoys a kind of moral charisma, which attracts and secures the support of others. For a study of this notion in early Chinese philosophy, see David S. Nivison, "'Virtue' in Bronze and Bone" and "The Paradox of 'Virtue,'" both in *The Ways of Confucianism: Investigations in Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Bryan W. Van Norden, 17–43 (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1996).

21. In speaking of "such a mind," Mencius is obviously referring not to the king's intellective or rational abilities but to his capacity for empathy.

though blameless, was being led to the execution ground—that I had a sheep substituted instead."

Mencius said, "The king should not think it strange that the people assumed that he grudged the ox. How could they know why he substituted the smaller creature for the larger one? If the king had been grieved over its being led, blameless, to the execution ground, then what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep?"

The king smiled and said, "What kind of mind was this, after all? It was not that I grudged the expense, yet I did exchange the ox for a sheep. No wonder the people said that I grudged it."

Mencius said, "There is no harm in this. This was after all the working of humaneness—a matter of having seen the ox but not the sheep. This is the way of the noble person in regard to animals: if he sees them alive, then he cannot bear to see them die, and if he hears their cries, then he cannot bear to eat their flesh. And so the noble person stays far away from the kitchen."

The king was pleased and said, "When the ode says, 'What other people have in their minds, I measure by reflection,'[22] it is speaking about someone like you. When I tried reflecting, going back and seeking my motive, I was unable to grasp my own mind. Yet when you spoke of it, my mind experienced a kind of stirring. How is it that this mind of mine accords with that of a true king?"

Mencius replied, "Suppose someone were to report to the king, saying, 'My strength, while sufficient to lift a hundred *jun*, is not sufficient to lift a feather.[23] My sight, while sufficient to scrutinize the tip of an autumn hair, is not sufficient to see a cartload of firewood.' Would the king accept this?"

"No," he said.

"How do these examples differ from the case of kindness sufficient to extend to animals yet without its benefits reaching the people? Not lifting a feather is the result of not exerting one's strength to do so; not seeing a cartload of firewood is the result of not employing his eyesight on it. That the people are not protected is because one does not exercise

22 Ode 198. Translation adapted from Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 4:342.

23. A *jun* 鈞 was a traditional measure of weight, around 30 catties, or 40 pounds.

kindness toward them. Therefore, that the king is not a true king is because he does not do it; it is not because he is unable to do it."

The king asked, "How can one distinguish between 'not doing something' and 'not being able to do it'?"[24]

Mencius said, "If it were a matter of taking Mount Tai under one's arm and jumping over the North Sea with it, and one were to tell people, 'I am unable to do it,' this would truly be a case of being unable to do it. If it is a matter of bowing respectfully to an elder, and one tells people, 'I am unable to do it,' this is a case of not doing it rather than a case of being unable to do it.[25] And so the king's failure to be a true king is not in the category of taking Mount Tai under one's arm and jumping over the North Sea with it; his failure to be a true king is in the category of not bowing respectfully to an elder. By treating the elders in one's own family as elders should be treated and extending this to the elders of other families, and by treating the young of one's own family as the young ought to be treated and extending this to the young of other people's families, the empire can be turned around on the palm of one's hand.[26] The ode says,

> He set an example for his wife;
> It extended to his brothers,
> And from there to the family of the state.[27]

"This ode simply speaks of taking this mind and extending it to others. Thus, if one extends his kindness it will be enough to protect

24. For a discussion of the issue raised in this and other passages in *Mencius* concerning the difference between not doing something and not being able to do it, see David S. Nivison, "Mengzi: Just Not Doing It," in *Essays on the Moral Philosophy of Mengzi*, ed. Xiusheng Liu and Philip J. Ivanhoe, 132–42 (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2002).

25. The interpretation of this line is influenced by the very helpful comments of Yang Bojun (Yang Bojun, 楊伯峻, *Mengzi yizhu* 孟子譯注 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960], 24, n. 24).

26. What Mencius means by "extension" is a matter that has generated considerable scholarly debate. For a review of this literature, see Philip J. Ivanhoe, "Confucian Self-Cultivation and Mengzi's Notion of Extension," in *Essays on the Moral Philosophy of Mengzi*, 221–41.

27. Ode 240 is a poem about the morally influential mother of King Wen. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 4:446–48.

all within the four seas, whereas if one fails to extend it, he will have no way to protect his wife and children.[28] The reason the ancients so greatly surpassed most people was nothing other than this: they were good at extending what they did. Now, your kindness is sufficient to extend to the animals but the benefits do not reach the people. Why do you make an exception in the case [of the people]?

"It is by weighing that we know which things are light and which are heavy, and by measuring that we know which are long and which are short. This is true of all things, and especially so with regard to the mind. May it please the king to measure his mind. When the king raises arms, endangers his subjects, and excites the enmity of the other feudal lords—does this perhaps bring pleasure to his mind?"

The king replied, "No. How could I take pleasure from this? It is just that I seek to realize what I greatly desire."

"May I hear about what it is that the king greatly desires?"

The king smiled and did not speak.

Mencius said, "Is it that the king does not have enough rich and sweet foods to satisfy his mouth? Or enough light and warm clothing for his body? Or enough beautiful colors for his eyes to gaze upon, or enough sounds for his ears to listen to? Is it that he does not have servants enough to come before him and receive orders? The king's ministers are sufficient to provide for all of this. How could the king's desire be for any of these things?"

He said, "No, it is none of these."

Mencius said, "Then what the king greatly desires can be known. His desire is to expand his territory, to bring Qin and Chu into his court, to rule the Central Kingdom, and to pacify the four Yi.[29] But to pursue such a desire by acting in the way you do is like climbing a tree in search of a fish."

The king said, "Is it as bad as *that*?"

"It is even *worse*. When one climbs a tree in search of a fish, though one gets no fish, no disaster will ensue. But if one acts in the way you do in pursuit of what you desire, and devotes the full strength of his mind to such endeavor, disaster is bound to ensue."

28. Mencius makes a similar claim in 2A6.

29. The four Yi were non-Chinese peoples.

"May I hear about this?"

"If the people of Zou were to go to war with the people of Chu, who, in the king's opinion, would win?"

"The people of Chu would win."

"Thus the small definitely cannot contend with the large, the few definitely cannot contend with the many, and the weak definitely cannot contend with the strong. Within the seas, there are nine territories of a thousand leagues square, and Qi is only one of them. What difference is there between one part attacking the other eight and Zou contending with Chu? Why not rather return to the root of the matter? If the king were to institute a government that dispensed humaneness, he would make all the officers in the world wish to stand in his court, all the tillers wish to till his fields, all the merchants wish to entrust their goods to his marketplaces, and all travelers wish to journey upon his roads. All those in the world who have grievances to express against their rulers would wish to lay their complaints before him. If you could bring this to pass, who could stop you from becoming a true king?

The king said, "I am unintelligent and incapable of following this advice. I should like you to assist my will and be clear in giving me instruction, so that, while not clever, I may endeavor to carry it out."

"It is only a gentleman who will be able to have a constant mind despite being without a constant means of livelihood. The people, lacking a constant means of livelihood, will lack constant minds, and when they lack constant minds there is no dissoluteness, depravity, deviance, or excess to which they will not succumb. If, once they have sunk into crime, one responds by subjecting them to punishment—this is to entrap the people. With a person of humanity in a position of authority, how could the entrapment of the people be allowed to occur?[30] Therefore, an enlightened ruler will regulate the people's livelihood so as to ensure that, above, they have enough to serve their parents and, below, they have enough to support their wives and children. In years of prosperity they always have enough to eat; in years of dearth they are able to escape starvation. Only then does he urge the people toward goodness; accordingly, they find it easy to comply.

30. Mencius is recorded, in 3A3, as saying the same thing, in almost exactly the same words, to Duke Wen of Teng.

"At present, the regulation of the people's livelihood is such that, above, they do not have enough to serve their parents and, below, they do not have enough to support wives and children. Even in years of prosperity their lives are bitter, while in years of dearth they are unable to escape starvation. Under these circumstances they only try to save themselves from death, fearful that they will not succeed. How could they spare the time for the practice of rites and rightness?

"If the king wishes to put this into practice, he should return to the root of the matter.[31] Let mulberry trees be planted around households of five *mu*, and people of fifty will be able to be clothed in silk. In the raising of chickens, pigs, dogs, and swine, do not neglect the appropriate breeding times, and people of seventy will be able to eat meat. With fields of a hundred *mu*, do not interfere with the appropriate seasons of cultivation, and families with eight mouths to feed will be able to avoid hunger. Attend carefully to the education provided in the schools, which should include instruction in the duty of filial and fraternal devotion, and gray-haired people will not be seen carrying burdens on the roads. The ruler of a state in which people of seventy wear silk and eat meat and where the black-haired people are neither hungry nor cold has never failed to become a true king.

31. What Mencius describes here as returning to "the root of the matter," or to what is fundamental, repeats almost exactly what he said, in 1A3, to King Hui of Liang.

Lecture 24

Olcott, “Ancient Lyric Poetry and Poets”

Introduction: Ancient Lyric Poetry

Marianina Olcott

Ancient lyric poetry, as its name in Greek implies, was originally intended to be accompanied, usually, by the lyre, a stringed instrument shaped like a small harp. Unlike the stately dactylic hexameters of the Homeric epics, the the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* the meters of lyric poetry are more varied and thus well-suited to the more personal themes and intimate psychological states of the short lyric stanza. Thus, the majority of our poems celebrate themes of every day life — love poems, drinking songs , songs of farewell, odes to spring — rather than the heroic exploits of the epics and the tragic situations of the drama, another complex poetic form. As with other poetic forms, the original musical accompaniment, in addition to the complex metrical patterns of the original Greek and Latin lyrics, is but a small part of what has been lost both through time and translation into a modern language. Moreover, many of the longer lyric poems were meant for choral performance. Thus, another dimension, that of the dance, has also been lost to us.

The so-called Age of Lyric Poetry in Greece followed the period of Homeric composition, but unlike the Homeric epic, the period of lyric poetry's creative growth, the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, coincided with the widespread adoption and use of writing in Greece. Thus, the Greek lyric poems were written down and spread the fame of their composers throughout Greece of the Archaic Period (circa 650 - 500 BCE).

When we turn our attention to Roman lyric poetry, it is generally agreed that the period of its greatness dates from the first century BCE to the end of the first century CE. But, with this body of literature, we note a very different development from that of the Greeks, for Roman lyrics are almost entirely derivative — i.e., the Romans adopted Greek lyric forms and themes in blatant imitation of their Greek models, though frequently with a new twist. Thus, in the much abbreviated selection of Greek and Latin lyrics which follows, the guiding principle in selection has been to choose a Roman poem and, whenever possible, to include the Greek model upon which, in part or in whole, it has been based. In addition, frequently, ancient lyrics have inspired great poets of the English Language. Thus, whenever possible, their translations have been included rather than those of academic translators whose renditions, though accurate, can never equal the original.

(Most of the poems which follow are selected from the collections found in the Oxford books of Greek and Latin poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), and noted as OBGV *(Oxford Book of Greek Verse)* and OBLV *(Oxford Book of Latin Verse).*

Ancient Lyric Poets: Greek and Roman

Alcaeus: Greek poet from Mytilene on Lesbos; born circa 620 BCE.
Sappho: Greek poetess also from Lesbos; born circa 612 BCE.
Anacreon: Greek poet from Teos; born circa 570 BCE.
Asclepiades: Greek poet, prominent at Alexandria; flourished circa 270 BCE.
Horace: Roman poet, friend of Vergil and Augustus; son of a freed slave; 65-8 BCE.
Catullus: Roman poet; knew Cicero; 84-54 BCE.

Sappho: OBGV 156

The moon amid the Pleiades has set-
Midnight—now the hour comes
And I dream on alone.

Sappho: OBGV 142

Stars around the moon
Will hide its glowing light;
But seen full-moon
Sheds silver even on the earth below.

Sappho: OBGV 150

To what ,beloved husband, shall I best compare you ?
To a slender willow will I most compare you. —M.O.

Sappho: OBGV 155

The nightingale, of spring the angel, voice of yearning.

Sappho: OBGV 141 (Compare Catullus: Carmen 51)

Blessed among the blessed
Who sits beside and shares sweet whispers.
You laugh
And startled flies my heart
Caged within the quiet of a glance.
You speak
And I am nothing
But a light flame skimming through my body.
I see nothing,
Blind face bathed in silence;
I hear nothing but a slow trembling.
Then like pale winter grass,
Wind-blown, scattered,
I know what death is. —M.O.

Catullus: Carmen 51

He seems to me equal
And more than equal to the gods
Who sits near you,
Hearing you
Seeing you.
You laugh sweetly, I am numb;
I see you, Lesbia, and I have no voice.
Just a thin flame spreads
Over my limbs.
My ears ring.
My eyes are shod with night.

Day dreaming is bad for you, Catullus, and you do it too much.
Daydreams ruined kings
And kingdoms
Once crowned with dreams and bright garlands,
Now gone. —M.O.

Alcaeus: OBGV 136

Sappho, like a willow gently smiling
In a wreath of violets.

Alcaeus: OBGV 135 (Compare Horace: Odes 1.9)

Zeus thunders from a stormy sky;
The streams are iced.

Damn the storm and stoke the fire.
Bring on lots more honeyed wine.
Wreathe your head with crowns of wool;
Don't think about your sorrows now.
That won't get us anywhere.
Wine's the medicine for sadness, now.
Yes, wine and drinking it.

Horace: Odes 1.9, v. 1-20.

Do you see there
How Soracte stands with snow?
The forest stoops beneath its load
And iced, the streams stand still
Get a log to chase the cold;
Bring down a jug of vintage wine. Let the gods worry about the world Outside
Then the winds may cease;
The cypress and ash will rest;
Stop worrying about tomorrow.
Count each day a gift.
Don't forget love and all the fun of youth—
Night-time chats in moonlit spaces
Now while cranky age is far away.... —M.O.

Asclepiades: OBGV 529

I don't care if I'm twenty-two; I'm tired.
Love, you're too painful. Go burn someone else.
What happens if I die? What'll you do?
Without a tear for me,
You'll go off and gamble with somebody else.

Catullus: Carmen 100

I hate and I love: I bet you're going to ask me why.
I don't know. But, I feel it happening and I am crucified. —M.O.

Anacreon: OBGV 180

Bless you cricket, drunk upon a drop of dew.
How like a lord you sing!
Your kingdom-fields and glowing woods
Bounded by your voice.

We honor you, sweet priest of spring.
The Muses and Apollo blessed your slight, shrill song.

Time will not touch you, wise musician of the earth.
Without our tears, our mortal blood,
You are a god. —M.O.

Alcaeus: OBGV133 (Compare Horace: Odes 1.14)

The quarreling winds perplex me. On this side
One wave rolls up, on
That a different tide,

And the black ship, whereon we sail,
Shifts with the shifting gale.
We are exhausted by the fearful blast:
Round the mast's base the bilge is rising fast.
And all the sail is thin and worn,
With great holes gaping, rent and torn.
—C.M. Bowra

Horace: Odes 1.14. v. 1-2

0 ship, new waves bear you out to sea.
What are you doing! Get back to port.
Can't you see we've lost the oars,
The mast groans; the ropes are loose. The sails are torn

And god seems far away.
M.O.

Catullus: OBLV 86

Lesbia, live to love and pleasure
Careless what the grave may say
When each moment is a treasure
Why should lovers lose a day?

Setting suns shall rise in glory,
But when little life is o'er,
There's an end of all the story—We shall sleep and wake no more.

Give me then, a thousand kisses
Twice ten thousand more bestow
Till the sum of boundless blisses
Neither we nor envy know. —J. Langhorne

Horace: OBLV 125

What slender youth bedewed with liquid odours
Courts thee on roses in some pleasant cave,
Pyrrha, for whom bindst thou

In wreaths thy golden hair,

Plain in thy neatness? 0 how oft shall he
On faith and changed gods complain: and seas
Rough with black winds and storms
Unwonted shall admire:
Who now enjoys thee credulous, all gold,
Who always vacant, always amiable

Hopes thee, of flattering gales
Unmindful. Hapless they
To whom thou untried seem'st fair. Me in my vowed

Picture the sacred wall declares to have hung
My dank and dripping weeds
To the stem god of the sea. —John Milton

Catullus: OBLV 86B

Kiss me, sweet: the wary lover can your favours keep, and cover,
When the common
Courting jay
All your bounties will betray. Kiss again! No creature comes; Kiss, and score up wealthy sums On my lips, thus hardly sundered, While you breathe. First give a hundred,

Then a thousand, then another
Hundred, then unto the t'other
Add a thousand and so more,
Till you equal with the store

All the grass that Rumney yields,
Or the sands in Chelsea fields,
Or the drops in silver Thames,
Or the stars that gild his streams In the silent summer nights

When youth plies its stolen delights:
That the curious may not know
How to tell them as they flow
And the envious, when they find

What their number is, be pined. —Ben Jonson

Horace: OBLV 152 ii

The snow, dissolv' d, no more is seen The fields and woods, behold, are green; The changing year renews the plain. The rivers know their banks again; The sprightly nymph and naked grace The mazy dance together trace; The changing year's successive plan Proclaims mortality to man.

Rough winter's blasts to spring give way, Spring yields to summer's sovran ray; Then summer sinks in autumns reign, And winter holds the world again. Her losses soon the moon supplies, But wretched man, when once he lies Where Priam and his sons are laid, Is naught but ashes and a shade.. ..

—Samuel Johnson

Horace: OBLV 139

The man of firm and noble soul No factious clamours can control: No threatening tyrants darkling brow Can swerve him from his just intent; Gales the warring waves which plough, By auster on the billows spent, To curb the adriatic main

Would awe his fixed determined mind in vain. Ay.and the red right arm of Jove, Hurtling his lightnings from above, With all his terrors there unfurled, He would unmoved, unawed behold. The flames of an expiring world, Again in crushing chaos rolled, In vast promiscuous ruin hurled, Might light his glorious funeral pile, Still dauntless 'mid the wreck of earth he'd

smile. —Lord Byron

Horace: Satire II. 6, 1-8

This was what I prayed for: a small piece o f land With a garden, a fresh flowing spring of water at hand

Near the house, and above and behind, a small forest stand.

But the gods have done much better for me, and more

It's perfect. I ask nothing else, except to implore,

0 son of Maia, that you make these blessings my **own**

For the rest of my life. If my property has not grown

By my making a series of deals, neither will it shrink

By my mismanagement.... —S.P. Bovie

Lecture 25

Polybius, Histories (excerpts)

Livy, History (excerpts)

Polybius: The Histories

Translated by W. R. Paton

From BOOK ONE

HAD previous chroniclers neglected to speak in praise of History in general, it might perhaps have been necessary for me to recommend everyone to choose for study and welcome such treatises as the present, since there is no more ready corrective of conduct than knowledge of the past. But all historians, one may say without exception, and in no half-hearted manner, but making this the beginning and end of their labor, have impressed on us that the soundest education and training for a life of active politics is the study of History, and that the surest and indeed the only method of learning how to bear bravely the vicissitudes of fortune, is to recall the calamities of others. Evidently therefore one, and least of all myself, would think it his duty at this day to repeat what has been so well and so often said. For the very element of unexpectedness in the events I have chosen as my theme will be sufficient to challenge and incite young and old alike to peruse these pages. For who is so worthless or indolent as not to wish to know by what means and under what system of polity the Romans in less than fifty-three years have succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government—a thing unique in history? Or who again is there so passionately devoted to other spectacles or studies as to regard anything as of greater moment than the acquisition of this knowledge?

2. How striking and grand is the spectacle presented by the period with which I purpose to deal, will be most clearly apparent if we set beside and compare with the Roman dominion the most famous empires of the past, those which have formed the chief theme of historians. Those worthy of being thus set beside it and compared are these. The Persians for a certain period possessed a great rule and dominion, but so often as they ventured to overstep the boundaries of Asia they imperiled not only the security of this empire, but their own existence. The Lacedaemonians, after having for many years disputed the hegemony of Greece, at length attained it but to hold it uncontested for scarce twelve years. The Macedonian rule in Europe extended but from the Adriatic to the Danube, which would appear a quite insignificant portion of the continent. Subsequently, by overthrowing the Persian empire they became supreme in Asia also. But though their empire was now regarded as the greatest in extent and power that had ever existed, they left the larger part of the inhabited world as yet outside it. For they never even made a single attempt on Sicily, Sardinia, or Africa, and the most warlike nations of Western Europe were, to speak the simple truth, unknown to them. But the Romans have subjected to their rule not portions, but nearly the whole of the world, and possess an empire which is not only immeasurably greater than any which preceded it, but need not fear rivalry in the future. In the course of this work it will become more clearly intelligible by what steps this power was acquired, and it will also be seen how many and how great advantages accrue to the student from the systematic treatment of history.

3. The date from which I propose to begin is the 140th Olympiad [220-216 BCE], and the events are the following: (1) in Greece the so-called Social War, the first waged against the Aetolians by the Achaeans in league with and under the leadership of Philip of Macedon, the son of Demetrius and father of Perseus, (2) in Asia the war for Coele-Syria between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, (3) in Italy, Africa, and the adjacent regions, the war between Rome and Carthage, usually known as the Hannibalic War. These events immediately succeed those related at the end of the work of Aratus of Sicyon. Previously the doings of the world had been, so to say, dispersed, as they were held together by no unity of initiative, results, or locality; but ever since this date history has been an organic

whole, and the affairs of Italy and Africa have been inter-linked with those of Greece and Asia, all leading up to one end. And this is my reason for beginning where I do. For it was owing to their defeat of the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic War that the Romans, feeling that the chief and most essential step in their scheme of universal aggression had now been taken, were first emboldened to reach out their hands to grasp the rest and to cross with an army to Greece and Asia.

Now were we Greeks well acquainted with the two states which disputed the empire of the world, it would not perhaps have been necessary for me to deal at all with their previous history, or to narrate what purpose guided them, and on what sources of strength they relied, in entering upon such a vast undertaking. But as neither the former power nor the earlier history of Rome and Carthage is familiar to most of us, I thought it necessary to prefix this Book and the next to the actual history, in order that no one after becoming engrossed in the narrative may find himself at a loss, and ask by what counsel and trusting to what power and resources the Romans embarked on that enterprise which has made them lords over our land and our seas, but that from these Books and the preliminary sketch in them it may be clear to readers that they had quite adequate grounds for conceiving the ambition of a world-empire and adequate means for achieving their purpose. 4. For what gives my work its peculiar quality, and what is most remarkable in the present age, is this. Fortune having guided almost all the affairs of the world in one direction and having forced them to incline towards one and the same end, a historian should bring before his readers under one synoptical view the operations by which she has accomplished her general purpose. Indeed it was this chiefly that invited and encouraged me to undertake my task; and secondarily the fact that none of my contemporaries have undertaken to write a general history, in which case I should have been much less eager to take this in hand. As it is, I observe that while several modern writers deal with particular wars and certain matters connected with them, no one, as far as I am aware, has even attempted to inquire critically when and whence the general and comprehensive scheme of events originated and how it led up to the end. I therefore thought it quite necessary not to leave unnoticed or allow to pass into oblivion this the finest and most beneficent of the performances of Fortune. For though she is ever producing something new and ever playing a part in the lives of men, she has not in a single instance ever accomplished such a work, ever achieved such a triumph, as in our own times. We can no more hope to perceive this from histories dealing with particular events than to get at once a notion of the form of the whole world, its disposition and order, by visiting, each in turn, the most famous cities, or indeed by looking at separate plans of each: a result by no means likely. He indeed who believes that by studying isolated histories he can acquire a fairly just view of history as a whole, is, as it seems to me, much in the case of one, who, after having looked at the dissevered limbs of an animal once alive and beautiful, fancies he has been as good as an eyewitness of the creature itself in all its action and grace. For could anyone put the creature together on the spot, restoring its form and the comeliness of life, and then show it to the same man, I think he would quickly avow that he was formerly very far away from the truth and more like one in a dream. For we can get some idea of a whole from a part, but never knowledge or exact opinion. Special histories therefore contribute very little to the knowledge of the whole and conviction of its truth. It is only indeed by study of the interconnection of all the particulars, their resemblances and differences, that we are enabled at least to make a general survey, and thus derive both benefit and pleasure from history.

5. I shall adopt as the starting-point of this book the first occasion on which the Romans crossed the sea from Italy. This follows immediately on the close of Timaeus' History and took place in the 129th Olympiad [264-261 BCE]. Thus we must first state how and when the Romans established their position in Italy, and what prompted them afterwards to

cross to Sicily, the first country outside Italy where they set foot. The actual cause of their crossing must be stated without comment; for if I were to seek the cause of the cause and so on, my whole work would have no clear starting-point and principle. The starting-point must be an era generally agreed upon and recognized, and one self-apparent from the events, even if this involves my going back a little in point of date and giving a summary of intervening occurrences. For if readers are ignorant or indeed in any doubt as to what are the facts from which the work opens, it is impossible that what follows should meet with acceptance or credence; but once we produce in them a general agreement on this point they will give ear to all the subsequent narrative.

6. It was then the nineteenth year after the battle of Aegospotami and the sixteenth before that of Leuctra, the year in which the Spartans made the peace known as that of Antalcidas with the King of Persia, that in which also Dionysius the Elder, after defeating the Italiot Greeks in the battle at the river Elleporos, was besieging Rhegium, and that in which the Gauls, after taking Rome itself by assault, occupied the whole of that city except the Capitol [387-386 BCE]. The Romans, after making a truce on conditions satisfactory to the Gauls and being thus contrary to their expectation reinstated in their home and as it were now started on the road of aggrandizement, continued in the following years to wage war on their neighbors. After subduing all the Latins by their valor and the fortune of war they fought first against the Etruscans, then against the Celts, and next against the Samnites, whose territory was conterminous with that of the Latins on the East and North. After some time the Tarentines, fearing the consequences of their insolence to the Roman envoys, begged for the intervention of Pyrrhus. (This was in the year [280 BCE] preceding the expedition of those Gauls who met with the reverse at Delphi and then crossed to Asia.) The Romans had ere this reduced the Etruscans and Samnites and had vanquished the Italian Celts in many battles, and they now for the first time attacked the rest of Italy not as if it were a foreign country, but as if it rightfully belonged to them. Their struggle with the Samnites and Celts had made them veritable masters in the art of war, and after bravely supporting this war with Pyrrhus and finally expelling himself and his army from Italy [274 BCE], they continued to fight with and subdue those who had sided with him. When, with extraordinary good fortune, they had reduced all these peoples and had made all the inhabitants of Italy their subjects excepting the Celts, they undertook the siege of Rhegium now held by certain of their compatriots.

7. For very much the same fortune had befallen the two cities on the Straits, Messene and Rhegium. Certain Campaniaiis serving under Agathocles had long cast covetous eyes on the beauty and prosperity of Messene; and not long before the events I am speaking of they availed themselves of the first opportunity to capture it by treachery. After being admitted as friends and occupying the city, they first expelled or massacred the citizens and took possession of the wives and families of their unhappy victims, just as chance assigned them at the time of the outrage. They next divided among themselves the land and all other property. Having thus possessed themselves so quickly and easily of a fine city and territory, they were not long in finding imitators of their exploit. For the people of Rhegium, when Pyrrhus crossed to Italy, dreading an attack by him and fearing also the Carthaginians who commanded the sea, begged from the Romans a garrison and support. The force which was sent, four thousand in number and under the command of Decius, a Campanian, kept the city and their faith for some time, but at length, anxious to rival the Mamertines and with their co-operation, played the people of Rhegium false, and eagerly coveting a city so favorably situated and containing so much private wealth, expelled or massacred the citizens and possessed themselves of the city in the same manner as the Campanians had done. The Romans were highly displeased, yet could do nothing at the time, as they were occupied with the wars I have already mentioned. But when they had a free hand they shut up the

culprits in the city and proceeded to lay siege to it as I have stated above. When Rhegium fell, most of the besieged were slain in the actual assault, having defended themselves desperately, as they knew what awaited them, but more than three hundred were captured. When they were sent to Rome [271 BCE], the Consuls had them all conducted to the forum and there, according to the Roman custom, scourged and beheaded; their object being to recover as far as possible by this punishment their reputation for good faith with the allies. The city and territory of Rhegium they at once restored to the citizens.

8. The Mamertines (for this was the name adopted by the Campanians after their seizure of Messene), as long as they enjoyed the alliance of the Romans who had occupied Rhegium, not only remained in secure possession of their own city and territory but caused no little trouble to the Carthaginians and Syracusans about the adjacent territories, levying tribute from many parts of Sicily. When, however, they were deprived of this support, the captors of Rhegium being now closely invested, they were at once in their turn driven to take refuge in their city by the Syracusans owing to the following causes. Not many years before the Syracusan army had quarreled with those in the city. They were then posted near Mergane and appointed two magistrates chosen from their own body, Artemidorus and Hiero, who was subsequently king of Syracuse [275 BCE]. He was still quite young but naturally qualified to be a ruler and statesman of a kind. Having accepted the command, he gained admittance to the city through certain relatives, and after overpoAvering the opposite party, administered affairs with such mildness and magnanimity that the Syracusans, though by no means inclined to approve camp elections, on this occasion unanimously accepted him as their general. From his first measures it was evident at once to all capable of judging that his ambition was not limited to a mere command.

9. For observing that the Syracusans, every time they dispatch their forces on an expedition accompanied by their supreme magistrates, begin quarreling among themselves and introducing continual changes, and knowing that Leptines had a wider circle of dependents and enjoyed more credit than any other burgher and had an especially high name among the common people, he allied himself with him by marriage, so that whenever he had to take the field himself he might leave him behind as a sort of reserve force. He married, then, the daughter of this Leptines, and finding that the veteran mercenaries were disaffected and turbulent, he marched out in force professedly against the foreigners who had occupied Messene. He met the enemy near Centuripa and offered battle near the river Cyamo-sorus. He held back the citizen cavalry and infantry at a distance under his personal command as if he meant to attack on another side, but advancing the mercenaries he allowed them all to be cut up by the Carapanians. During their rout he himself retired safely to Syracuse with the citizens. Having thus efficiently accomplished his purpose and purged the army of its turbulent and seditious element, he himself enlisted a considerable number of mercenaries and henceforth continued to rule in safety. Observing that the Mamertines, owing to their success, were behaving in a bold and reckless manner, he efficiently armed and trained the urban levies and leading them out engaged the enemy [208 BCE] in the Mylaean plain near the river Longanus, and inflicted a severe defeat on them, capturing their leaders. This put an end to the audacity of the Mamertines, and on his return to Syracuse he was with one voice proclaimed king by all the allies.

10. The Mamertines had previously, as I above narrated, lost their support from Rhegium and had now suffered complete disaster at home for the reasons I have just stated. Some of them appealed to the Carthaginians, proposing to put themselves and the citadel into their hands, while others sent an embassy to Rome, offering to surrender the city and begging for assistance as a kindred people. The Romans were long at a loss, the succor demanded being so obviously unjustifiable. For they had just inflicted on their own fellow-citizens the

highest penalty for their treachery to the people of Rhegium, and now to try to help the Mamertines, who had been guilty of like offence not only at Messene but at Rhegium also, was a piece of injustice very difficult to excuse. But fully aware as they were of this, they yet saw that the Carthaginians had not only reduced Libya to subjection, but a great part of Spain, besides, and that they were also in possession of all the islands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian Seas. They were therefore in great apprehension lest, if they also became masters of Sicily, they would be most troublesome and dangerous neighbors, hemming them in on all sides and threatening every part of Italy. That they would soon be supreme in Sicily, if the Mamertines were not helped, was evident; for once Messene had fallen into their hands, they would shortly subdue Syracuse also, as they were absolute lords of almost all the rest of Sicily. The Romans, foreseeing this and viewing it as a necessity for themselves not to abandon Messene and thus allow the Carthaginians as it were to build a bridge over to Italy, debated the matter for long, and, even at the end, the Senate did not sanction the proposal for the reason given above, considering that the objection on the score of inconsistency was equal in weight to the advantage to be derived from intervention. The commons however, worn out as they were by the recent wars and in need of any and every kind of restorative, listened readily to the military commanders, who, besides giving the reasons above stated for the general advantageousness of the war, pointed out the great benefit in the way of plunder which each and every one would evidently derive from it. They were therefore in favor of consenting; and when the measure had been passed by the people they appointed to the command one of the Consuls, Appius Claudius, who was ordered to cross to Messene [204 BCE]. The Mamertines, partly by menace and partly by stratagem, dislodged the Carthaginian commander, who was already established in the citadel, and then invited Appius to enter, placing the city in his hands. The Carthaginians crucified their general, thinking him guilty of a lack both of judgment and of courage in abandoning the citadel. Acting for themselves they stationed their fleet in the neighborhood of Cape Pelorias, and with their land forces pressed Messene close in the direction of Sunes. Hiero now, thinking that present circumstances were favorable for expelling from Sicily entirely the foreigners who occupied Messene, made an alliance with the Carthaginians, and quitting Syracuse with his army marched towards that city. Pitching his camp near the Chalcidian mountain on the side opposite to the Carthaginians he cut off this means of exit from the city as well. Appius, the Roman consul, at the same time succeeded at great risk in crossing the Straits by night and entering the city. Finding that the enemy had strictly invested Messene on all sides and regarding it as both inglorious and perilous for himself to be besieged, as they commanded both land and sea, he at first tried to negotiate with both, desiring to deliver the Mamertines from the war. But when neither paid any attention to him, he decided perforce to risk an engagement and in the first place to attack the Syracusans. Leading out his forces he drew them up in order of battle, the king of Syracuse readily accepting the challenge. After a prolonged struggle Appius was victorious and drove the whole hostile force back to their camp. After despoiling the dead he returned to Messene. Hiero, divining the final issue of the whole conflict, retreated in haste after nightfall to Syracuse. 12. On the following day Appius, learning of his retirement and encouraged thereby, decided not to delay but to attack the Carthaginians. He ordered his troops to be in readiness early and sallied forth at break of day. Engaging the enemy he slew many of them and compelled the rest to retreat in disorder to the neighboring cities. Having raised the siege by these successes, he advanced fearlessly, devastating the territory of the Syracusans and of their allies, one disputing the open country with him. Finally he sat down before Syracuse and commenced to besiege it.

Such then was the occasion and motive of this the first crossing of the Romans from Italy with an armed force, an event which I take to be the most natural starting-point of this whole

work. I have therefore made it my serious base, but went also somewhat further back in order to leave no possible obscurity in my statements of general causes. To follow out this previous history—how and when the Romans after the disaster to Rome itself began their progress to better fortunes, and again how and when after conquering Italy they entered on the path of foreign enterprise—seems to me necessary for anyone who hopes to gain a proper general survey of their present supremacy. My readers need not therefore be surprised if, in the further course of this work, I occasionally give them in addition some of the earlier history of the most famous states; for I shall do so in order to establish such a fundamental view as will make it clear in the sequel starting from what origins and how and when they severally reached their present position. This is exactly what I have just done about the Romans.

From BOOK SIX

I. from the Preface

I am aware that some will wonder why I have deferred until the present occasion my account of the Roman constitution, thus being obliged to interrupt the due course of my narrative. Now, that I have always regarded this account as one of the essential parts of my whole design, I have, I am sure, made evident in numerous passages and chiefly in the prefatory remarks dealing with the fundamental principles of this history, where I said that the best and most valuable result I aim at is that readers of my work may gain a knowledge how it was and by virtue of what peculiar political institutions that in less than in fifty-three years nearly the whole world was overcome and fell under the single dominion of Rome, a thing the like of which had never happened before. Having made up my mind to deal with the matter, I found no occasion more suitable than the present for turning my attention to the constitution and testing the truth of what I am about to say on the subject. For just as those who pronounce in private on the characters of bad or good men, do not, when they really resolve to put their opinion to the test, choose for investigation those periods of their life which they passed in composure and repose, but seasons when they were afflicted by adversity or blessed with success, deeming the sole test of a perfect man to be the power of bearing high-mindedly and bravely the most complete reverses of fortune, so it should be in our judgment of states. Therefore, as I could not see any greater or more violent change in the fortunes of the Romans than this which has happened in our own times, I reserved my account of the constitution for the present occasion. [. . .]

What chiefly attracts and chiefly benefits students of history is just this — the study of causes and the consequent power of choosing what is best in each case. Now the chief cause of success or the reverse in all matters is the form of a state's constitution; for springing from this, as from a fountain-head, all designs and plans of action not only originate, but reach their consummation.

II. On the Forms of States

3. In the case of those Greek states which have often risen to greatness and have often experienced a complete change of fortune, it is an easy matter both to describe their past and to pronounce as to their future. For there is no difficulty in reporting the known facts, and it is not hard to foretell the future by inference from the past. But about the Roman state it is neither at all easy to explain the present situation owing to the complicated character of the constitution, nor to foretell the future owing to our ignorance of the peculiar features of public and private life at Rome in the past. Particular attention and study are therefore required if one wishes to attain a clear general view of the distinctive qualities of their constitution.

Most of those whose object it has been to instruct us methodically concerning such matters, distinguish three kinds of constitutions, which they call kingship, aristocracy, and democracy. Now we should, I think, be quite justified in asking them to enlighten us as to whether they represent these three to be the sole varieties or rather to be the best; for in either case my opinion is that they are wrong. For it is evident that we must

regard as the best constitution a combination of all these three varieties, since we have had proof of this not only theoretically but by actual experience, Lycurgus having been the first to draw up a constitution — that of Sparta — on this principle. Nor on the other hand can we admit that these are the only three varieties; for we have witnessed monarchical and tyrannical governments, which while they differ very widely from kingship, yet bear a certain resemblance to it, this being the reason why monarchs in general falsely assume and use, as far as they can, the regal title. There have also been several oligarchical constitutions which seem to bear some likeness to aristocratic ones, though the divergence is, generally, as wide as possible. The same holds good about democracies.

4. The truth of what I say is evident from the following considerations. It is by no means every monarchy which we can call straight off a kingship, but only that which is voluntarily accepted by the subjects and where they are governed rather by an appeal to their reason than by fear and force. Nor again can we style every oligarchy an aristocracy, but only that where the government is in the hands of a selected body of the justest and wisest men. Similarly that is no true democracy in which the whole crowd of citizens is free to do whatever they wish or purpose, but when, in a community where it is traditional and customary to reverence the gods, to honor our parents, to respect our elders, and to obey the laws, the will of the greater number prevails, this is to be called a democracy. We should therefore assert that there are six kinds of governments, the three above mentioned which are in everyone's mouth and the three which are naturally allied to them, I mean monarchy, oligarchy, and mob-rule. Now the first of these to come into being is monarchy, its growth being natural and unaided; and next arises kingship derived from monarchy by the aid of art and by the correction of defects. Monarchy first changes into its vicious allied form, tyranny; and next, the abolishment of both gives birth to aristocracy. Aristocracy by its very nature degenerates into oligarchy; and when the commons inflamed by anger take vengeance on this government for its unjust rule, democracy comes into being; and in due course the license and lawlessness of this form of government produces mob-rule to complete the series The truth of what I have just said will be quite clear to anyone who pays due attention to such beginnings, origins, and changes as are in each case natural. For he alone who has seen how each form naturally arises and develops, will be able to see when, how, and where the growth, perfection, change, and end of each are likely to occur again. And it is to the Roman constitution above all that this method, I think, may be successfully applied, since from the outset its formation and growth have been due to natural causes.

5. Perhaps this theory of the natural transformations into each other of the different forms of government is more elaborately set forth by Plato and certain other philosophers; but as the arguments are subtle and are stated at great length, they are beyond the reach of all but a few. I therefore will attempt to give a short summary of the theory, as far as I consider it to apply to the actual history of facts and to appeal to the common intelligence of mankind. For if there appear to be certain omissions in my general exposition of it, the detailed discussion which follows will afford the reader ample compensation for any difficulties now left unsolved.

What then are the beginnings I speak of and what is the first origin of political societies? When owing to floods, famines, failure of crops or other such causes there occurs such a destruction of the human race as tradition tells us has more than once happened, and as we must believe will often happen again, all arts and crafts perishing at the same time, then in the course of time, when springing from the survivors as from seeds men have again increased in numbers and just like other animals form herds — it being a matter of course that they too should herd together with those of their kind owing to their natural weakness — it is a necessary consequence that the man who excels in bodily strength and in courage will lead and rule over the rest. We observe and should regard as a most genuine

work of nature this very phenomenon in the case of the other animals which act purely by instinct and among whom the strongest are always indisputably the masters —I speak of bulls, boars, cocks, and the like. It is probable then that at the beginning men lived thus, herding together like animals and following the lead of the strongest and bravest, the ruler's strength being here the sole limit to his power and the name we should give his rule being monarchy.

6. But when in time feelings of sociability and companionship begin to grow in such gatherings of men, than kingship has struck root; and the notions of goodness, justice, and their opposites begin to arise in men. The manner in which these notions come into being is as follows. Men being all naturally inclined to sexual intercourse, and the consequence of this being the birth of children, whenever one of those who have been reared does not on growing up show gratitude to those who reared him or defend them, but on the contrary takes to speaking ill of them or ill treating them, it is evident that he will displease and offend those who have been familiar with his parents and have witnessed the care and pains they spent on attending to and feeding their children. For seeing that men are distinguished from the other animals by possessing the faculty of reason, it is obviously improbable that such a difference of conduct should escape them, as it escapes the other animals: they will notice the thing and be displeased at what is going on, looking to the future and reflecting that they may all meet with the same treatment. Again when a man who has been helped or succored when in danger by another does not show gratitude to his preserver, but even goes to the length of attempting to do him injury, it is clear that those who become aware of it will naturally be displeased and offended by such conduct, sharing the resentment of their injured neighbor and imagining themselves in the same situation. From all this there arises in everyone a notion of the meaning and theory of duty, which is the beginning and end of justice. Similarly, again, when any man is foremost in defending his fellows from danger, and braves and awaits the onslaught of the most powerful beasts, it is natural that he should receive marks of favor and honor from the people, while the man who acts in the opposite manner will meet with reprobation and dislike. From this again some idea of what is base and what is noble and of what constitutes the difference is likely to arise among the people; and noble conduct will be admired and imitated because it is advantageous, while base conduct will be avoided. Now when the leading and most powerful man among the people always throws the weight of his authority on the side of the notions on such matters which generally prevail, and when in the opinion of his subjects he apportions rewards and penalties according to desert, they yield obedience to him no longer because they fear his force, but rather because their judgment approves him; and they join in maintaining his rule even if he is quite enfeebled by age, defending him with one consent and battling against those who conspire to overthrow his rule Thus by insensible degrees the monarch becomes a king, ferocity and force having yielded the supremacy to reason.

7. Thus is formed natural among men the first notion of goodness and justice, and their opposites; this is the beginning and birth of true kingship. For the people maintain the supreme power not only in the hands of these men themselves, but in those of their descendants, from the conviction that those born from and reared by such men will also have principles like to theirs. And if they ever are displeased with the descendants, they now choose their kings and rulers no longer for their bodily strength and brute courage, but for the excellency of their judgment and reasoning powers, as they have gained experience from actual facts of the difference between the one class of qualities and the other. In old times, then, those who had once been chosen to the royal office continued to hold it until they grew old, fortifying and enclosing fine strongholds with walls and acquiring lands, in the one case for the sake of the security of their subjects and in the other to provide them with abundance of the necessities of life. And

while pursuing these aims, they were exempt from all vituperation or jealousy, as neither in their dress nor in their food did they make any great distinction, the lived very much like everyone else, not keeping apart from the people. But when they received the office by hereditary succession and found their safety now provided for, and more than sufficient provision of food, they gave way to their appetites owing to this superabundance, and came to think that the rulers must be distinguished from their subjects by a peculiar dress, that there should be a peculiar luxury and variety in the dressing and serving of their viands, and that they should meet with no denial in the pursuit of their amours, however lawless. These habits having given rise in the one case to envy and offence and in the other to an outburst of hatred and passionate resentment, the kingship changed into a tyranny; the first steps towards its overthrow were taken by the subjects, and conspiracies began to be formed. These conspiracies were not the work of the worst men, but of the noblest, most high-spirited, and most courageous, because such men are least able to brook the insolence of princes.

8. The people now having got leaders, would combined with them against the ruling powers for the reasons I stated above; kingship and monarchy would be utterly abolished, and in their place aristocracy would begin to grow. For the commons, as if bound to pay at once their debt of gratitude to the abolishers of monarchy, would make them their leaders and entrust their destinies to them. At first these chiefs gladly assumed this charge and regarded nothing as of greater importance than the common interest, administering the private and public affairs of the people with paternal solicitude. But here again when children inherited this position of authority from their fathers, having no experience of misfortune and none at all of civil equality and liberty of speech, and having been brought up from the cradle amid the evidences of the power and high position of their fathers, they abandoned themselves some to greed of gain and unscrupulous money-making, others to indulgence in wine and the convivial excess which accompanies it, and others again to the violation of women and the rape of boys; and thus converting the aristocracy into an oligarchy aroused in the people feelings similar to those of which I just spoke, and in consequence met with the same disastrous end as the tyrant.

9. For whenever anyone who has noticed the jealousy and hatred with which year are regarded by the citizens, has the courage to speak or act against the chiefs of the state he has the whole mass of the people ready to back him. Next, when they have either killed or banished the oligarchs, they no longer venture to set a king over them, as they still remember with terror the injustice they suffered from the former ones, nor can they entrust the government with confidence to a select few, with the evidence before them of their recent error in doing so. Thus the only hope still surviving unimpaired is in themselves, and to this they resort, making the state a democracy instead of an oligarchy and assuming the responsibility for the conduct of affairs. Then as long as some of those survive who experienced the evils of oligarchical dominion, they are well pleased with the present form of government, and set a high value on equality and freedom of speech. But when a new generation arises and the democracy falls into the hands of the grandchildren of its founders, they have become so accustomed to freedom and equality that they no longer value them, and begin to aim at pre-eminence; and it is chiefly those of ample fortune who fall into this error. So when they begin to lust for power and cannot attain it through themselves or their own good qualities, they ruin their estates, tempting and corrupting the people in every possible way. And hence when by their foolish thirst for reputation they have created among the masses an appetite for gifts and the habit of receiving them, democracy in its turn is abolished and changes into a rule of force and violence. For the people, having grown accustomed to feed at the expense of others and to depend for their livelihood on the property of others, as soon as they find a leader who is enterprising but is excluded

from the houses of office by his penury, institute the rule of violence; and now uniting their forces massacre, banish, and plunder, until they degenerate again into perfect savages and find once more a master and monarch.

Such is the cycle of political revolution, the course appointed by nature in which constitutions change, disappear, and finally return to the point from which they started Anyone who clearly perceives this may indeed in speaking of the future of any state be wrong in his estimate of the time the process will take, but if his judgment is not tainted by animosity or jealousy, he will very seldom be mistaken as to the stage of growth or decline it has reached, and as to the form into which it will change And especially in the case of the Roman state will this method enable us to arrive at a knowledge of its formation, growth, and greatest perfection, and likewise of the change for the worse which is sure to follow some day For, as I said, this state, more than any other, has been formed and has grown naturally, and will undergo a natural decline and change to its contrary The reader will be able to judge of the truth of this from the subsequent parts of this work.

10. At present I will give a brief account of the legislation of Lycurgus, a matter not alien to my present purpose. Lycurgus had perfectly well understood that all the above changes take place necessarily and naturally, and had taken into consideration that every variety of constitution which is simple and formed on principle is precarious, as it is soon perverted into the corrupt form which is proper to it and naturally follows on it. For just as rust in the case of iron and wood-worms and ship-worms in the case of timber are inbred pests, and these substances, even though they escape all external injury, fall a prey to the evils engendered in them, so each constitution has a vice engendered in it and inseparable from it. In kingship it is despotism, in aristocracy oligarchy, and in democracy the savage rule of violence; and it is impossible, as I said above, that each of these should not in course of time change into this vicious form. Lycurgus, then, foreseeing this, did not make his constitution simple and uniform, but united in it all the good and distinctive features of the best governments, so that none of the principles should grow unduly and be perverted into its allied evil, but that, the force of each being neutralized by that of the others, neither of them should prevail and outbalance another, but that the constitution should remain for long in a state of equilibrium like a well-trimmed boat, kingship being guarded from arrogance by the fear of the commons, who were given a sufficient share in the government, and the commons on the other hand not venturing to treat the kings with contempt from fear of the elders, who being selected from the best citizens would be sure all of them to be always on the side of justice; so that that part of the state which was weakest owing to its subservience to traditional custom, acquired power and weight by the support and influence of the elders The consequence was that by drawing up his constitution thus he preserved liberty at Sparta for a longer period than is recorded elsewhere.

Lycurgus then, foreseeing, by a process of reasoning, whence and how events naturally happen, constructed his constitution untaught by adversity, but the Romans while they have arrived at the same final result as regards their form of government, have not reached it by any process of reasoning, but by the discipline of many struggles and troubles, and always choosing the best by the light of the experience gained in disaster have thus reached the same result as Lycurgus, that is to say, the best of all existing constitutions.

V. On the Roman Constitution at its Prime

11. From the crossing of Xerxes to Greece [. . .] and for thirty years after this period, it was always one of those polities which was an object of special study, and it was at its best and nearest to perfection at the time of the Hannibalic war, the period at which I interrupted my narrative to deal with it. Therefore now that I have described its growth, I will explain what were the conditions at the time when by their defeat at

Cannae the Romans were brought face to face with disaster.

I am quite aware that to those who have been born and bred under the Roman Republic my account of it will seem somewhat imperfect owing to the omission of certain details. For as they have complete knowledge of it and practical acquaintance with all its parts, having been familiar with these customs and institutions from childhood, they will not be struck by the extent of the information I give but will demand in addition all I have omitted: they will not think that the author has purposely omitted small peculiarities, but owing to ignorance he has been silent regarding the origins of many things and some points of capital importance. Had I mentioned them, they would not have been impressed by my doing so, regarding them as small and trivial points, but as they are omitted they will demand their inclusion as if they were vital matters, through a desire themselves to appear better informed than the author. Now a good critic should not judge authors by what they omit, but by what they relate, and if he finds any falsehood in this, he may conclude that the omissions are due to ignorance; but if all the writer says is true, he should admit that he has been silent about these matters deliberately and not from ignorance.

These remarks are meant for those who find fault with authors in caviling rather than just spirit. [. . .]

In so far as any view of matter we form applies to the right occasion, so far expressions of approval or blame are sound. When circumstances change, and when applied to these changed conditions, the most excellent and true reflections of authors seem often not only not acceptable, but utterly offensive. [. . .]

The three kinds of government that I spoke of above all shared in the control of the Roman state. And such fairness and propriety in all respects was shown in the use of these three elements for drawing up the constitution and in its subsequent administration that it was impossible even for a native to pronounce with certainty whether the whole system was aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical. This was indeed only natural for if one fixed one's eyes on the power of the consuls, the constitution seemed completely monarchical and royal; if on that of the senate it seemed again to be aristocratic; and when one looked at the power of the masses, it seemed clearly to be a democracy. The parts of the state falling under the control of each element were and with a few modifications still are as follows.

12. The consuls, previous to leading out their legions, exercise authority in Rome over all public affairs, since all the other magistrates except the tribunes are under them and bound to obey them, and it is they who introduce embassies to the senate. Besides this it is they who consult the senate on matters of urgency, they who carry out in detail the provisions of its decrees. Again as concerns all affairs of state administered by the people it is their duty to take these under their charge, to summon assemblies, to introduce measures, and to preside over the execution of the popular decrees. As for preparation for war and the general conduct of operations in the field, here their power is almost uncontrolled; for they are empowered to make what demands they choose on the allies, to appoint military tribunes, to levy soldiers and select those who are fittest for service. They also have the right of inflicting, when on active service, punishment on anyone under their command; and they are authorized to spend any sum they decide upon from the public funds, being accompanied by a quaestor who faithfully executes their instructions. So that if one looks at this part of the administration alone, one may reasonably pronounce the constitution to be a pure monarchy or kingship I may remark that any changes in these matters or in others of which I am about to speak that may be made in present or future times do not in any way affect the truth of the views I here state.
13. To pass to the senate. In the first place it has the control of the treasury, all revenue and expenditure being regulated by it. For with the exception of payments made to the consuls,

the quaestors are not allowed to disburse for any particular object without a decree of the senate. And even the item of expenditure which is far heavier and more important than any other — the outlay every five years by the censors on public works, whether constructions or repairs — is under the control of the senate, which makes a grant to the censors for the purpose. Similarly crimes committed in Italy which require a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, and assassination, are under the jurisdiction of the senate. Also if any private person or community in Italy is in need of arbitration or indeed claims damages or requires succor or protection, the senate attends to all such matters. It also occupies itself with the dispatch of all embassies sent to countries outside of Italy for the purpose either of settling differences, or of offering friendly advice, or indeed of imposing demands, or of receiving submission, or of declaring war; and in like manner with respect to embassies arriving in Rome it decides what reception and what answer should be given to them. All these matters are in the hands of the senate, nor have the people anything whatever to do with them. So that again to one residing in Rome during the absence of the consuls the constitution appears to be entirely aristocratic; and this is the conviction of many Greek states and many of the kings, as the senate manages all business connected with them.

14. After this we are naturally inclined to ask what part in the constitution is left for the people, considering that the senate controls all the particular matters I mentioned, and, what is most important, manages all matters of revenue and expenditure, and considering that the consuls again have uncontrolled authority as regards armaments and operations in the field. But nevertheless there is a part and a very important part left for the people. For it is the people which alone has the right to confer honors and inflict punishment, the only bonds by which kingdoms and states and in a word human society in general are held together. For where the distinction between these is overlooked or is observed but ill applied, no affairs can be properly administered. How indeed is this possible when good and evil men are held in equal estimation? It is by the people, then, in many cases the offences punishable by a fine are tried when the accused have held the highest office; and they are the only court which may try on capital charges. As regards the latter they have a practice which is praiseworthy and should be mentioned. Their usage allows those on trial for their lives when found guilty liberty to depart openly, thus inflicting voluntary exile on themselves, if even only one of the tribes that pronounce the verdict has not yet voted. Such exiles enjoy safety in the territories of Naples, Praeneste, Tibur, and other *civitates foederatae*. Again it is the people who bestow office on the deserving, the noblest regard of virtue in a state; the people have the power of approving or rejecting laws, and what is most important of all, they deliberate on the question of war and peace Further in the case of alliances, terms of peace, and treaties, it is the people who ratify all these or the reverse Thus here again one might plausibly say that the people's share in the government is the greatest, and that the constitution is a democratic one.

15. Having stated how political power is distributed among the different parts of the state, I will now explain how each of the three parts is enabled, if they wish, the counteract or co-operate with the others. The consul, when he leaves with his army invested with the powers I mentioned, appears indeed to have absolute authority in all matters necessary for carrying out his purpose; but in fact he requires the support of the people and the senate, and is not able to bring his operations to a conclusion without them. For it is obvious that the legions require constant supplies, and without the consent of the senate, neither corn, clothing, nor pay can be provided; so that the commander's plans come to nothing, if the senate chooses to be deliberately negligent and obstructive. It also depends on the senate whether or not a general can carry out completely his conceptions and designs, since it has the right of either superseding him when his year's term of office has expired or of retaining him in command. Again it is in its

power to celebrate with pomp and to magnify the successes of a general or on the other hand to obscure and belittle them. For the processions they call triumphs, in which the generals bring the actual spectacle of their achievements before the eyes of their fellow-citizens, cannot be properly organized and sometimes even cannot be held at all, unless the senate consents and provides the requisite funds. As for the people it is most indispensable for the consuls to conciliate them, however far away from home they may be; for, as I said, it is the people which ratifies or annuls terms of peace and treaties, and what is most important, on laying down office the consuls are obliged to account for their actions to the people So that in no respect is it safe for the consuls to neglect keeping in favor with both the senate and the people.

16. The senate again, which possesses such great power, is obliged in the first place to pay attention to the commons in public affairs and respect the wishes of the people,and it cannot carry out inquiries into the most grave and important offences against the state, punishable with death, and their correction, unless the *senatus consultum* is confirmed by the people. The same is the case in matters which directly affect the senate itself. For if anyone introduces a law meant to deprive the senate of some of its traditional authority, or to abolish the precedence and other distinctions of the senators or even to curtail them of their private fortunes, it is the people alone which has the power of passing or rejecting any such measure. And what is most important is that if a single one of the tribunes interposes, the senate is unable to decide finally about any matter, and cannot even meet and hold sittings; and here it is to be observed that the tribunes are always obliged to act as the people decree and to pay every attention to their wishes. Therefore for all these reasons the senate is afraid of the masses and must pay due attention to the popular will.

17. Similarly, again, the people must be submissive to the senate and respect its members both in public and in private. Through the whole of Italy a vast number of contracts, which it would not be easy to enumerate, are given out by the censors for the construction and repair of public buildings, and besides this there are many things which are farmed, such as navigable rivers, harbors, gardens, mines, lands, in fact everything that forms part of the Roman dominion. Now all these matters are undertaken by the people, and one may almost say that everyone is interested in these contracts and the work they involved. For certain people are the actual purchasers from the censors of the contracts, others are the partners of these first, others stand surety for them, others pledge their own fortunes to the state for this purpose. Now in all these matters the senate is supreme. It can grant extension of time; it can relieve the contractor if any accident occurs; and if the work proves to be absolutely impossible to carry out it can liberate him from his contract. There are in fact many ways in which the senate can either benefit or indicate those who manage public property, as all these matters are referred to it. What is even most important is that the judges in most civil trials, whether public or private, are appointed from its members, where the action involves large interests. So that all citizens being at the mercy of the senate, and looking forward with alarm to the uncertainty of litigation, are very shy of obstructing or resisting its decisions. Similarly everyone is reluctant to oppose the projects of the consuls as all are generally and individually under their authority when in the field.

18. Such being the power that each part has of hampering the others or co-operating with them, their union is adequate to all emergencies, so that it is impossible to find a better political system than this. For whenever the menace of some common danger from abroad compels them to act in concord and support each other, so great does the strength of the state become, that nothing which is requisite can be neglected, as all are zealously competing in devising means of meeting the need of the hour, nor can any decision arrived at fail to be executed promptly, as all are co-operating both in public and in private to the accomplishment of the task which they have

set themselves; and consequently this peculiar form of constitution possesses an irresistible power of attaining every object upon which it is resolved. When again they are freed from external menace, and reap the harvest of good fortune and affluence which is the result of their success, and in the enjoyment of this prosperity are corrupted by flattery and idleness and wax insolent and overbearing, as indeed happens often enough,it is then especially that we see the state providing itself a remedy for the evil from which it suffers. For when one part having grown out of proportion to the others aims at supremacy and tends to become too predominant, it is evident that, as for the reasons above given none of the three is absolute, but the purpose of the one can be counterworked and thwarted by the others, none of them will excessively outgrow the others or treat them with contempt. All in fact remains *in statu quo,* on the one hand, because any aggressive impulse is sure to be checked and from the outset each estate stands in dread of being interfered with by the others. [. . .]

VII. The Roman Republic compared with others

43. One may say that nearly all authors have handed down to us the reputation for excellence enjoyed by the constitutions of Sparta, Crete, Mantinea, and Carthage. Some make mention also of those of Athens and Thebes. I leave these last two aside; for I am myself convinced that the constitutions of Athens and Thebes need not be dealt with at length, considering that these states neither grew by a normal process, nor did they remain for long in their most flourishing state, nor were the changes they underwent immaterial; but after a sudden effulgence so to speak, the work of chance and circumstance, while still apparently prosperous and with every prospect of a bright future, they experienced a complete reverse of fortune. For the Thebans, striking at the Lacedaemonians through their mistaken policy and the hatred their allies bore them, owing to the admirable qualities of one or at most two men, who had detected these weaknesses, gained in Greece a reputation for superiority. Indeed, that the successes of the Thebans at that time were due not to the form of their constitution, but to the high qualities of their leading men, was made manifest to all by Fortune immediately afterwards. For the success of Thebes grew, attained its height, and ceased with the lives of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; and therefore we must regard the temporary splendor of that state as due not to its constitution, but to its men We must hold very much the same opinion about the Athenian constitution. For Athens also, though she perhaps enjoyed more frequent periods of success, after her most glorious one of all which was coeval with the excellent administration of Themistocles, rapidly experienced a complete reverse of fortune owing to the inconstancy of her nature. For the Athenian populace always more or less resembles a ship without a commander. In such a ship when fear of the billows or the danger of a storm induces the mariners to be sensible and attend to the orders of the skipper, they do their duty admirably. But when they grow over-confident and begin to entertain contempt for their superiors and to quarrel with each other, as they are no longer all of the same way of thinking, then with some of them determined to continue the voyage, and others putting pressure on the skipper to anchor, with some letting out the sheets and others preventing them and ordering the sails to be taken it, not only does the spectacle strike anyone who watches it as disgraceful owing to their disagreement and contention, but the position of affairs is a source of actual danger to the rest of those on board; so that often after escaping from the perils of the widest seas and fiercest storms they are shipwrecked in harbor and when close to the shore. This is what has more than once befallen the Athenian state. After having averted the greatest and most terrible dangers owing to the high qualities of the people and their leaders, it has come to grief at times by sheer heedlessness and unreasonableness in seasons of unclouded tranquility. Therefore I need say no more about this constitution or that of Thebes, states in which everything is managed by the uncurbed impulse of a mob in the one case exceptionally headstrong and ill-

tempered and in the other brought up in an atmosphere of violence and passion.

45. To pass to the constitution of Crete, two points here demand our attention. How was it that the most learned of the ancient writers — Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato — state in the first place that it is one and the same with that of Lacedaemon and in the second place pronounce it worthy of commendation? In my own opinion neither of these assertions is true. Whether or not I am right the following observations will show. And first as to its dissimilarity with the constitution of Sparta. The peculiar features of the Spartan state are said to be first the land laws by which no citizen may own more than another, but all must possess an equal share of the public land; secondly their view of money-making; for, money being esteemed of no value at all among them, the jealous contention due to the possession of more or less is utterly done away with; and thirdly the fact that of the magistrates by whom or by whose co-operation the whole administration is conducted, the kings hold a hereditary office and the members of the Gerousia are elected for life In all these respects the Cretan practice is exactly the opposite. Their laws go as far as possible in letting them acquire land to the extent of their power, as the saying is, and money is held in such high honor among them that its acquisition is not only regarded as necessary, but as most honorable. So much in fact do sordid love of gain and lust for wealth prevail among them, that the Cretans are the only people in the world in whose eyes no gain is disgraceful. Again their magistracies are annual and elected on a democratic system. So that it often causes surprise how these authors proclaim to us, that two political systems the nature of which is so opposed, are allied and akin to each other. Besides overlooking such differences, these writers go out of their way to give us their general views, saying that Lycurgus was the only man who ever saw the points of vital importance for good government. For, there being two things to which a state owes its preservation, bravery against the enemy and concord among the citizens, Lycurgus by doing away with the lust for wealth did away also with all civil discord and broils. In consequence of which the Lacedaemonians, being free from these evils, excel all the Greeks in the conduct of their internal affairs and in their spirit of union. After asserting this, although they witness that the Cretans, on the other hand, owing to their ingrained lust of wealth are involved in constant broils both public and private, and in murders and civil wars, they regard this as immaterial, and have the audacity to say that the two political systems are similar Ephorus actually, apart from the names, uses the same phrases in explaining the nature of the two states; so that if one did not attend to the proper names it would be impossible to tell of which he is speaking.

Such are the points in which I consider these two political systems to differ, and I will now give my reasons for not regarding that of Crete as worthy of praise or imitation. In my opinion there are two fundamental things in every state, by virtue of which its principle and constitution is either desirable or the reverse. I mean customs and laws. What is desirable in these makes men's private lives righteous and well ordered and the general character of the state gentle and just, while what is to be avoided has the opposite effect. So just as when we observe the laws and customs of a people to be good, we have no hesitation in pronouncing that the citizens and the state will consequently be good also, thus when we notice that men are covetous in their private lives and that their public actions are unjust, we are plainly justified in saying that their laws, their particular customs, and the state as a whole are bad. Now it would be impossible to find except in some rare instances personal conduct more treacherous or a public policy more unjust than in Crete. Holding then the Cretan constitution to be neither similar to that of Sparta nor in any way deserving of praise and imitation, I dismiss it from the comparison which I have proposed to make.

Nor again is it fair to introduce Plato's republic which also is much belauded by some

philosophers. For just as we do not admit to athletic contests artists or athletes who are not duly entered and have not been in training, so we have no right to admit this constitution to the competition for the prize of merit, unless it first give an exhibition of its actual working. Up to the present it would be just the same thing to discuss it with a view to comparison with the constitutions of Sparta, Rome, and Carthage, as to take some statue and compare it with living and breathing men. For even if the workmanship of the statue were altogether praiseworthy, the comparison of a lifeless thing with a living being would strike spectators as entirely imperfect and incongruous.

48. Dismissing, therefore, these constitutions, we will return to that of Sparta. To me it seems as far as regards the maintenance of concord among the citizens, the security of the Laconian territory and the preservation of the freedom of Sparta, the legislation of Lycurgus and the foresight he exhibited were so admirable that one is forced to regard his institutions as of divine rather than human origin. For the equal division of landed property and the simple and common diet were calculated to produce temperance in the private lives of the citizens and to secure the commonwealth as a whole from civil strife, as was the training in the endurance of hardships and dangers to form brave and valorous men. Now when both these virtues, fortitude and temperance, are combined in one soul or in one city, evil will not readily originate within such men or such peoples, nor will they be easily overmastered by their neighbors. By constructing, therefore, his constitution in this manner and out of these elements, Lycurgus secured the absolute safety of the whole territory of Laconia, and left to the Spartans themselves a lasting heritage of freedom. But as regards the annexation of neighboring territories, supremacy in Greece, and, generally speaking, an ambitious policy, he seems to me to have made absolutely no provision for such contingencies, either in particular enactments or in the general constitution of the state. What he left undone, therefore, was to bring to bear on the citizens some force or principle, by which, just as he had made them simple and contented in their private lives, he might make the spirit of the city as a whole likewise contented and moderate. But now, while he made them most unambitious and sensible people as regards their private lives and the institutions of their city, he left them most ambitious, domineering, and aggressive towards the rest of the Greeks.

49. For who is not aware that they were almost the first of the Greeks to cast longing eyes on the territory of their neighbors, making war on the Messenians out of covetousness and for the purpose of enslaving them? And is it not narrated by all historians how out of sheer obstinacy they bound themselves by an oath not to desist from the siege before they had taken Messene? It is no less universally known that owing to their desire of domination in Greece they were obliged to execute the behests of the very people they had conquered in battle. For they conquered the Persians when they invaded Greece, fighting for her freedom; but when the invaders had withdrawn and fled they betrayed the Greek cities to them by the peace of Antalcidas, in order to procure money for establishing their sovereignty over the Greeks; and here a conspicuous defect in their constitution revealed itself. For as long as they aspired to rule over their neighbors or over the Peloponnesians alone, they found the supplies and resources furnished by Laconia itself adequate, as they had all they required ready to hand, and quickly returned home whether by land or sea. But once they began to undertake naval expeditions and to make military campaigns outside the Peloponnese, it was evident that neither their iron currency nor the exchange of their crops for commodities which they lacked, as permitted by the legislation of Lycurgus, would suffice for their needs, since these enterprises demanded a currency in universal circulation and supplies drawn from abroad; and so they were compelled to be beggars from the Persians, to impose tribute on the islanders, and exact contributions from all the Greeks, as they recognized that under the legislation of

Lycurgus it was impossible to aspire, I will not say to supremacy in Greece, but to any position of influence.

50. But what is the purpose of this digression? It is to show from the actual evidence of facts, that for the purpose of remaining in secure possession of their own territory and maintaining their freedom the legislation of Lycurgus is amply sufficient, and to those who maintain this to be the object of political constitutions we must admit that there is not and never was any system or constitution superior to that of Lycurgus. But if anyone is ambitious of greater things, and esteems it finer and more glorious than that to be the leader of many men and to rule and lord it over many and have the eyes of all the world turned to him,it must be admitted that from this point of view the Laconian constitution is defective, while that of Rome is superior and better framed for the attainment of power, as is indeed evident from the actual course of events. For when the Lacedaemonians endeavored to obtain supremacy in Greece, they very soon ran the risk of losing their own liberty; whereas the Romans, who had aimed merely at the subjection of Italy, in a short time brought the whole world under their sway, the abundant of supplies they had at their command conducing in no small measure to this result.

51. The constitution of Carthage seems to me to have been originally well contrived as regards its most distinctive points. For there were kings, and the house of Elders was an aristocratical force, and the people were supreme in matters proper to them, the entire frame of the state much resembling that of Rome and Sparta. But at the time when they entered on the Hannibalic War, the Carthaginian constitution had degenerated, and that of Rome was better. For as every body or state or action has its natural periods first of growth, then of prime, and finally of decay, and as everything in them is at its best when they are in their prime, it was for this reason that the difference between the two states manifested itself at this time. For by as much as the power and prosperity of Carthage had been earlier than that of Rome, by so much had Carthage already begun to decline; while Rome was exactly at her prime, as far as at least as her system of government was concerned. Consequently the multitude at Carthage had already acquired the chief voice in deliberations; while at Rome the senate still retained this; and hence, as in one case the masses deliberated and in the other the most eminent men, the Roman decisions on public affairs were superior, so that although they met with complete disaster, they were finally by the wisdom of their counsels victorious over the Carthaginians in the war.

52. But to pass to differences of detail, such as, to begin with, the conduct of war, the Carthaginians naturally are superior at sea both in efficiency and equipment, because seamanship has long been their national craft, and they busy themselves with the sea more than any other people; but as regards military service on land the Romans are much more efficient. They indeed devote their whole energies to this matter, whereas the Carthaginians entirely neglect their infantry, though they do pay some slight attention to their cavalry. The reason of this is that the troops they employ are foreign and mercenary, whereas those of the Romans are natives of the soil and citizens. So that in this respect also we must pronounce the political system of Rome to be superior to that of Carthage, the Carthaginians continuing to depend for the maintenance of their freedom on the courage of a mercenary force but the Romans on their own valor and on the aid of their allies. Consequently even if they happen to be worsted at the outset, the Romans redeem defeat by final success, while it is the contrary with the Carthaginians. For the Romans, fighting as they are for their country and their children, never can abate their fury but continue to throw their whole hearts into the struggle until they get the better of their enemies. It follows that though the Romans are, as I said, much less skilled in naval matters, they are on the whole successful at sea owing to the gallantry of their men; for although skill in seamanship is of no small importance in naval battles, it is chiefly the

courage of the marines that turns the scale in favor of victory Now not only do Italians in general naturally excel Phoenicians and Africans in bodily strength and personal courage, but by their institutions also they do much to foster a spirit of bravery in the young men A single instance will suffice to indicate the pains taken by the state to turn out men who will be ready to endure everything in order to gain a reputation in their country for valor.

53. Whenever any illustrious man dies, he is carried at his funeral into the forum to the so-called *rostra*, sometimes conspicuous in an upright posture and more rarely reclined. Here with all the people standing round, a grown-up son, if he has left one who happens to be present, or if not some other relative mounts the rostra and discourses on the virtues and successful achievements of the dead. As a consequence the multitude and not only those who had a part in these achievements, but those also who had none, when the facts are recalled to their minds and brought before their eyes, are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people. Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing with remarkable fidelity both the features and complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices they display these images, and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies they take them to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a purple border if the deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold if he had celebrated a triumph or achieved anything similar. They all ride in chariots preceded by the *fasces*, axes, and other insignia by which the different magistrates are wont to be accompanied according to the respective dignity of the offices of state held by each during his life; and when they arrive at the rostra they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs. There could not easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this? Besides, he who makes the oration over the man about to be buried, when he has finished speaking of him recounts the successes and exploits of the rest whose images are present, beginning with the most ancient. By this means, by this constant renewal of the good report of brave men, the celebrity of those who performed noble deeds is rendered immortal, while at the same time the fame of those who did good service to their country becomes known to the people and a heritage for future generations. But the most important result is that young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering for public welfare in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men. What I say is confirmed by the facts. For many Romans have voluntarily engaged in single combat in order to decide a battle, not a few have faced certain death, some in war to save the lives of the rest, and others in peace to save the republic. Some even when in office have put their own sons to death contrary to every law or custom, setting a higher value on the interest of their country than on the ties of nature that bound them to their nearest and dearest.

55. Many such stories about many men are related in Roman history, but one told of a certain person will suffice for the present as an example and as a confirmation of what I say It is narrated that when Horatius Cocles was engaged in combat with two of the enemy at the far end of the bridge over the Tiber that lies in the front of the town, he saw large reinforcements coming up to help the enemy, and fearing lest they should force the passage and get into town, he turned round and called to those behind him to retire and cut the bridge with all speed. His order was obeyed, and while they were cutting the bridge, he stood to

his ground receiving many wounds, and arrested the attack of the enemy who were less astonished at his physical strength than at his endurance and courage. The bridge once cut, the enemy were prevented from attacking; and Cocles, plunging into the river in full armor as he was, deliberately sacrificed his life, regarding the safety of his country and the glory which in future would attach to his name as of more importance than his present existence and the years of life which remained to him. Such, if I am not wrong, is the eager emulation of achieving noble deeds engendered in the Roman youth by their institutions.

56. Again, the laws and customs relating to the acquisition of wealth are better in Rome than at Carthage. At Carthage nothing which results in profit is regarded as disgraceful; at Rome nothing is considered more so than to accept bribes and seek gain from improper channels. For no less strong than their approval of money-making is their condemnation of unscrupulous gain from forbidden sources. A proof of this is that at Carthage candidates for office practice open bribery, whereas at Rome death is the penalty for it. Therefore as the rewards offered to merit are the opposite in the two cases, it is natural that the steps taken to gain them should also be dissimilar.

But the quality in which the Roman commonwealth is most distinctly superior is in my opinion the nature of their religious convictions. I believe that it is the very thing which among other peoples is an object of reproach, I mean superstition, which maintains the cohesion of the Roman State. These matters are clothed in such pomp and introduced to such an extent into their public and private life that nothing could exceed it, a fact which will surprise many. My own opinion at least is that they have adopted this course for the sake of the common people It is a course which perhaps would not have been necessary had it been possible to form a state composed of wise men, but as every multitude is fickle, full of lawless desires, unreasoned passion, and violent anger, the multitude must be held in by invisible terrors and suchlike pageantry For this reason I think, not that the ancients acted rashly and at haphazard in introducing among the people notions concerning the gods and beliefs in the terrors of hell, but that the moderns are most rash and foolish in banishing such beliefs The consequence is that among the Greeks, apart from other things, members of the government, if they are entrusted with no more than a talent, though they have ten copyists and as many seals and twice as many witness e, cannot keep their faith; whereas among the Romans those who as magistrates and legates are dealing with large sums of money maintain correct conduct just because they have pledged their faith by oath Whereas else it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands off public money, and whose record is clean in this respect, among the Romans one rarely comes across a man who has been detected in such conduct. [. . .]

VIII. Conclusion of the Treatise on the Roman Republic

57. That all existing things are subject to decay and change is a truth that scarcely needs proof; for the course of nature is sufficient to force this conviction on us. There being two agencies by which every kind of state is liable to decay, the one external and the other a growth of the state itself, we can lay down no fixed rule about the former, but the latter is a regular process. I have already stated what kind of state is the first to come into being, and what the next, and how the one is transformed into the other; so that those who are capable of connecting the opening propositions of this inquiry with its conclusion will now be able to foretell the future unaided. And what will happen is, I think, evident. When a state has weathered many great perils and subsequently attains to supremacy and uncontested sovereignty, it is evident that under the influence of long established prosperity, life will become more extravagant and the citizens more fierce in their rivalry regarding office and other objects than they ought to be. As these defects go on increasing, the beginning of the change for the worse will be due to love of office and the disgrace entailed by obscurity, as well as to extravagance and purse-proud display; and for

this change the populace will be responsible when on the one hand they think they have a grievance against certain people who have shown themselves grasping, and when, on the other hand, they are puffed up by the flattery of others who aspire to office. For now, stirred to fury and swayed by passion in all their counsels, they will no longer consent to obey or even to be the equals of the ruling caste, but will demand the lion's share for themselves. When this happens, the state will change its name to the finest sounding of all, freedom and democracy, but will change its nature to the worst thing of all, mob-rule.

Having dealt with the origin and growth of the Roman republic, and with its prime and its present condition, and also with the differences for better or worse between it and others, I may now close this discourse more or less so.

58. But, drawing now upon the period immediately subsequent to the date at which I abandoned my narrative to enter on this digression, I will make brief and summary mention of one occurrence; so that, as if exhibiting a single specimen of a good artist's work, I may make manifest not by words only but by actual fact the perfection and strength of principle of the Republic such as it then was. Hannibal, when, after his victory over the Romans at Cannae, the eight thousand who garrisoned the camp fell into his hands, after making them all prisoners, allowed them to send a deputation to those at home on the subject of their ransom and release. Upon their naming ten of their most distinguished members, he sent them off after making them swear that they would return to him. One of those nominated just as he was going out of the camp said he had forgotten something and went back, and after recovering the thing he had left behind again took his departure, thinking that by his return he had kept his faith and absolved himself of his oath. Upon their arrival in Rome they begged and entreated the senate not to grudge the prisoners their release, but to allow each of them to pay three minae and return to his people; for Hannibal, they said, had made this concession. The men deserved to be released, for they had neither been guilty of cowardice in the battle nor had they done anything unworthy of Rome; but having been left behind to guard the camp, they had, when all the rest had perished in the battle, been forced to yield to circumstances and surrender to the enemy. But the Romans, though they had met with severe reverses in the war, and had now, roughly speaking, lost all their allies and were in momentary expectation of Rome itself being placed in peril, after listening to this plea, neither disregarded their dignity under the pressure of calamity, nor neglected to take into consideration every proper step; but seeing that Hannibal's object in acting thus was both to obtain funds and to deprive the troops opposed to him of their high spirit, by showing that, even if defeated, they might hope for safety, they were so far from acceding to this request, that they did not allow their pity for their kinsmen, or the consideration of the service the men would render them, to prevail, but defeated Hannibal's calculation and the hopes he had based on them by refusing to ransom the men, and at the same time imposed by law on their own troops the duty of either conquering or dying in the field, as there was no hope of safety for them if defeated Therefore after coming to this decision they dismissed the nine delegates who returned of their own free will, as bound by their oath, while as for the man who had thought to free himself from the oath by a ruse they put him in irons and returned him to the enemy; so that Hannibal's joy at his victory in the battle was not so great as his dejection, when he saw with amazement how steadfast and high-spirited were the Romans in their deliberations.

Livy: Roman History

Translated by J.H. Freese, A.J. Church, and W.J. Brodribb (excerpts from Books 1 & 2)
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From BOOK ONE

Tarquin, having thus gained possession of Gabii, made peace with the nation of the Aequi, and renewed the treaty with the Etruscans. He next turned his attention to the affairs of the city. The chief of these was that of leaving behind him the Temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian Mount, as a monument of his name and reign; to remind posterity that of two Tarquinii, both kings, the father had vowed, the son completed it. Further, that the open space, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship, might be entirely appropriated to Jupiter and his temple, which was to be erected upon it, he resolved to cancel the inauguration of the small temples and chapels, several of which had been first vowed by King Tatius, in the crisis of the battle against Romulus, and afterward consecrated and dedicated by him. At the very outset of the foundation of this work it is said that the gods exerted their divinity to declare the future greatness of so mighty an empire; for, though the birds declared for the unhallowing of all the other chapels, they did not declare themselves in favor of it in the case of that of Terminus. This omen and augury were taken to import that the fact of Terminus not changing his residence, and that he was the only one of the gods who was not called out of the consecrated bounds devoted to his worship, was a presage of the lasting stability of the state in general. This being accepted as an omen of its lasting character, there followed another prodigy portending the greatness of the empire. It was reported that the head of a man, with the face entire, was found by the workmen when digging the foundation of the temple. The sight of this phenomenon by no doubtful indications portended that this temple should be the seat of empire, and the capital of the world; and so declared the soothsayers, both those who were in the city, and those whom they had summoned from Etruria, to consult on this subject. The king's mind was thereby encouraged to greater expense; in consequence of which the spoils of Pometia, which had been destined to complete the work, scarcely sufficed for laying the foundation. On this account I am more inclined to believe Fabius (not to mention his being the more ancient authority), that there were only forty talents, than Piso, who says that forty thousand pounds of silver by weight were set apart for that purpose, a sum of money neither to be expected from the spoils of any one city in those times, and one that would more than suffice for the foundations of any building, even the magnificent buildings of the present day.

56. Tarquin, intent upon the completion of the temple, having sent for workmen from all parts of Etruria, employed on it not only the public money, but also workmen from the people; and when this labor, in itself no inconsiderable one, was added to their military service, still the people murmured less at building the temples of the gods with their own hands, than at being transferred, as they afterward were, to other works, which, while less dignified, required considerably greater toil; such were the erection of benches in the circus, and conducting underground the principal sewer, the receptacle of all the filth of the city; two works the like of which even modern splendor has scarcely been able to produce. After the people had been employed in these works, because he both considered that such a number of inhabitants was a burden to the city where there was no employment for them, and further, was anxious that the frontiers of the empire should be more extensively occupied by sending colonists, he sent colonists to Signia and Circeii, to serve as defensive outposts hereafter to the city on land and sea. While he was thus employed a frightful prodigy appeared to him. A serpent gliding out of a wooden pillar, after causing dismay and flight in the palace, not so much struck the king's heart with sudden terror, as it filled him with

anxious solicitude. Accordingly, since Etruscan soothsayers were only employed for public prodigies, terrified at this so to say private apparition, he determined to send to the oracle of Delphi, the most celebrated in the world; and not venturing to entrust the responses of the oracle to any other person, he dispatched his two sons to Greece through lands unknown at that time, and yet more unknown seas. Titus and Arruns were the two who set out. They were accompanied by Lucius Junius Brutus, the son of Tarquinia, the king's sister, a youth of an entirely different cast of mind from that of which he had assumed the disguise. He, having heard that the chief men of the city, among them his own brother, had been put to death by his uncle, resolved to leave nothing in regard to his ability that might be dreaded by the king, nor anything in his fortune that might be coveted, and thus to be secure in the contempt in which he was held, seeing that there was but little protection in justice. Therefore, having designedly fashioned himself to the semblance of foolishness, and allowing himself and his whole estate to become the prey of the king, he did not refuse to take even the surname of Brutus, that, under the cloak of this surname, the genius that was to be the future liberator of the Roman people, lying concealed, might bide its opportunity. He, in reality being brought to Delphi by the Tarquinii rather as an object of ridicule than as a companion, is said to have borne with him as an offering to Apollo a golden rod, enclosed in a staff of cornel-wood hollowed out for the purpose, a mystical emblem of his own mind. When they arrived there, and had executed their father's commission, the young men's minds were seized with the desire of inquiring to which of them the sovereignty of Rome should fall. They say that the reply was uttered from the inmost recesses of the cave, "Young men, whichever of you shall first kiss his mother shall enjoy the sovereign power at Rome." The Tarquinii ordered the matter to be kept secret with the utmost care, that Sextus, who had been left behind at Rome, might be ignorant of the response of the oracle, and have no share in the kingdom; they then cast lots among themselves, to decide which of them should first kiss his mother, after they had returned to Rome. Brutus, thinking that the Pythian response had another meaning, as if he had stumbled and fallen, touched the ground with his lips, she being, forsooth, the common mother of all mankind. After this they returned to Rome, where preparations were being made with the greatest vigor for a war against the Rutulians.

57. The Rutulians, a very wealthy nation, considering the country and age in which they lived, were at that time in possession of Ardea. Their wealth was itself the actual occasion of the war: for the Roman king, whose resources had been drained by the magnificence of his public works, was desirous of enriching himself, and also of soothing the minds of his subjects by a large present of booty, as they, independently of the other instances of his tyranny, were incensed against his government, because they felt indignant that they had been kept so long employed by the king as mechanics, and in labor only fit for slaves. An attempt was made, to see if Ardea could be taken at the first assault; when that proved unsuccessful, the enemy began to be distressed by a blockade, and by siege-works. In the standing camp, as usually happens when a war is tedious rather than severe, furloughs were easily obtained, more so by the officers, however, than the common soldiers. The young princes also sometimes spent their leisure hours in feasting and mutual entertainments. One day as they were drinking in the tent of Sextus Tarquinius, where Collatinus Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, was also at supper, they fell to talking about their wives. Every one commended his own extravagantly: a dispute thereupon arising, Collatinus said there was no occasion for words, that it might be known in a few hours how far his wife Lucretia excelled all the rest. "If, then," added he, "we have any youthful vigor, why should we not mount our horses and in person examine the behavior of our wives? Let that be the surest proof to every one, which shall meet his eyes on the unexpected arrival of the husband." They were heated with wine. "Come on, then," cried all. They immediately galloped to Rome, where they arrived when darkness was beginning to

fall. From thence they proceeded to Collatia, where they found Lucretia, not after the manner of the king's daughters-in-law, whom they had seen spending their time in luxurious banqueting with their companions, but, although the night was far advanced, employed at her wool, sitting in the middle of the house in the midst of her maids who were working around her. The honor of the contest regarding the women rested with Lucretia. Her husband on his arrival, and the Tarquinii, were kindly received; the husband, proud of his victory, gave the young princes a polite invitation. There an evil desire of violating Lucretia by force seized Sextus Tarquinius; both her beauty, and her proved chastity urged him on. Then, after this youthful frolic of the night, they returned to the camp.

58. After an interval of a few days, Sextus Tarquinius, without the knowledge of Collatinus, came to Collatia with one attendant only: there he was made welcome by them, as they had no suspicion of his design, and, having been conducted after supper into the guest chamber, burning with passion, when all around seemed sufficiently secure, and all fast asleep, he came to the bedside of Lucretia, as she lay asleep, with a drawn sword, and with his left hand pressing down the woman's breast, said: "Be silent, Lucretia; I am Sextus Tarquinius. I have a sword in my hand. You shall die if you utter a word." When the woman, awaking terrified from sleep, saw there was no help, and that impending death was nigh at hand, then Tarquin declared his passion, entreated, mixed threats with entreaties, tried all means to influence the woman's mind. When he saw she was resolved, and uninfluenced even by the fear of death, to the fear of death he added the fear of dishonor, declaring that he would lay a murdered slave naked by her side when dead, so that it should be said that she had been slain in base adultery. When by the terror of this disgrace his lust (as it were victorious) had overcome her inflexible chastity, and Tarquin had departed, exulting in having triumphed over a woman's honor by force, Lucretia, in melancholy distress at so dreadful a misfortune, dispatched one and the same messenger both to her father at Rome, and to her husband at Ardea, bidding them come each with a trusty friend; that they must do so, and use despatch, for a monstrous deed had been wrought. Spurius Lucretius came accompanied by Publius Valerius, the son of Volesus, Collatinus with Lucius Junius Brutus, in company with whom, as he was returning to Rome, he happened to be met by his wife's messenger. They found Lucretia sitting in her chamber in sorrowful dejection. On the arrival of her friends the tears burst from her eyes; and on her husband inquiring, whether all was well, "By no means," she replied, "for how can it be well with a woman who has lost her honor? The traces of another man are on your bed, Collatinus. But the body only has been violated, the mind is guiltless; death shall be my witness. But give me your right hands, and your word of honor, that the adulterer shall not come off unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who, an enemy last night in the guise of a guest has borne hence by force of arms, a triumph destructive to me, and one that will prove so to himself also, if you be men." All gave their word in succession; they attempted to console her, grieved in heart as she was, by turning the guilt of the act from her, constrained as she had been by force, upon the perpetrator of the crime, declaring that it is the mind sins, not the body; and that where there is no intention, there is no guilt. "It is for you to see," said she, "what is due to him. As for me, though I acquit myself of guilt, I do not discharge myself from punishment; nor shall any woman survive her dishonor by pleading the example of Lucretia." She plunged a knife, which she kept concealed beneath her garment, into her heart, and falling forward on the wound, dropped down expiring. Her husband and father shrieked aloud.

59. While they were overwhelmed with grief, Brutus drew the knife out of the wound, and, holding it up before him reeking with blood, said: "By this blood, most pure before the outrage of a prince, I swear, and I call you, O gods, to witness my oath, that I will henceforth pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, his wicked wife, and all their children, with fire, sword, and all other violent means in my power; nor will I ever suffer them or any other to reign at Rome." Then he

gave the knife to Collatinus, and after him to Lucretius and Valerius, who were amazed at such an extraordinary occurrence, and could not understand the newly developed character of Brutus. However, they all took the oath as they were directed, and, their sorrow being completely changed to wrath, followed the lead of Brutus, who from that time ceased not to call upon them to abolish the regal power. They carried forth the body of Lucretia from her house, and conveyed it to the forum, where they caused a number of persons to assemble, as generally happens, by reason of the unheard-of and atrocious nature of an extraordinary occurrence. They complained, each for himself, of the royal villainy and violence. Both the grief of the father affected them, and also Brutus, who reproved their tears and unavailing complaints, and advised them to take up arms, as became men and Romans, against those who dared to treat them like enemies. All the most spirited youths voluntarily presented themselves in arms; the rest of the young men followed also. From thence, after an adequate garrison had been left at the gates at Collatia, and sentinels appointed, to prevent any one giving intelligence of the disturbance to the royal party, the rest set out for Rome in arms under the conduct of Brutus. When they arrived there, the armed multitude caused panic and confusion wherever they went. Again, when they saw the principal men of the state placing themselves at their head, they thought that, whatever it might be, it was not without good reason. Nor did the heinousness of the event excite less violent emotions at Rome than it had done at Collatia: accordingly, they ran from all parts of the city into the forum, and as soon as they came thither, the public crier summoned them to attend the tribune of the celeres, with which office Brutus happened to be at the time invested. There a harangue was delivered by him, by no means of the style and character which had been counterfeited by him up to that day, concerning the violence and lust of Sextus Tarquinius, the horrid violation of Lucretia and her lamentable death, the bereavement of Tricipitinus, in whose eyes the cause of his daughter's death was more shameful and deplorable than that death itself. To this was added the haughty insolence of the king himself, and the sufferings and toils of the people, buried in the earth in the task of cleansing ditches and sewers: he declared that Romans, the conquerors of all the surrounding states, instead of warriors had become laborers and stone-cutters. The unnatural murder of King Servius Tullius was recalled, and the fact of his daughter having driven over the body of her father in her impious chariot, and the gods who avenge parents were invoked by him. By stating these and, I believe, other facts still more shocking, which, though by no means easy to be detailed by writers, the then heinous state of things suggested, he so worked upon the already incensed multitude, that they deprived the king of his authority, and ordered the banishment of Lucius Tarquinius with his wife and children. He himself, having selected and armed some of the younger men, who gave in their names as volunteers, set out for the camp at Ardea to rouse the army against the king: the command in the city he left to Lucretius, who had been already appointed prefect of the city by the king. During this tumult Tullia fled from her house, both men and women cursing her wherever she went, and invoking upon her the wrath of the furies, the avengers of parents.

60. News of these transactions having reached the camp, when the king, alarmed at this sudden revolution, was proceeding to Rome to quell the disturbances, Brutus--for he had had notice of his approach--turned aside, to avoid meeting him; and much about the same time Brutus and Tarquinius arrived by different routes, the one at Ardea, the other at Rome. The gates were shut against Tarquin, and sentence of banishment declared against him; the camp welcomed with great joy the deliverer of the city, and the king's sons were expelled. Two of them followed their father, and went into exile to Caere, a city of Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius, who had gone to Gabii, as if to his own kingdom, was slain by the avengers of the old feuds, which he had stirred up against himself by his rapines and murders. Lucius Tarquinius Superbus reigned twenty-five years: the regal form of government lasted, from the building of the city to its deliverance, two hundred and forty-four years.

Two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected by the prefect of at the comitia of centuries, according to the commentaries of Servius Tullius.

From BOOK TWO

1. The acts, civil and military, of the Roman people, henceforth free, their annual magistrates, and the sovereignty of the laws, more powerful than that of men, I will now proceed to recount. The haughty insolence of the last king had caused this liberty to be the more welcome: for the former kings reigned in such a manner that they all in succession may be deservedly reckoned founders of those parts at least of the city, which they independently added as new dwelling-places for the population, which had been increased by themselves. Nor is there any doubt that that same Brutus, who gained such renown from the expulsion of King Superbus, would have acted to the greatest injury of the public weal, if, through the desire of liberty before the people were fit for it, he had wrested the kingdom from any of the preceding kings. For what would have been the consequence, if that rabble of shepherds and strangers, runaways from their own peoples, had found, under the protection of an inviolable sanctuary, either freedom, or at least impunity for former offences, and, freed from all dread of regal authority, had begun to be distracted by tribunician storms, and to engage in contests with the fathers in a strange city, before the pledges of wives and children, and affection for the soil itself, to which people become habituated only by length of time, had united their affections? Their condition, not yet matured, would have been destroyed by discord; but the tranquillizing moderation of the government so fostered this condition, and by proper nourishment brought it to such perfection, that, when their strength was now developed, they were able to bring forth the wholesome fruits of liberty. The first beginnings of liberty, however, one may date from this period, rather because the consular authority was made annual, than because of the royal prerogative was in any way curtailed. The first consuls kept all the privileges and outward signs of authority, care only being taken to prevent the terror appearing doubled, should both have the fasces at the same time. Brutus, with the consent of his colleague, was first attended by the fasces, he who proved himself afterward as keen in protecting liberty as he had previously shown himself in asserting it. First of all he bound over the people, jealous of their newly-acquired liberty, by an oath that they would suffer no one to be king in Rome, for fear that later they might be influenced by the importunities or bribes of the royal house. Next, that a full house might give additional strength to the senate, he filled up the number of senators, which had been diminished by the assassinations of Tarquinius, to the full number of three hundred, by electing the principal men of equestrian rank to fill their places: from this is said to have been derived the custom of summoning into the senate both the patres and those who were conscripti. They called those who were elected, conscripti, enrolled, that is, as a new senate. It is surprising how much that contributed to the harmony of the state, and toward uniting the patricians and commons in friendship.

* * *

8. After this laws were proposed by the consul, such as not only freed him from all suspicion of aiming at regal power, but had so contrary a tendency, that they even made him popular. At this time he was surnamed Publicola. Above all, the laws regarding an appeal to the people against the magistrates, and declaring accursed the life and property of any one who should have formed the design of seizing regal authority, were welcome to the people. Having passed these laws while sole consul, so that the merit of them might be exclusively his own, he then held an assembly for the election of a new colleague. Spurius Lucretius was elected consul, who, owing to his great age, and his strength being inadequate to discharge the consular duties, died within a few days. Marcus Horatius Pulvillus was chosen in the room of Lucretius. In some ancient authorities I find no mention of Lucretius as consul; they place Horatius

immediately after Brutus. My own belief is that, because no important event signalized his consulate, all record of it has been lost. The Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol had not yet been dedicated; the conuls Valerius and Horatius cast lots which should dedicate it. The duty fell by lot to Horatius. Publicola departed to conduct the war against the Veientines. The friends of Valerius were more annoyed than the circumstances demanded that the dedication of so celebrated a temple was given to Horatius. Having endeavored by every means to prevent it, when all other attempts had been tried and failed, at the moment when the consul was holding the door-post during his offering of prayer to the gods, they suddenly announced to him the startling intelligence that his son was dead, and that, while his family was polluted by death, he could not dedicate the temple. Whether he did not believe that it was true, or whether he possessed such great strength of mind, is neither handed down for certain, nor is it easy to decide. On receiving the news, holding the door-post, without turning off his attention in any other way from the business he was engaged completed the form of prayer, and dedicated the temple. Such were the transactions at home and abroad during the first year after the expulsion of the kings. After this Publius Valerius, for the second time, and Titus Lucretius were elected consuls.

9. By this time the Tarquins had fled to Lars Porsina, King of Clusium. There, mingling advice with entreaties, they now besought him not to suffer them, who were descended from the Etruscans, and of the same stock and name, to live in exile and poverty; now advised him also not to let the rising practice of expelling kings pass unpunished. Liberty in itself had charms enough; and, unless kings defended their thrones with as much vigor as the people strove for liberty, the highest was put on a level with the lowest; there would be nothing exalted in states, nothing to be distinguished above the rest; that the end of regal government, the most beautiful institution both among gods and men, was close at hand. Porsina, thinking it a great honor to the Tuscans both that there should be a king at Rome, and that one belonging to the Etruscan nation, marched toward Rome with a hostile army. Never before on any other occasion did such terror seize the senate; so powerful was the state of Clusium at that time, and so great the renown of Porsina. Nor did they dread their enemies only, but even their own citizens, lest the common people of Rome, smitten with fear, should, by receiving the Tarquins into the city, accept peace even at the price of slavery. Many concessions were therefore granted to the people by the senate during that period by way of conciliating them. Their attention, in the first place, was directed to the markets, and persons were sent, some to the country of the Volscians, others to Cumae, to buy up corn. The privilege of selling salt also was withdrawn from private individuals because it was sold at an exorbitant price, while all the expense fell upon the state : and the people were freed from duties and taxes, inasmuch as the rich, since they were in a position to bear the burden, should contribute them; the poor, they said, paid taxes enough if they brought up their children. This indulgence on the part of the fathers accordingly kept the state so united during their subsequent adversity in time of siege and famine, that the lowest as much as the highest abhorred the name of king; nor did any single individual afterward gain such popularity by intriguing practices, as the whole body of the senate at that time by their excellent government.

10. On the approach of the enemy, they all withdrew for protection from the country into the city, and protected the city itself with military garrisons. Some parts seemed secured by the walls, others by the Tiber between. The Sublician bridge well-nigh afforded a passage to the enemy, had it not been for one man, Horatius Cocles: in him the protecting spirit of Rome on that day found a defense. He happened to be posted on guard at the bridge: and, when he saw the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and the enemy pouring down from thence at full speed, and his own party, in confusion, abandoning their arms and ranks, seizing hold of them one by one, standing in their way, and appealing to the faith of gods and men, he declared, that their flight would

avail them nothing if they deserted their post; if they crossed the bridge and left it behind them, there would soon be greater numbers of the enemy in the Palatium and Capitol than in the Janiculum; therefore he advised and charged them to break down the bridge, by sword, by fire, or by any violent means whatsoever; that he himself would receive the attack of the enemy as far as resistance could be offered by the person of one man. He then strode to the front entrance of the bridge, and being easily distinguished among those whose backs were seen as they gave way before the battle, he struck the enemy with amazement by his surprising boldness as he faced round in arms to engage the foe hand to hand. Two, however, a sense of shame kept back with him, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, both men of high birth, and renowned for their gallant exploits. With them he for a short time stood the first storm of danger, and the severest brunt of the battle. Afterward, as those who were cutting down the bridge called upon them to retire, and only a small portion of it was left, he obliged them also to withdraw to a place of safety. Then, casting his stern eyes threateningly upon all the nobles of the Etruscans, he now challenged them singly, now reproached them all as the slaves of haughty tyrants, who, unmindful of their own freedom, came to attack that of others. For a considerable time they hesitated, looking round one upon another, waiting to begin the fight. A feeling of shame then stirred the army, and raising a shout, they hurled their weapons from all sides on their single adversary; and when they had all stuck in the shield he held before him, and he with no less obstinacy kept possession of the bridge with firm step, they now began to strive to thrust him down from it by their united attack, when the crash of the falling bridge, and at the same time the shout raised by the Romans for joy at having completed their task, checked their assault with sudden consternation. Then Cocles said, “Father Tiberinus, holy one, I pray thee, receive these arms, and this thy soldier, in thy favoring stream.” So, in full armor, just as he was, he leaped into the Tiber, and, amid showers of darts that fell upon him, swam across unharmed to his comrades, having dared a deed which is likely to obtain more fame than belief with posterity. The state showed itself grateful toward such distinguished valor; a statue of him was erected in the comitium, and as much land was given to him as he could draw a furrow round in one day with a plough. The zeal of private individuals also was conspicuous in the midst of public honors. For, notwithstanding the great scarcity, each person contributed something to him in proportion to his private means, depriving himself of his own means of support.

From BOOK TEN

40. When the consul had recounted these particulars, ascertained from the information of the deserters, to the soldiers already enraged of themselves, they then, filled with confidence in both divine and human aid, with one universal shout, demanded the battle; were dissatisfied at the action being deferred to the following day; they are impatient under the intended delay of a day and a night. Papirius, at the third watch, having received his colleague’s letter, arose in silence, and sent the keeper of the chickens to take the auspices. There was no one description of men in the camp who felt not earnest wishes for the fight: the highest and the lowest were equally eager; the general watching the ardor of the soldiers, and the soldiers that of the general. This universal zeal spread even to those employed in taking the auspices; for the chickens having refused to feed, the auspex ventured to misrepresent the omen, and reported to the consul that they had fed voraciously. The consul, highly pleased, and giving notice that the auspices were excellent, and that they were to act under the direction of the gods, displayed the signal for battle. Just as he was going out to the field, he happened to receive intelligence from a deserter, that twenty cohorts of Samnites, consisting of about four hundred each, had marched towards Cominium. Lest his colleague should be ignorant of this, he instantly despatched a messenger to him, and then ordered the troops to advance with speed, having already assigned to each division of the army its proper post, and appointed general officers to

command them. The command of the right wing he gave to Lucius Volumnius, that of the left to Lucius Scipio, that of the cavalry to the other lieutenants-general, Caius Caedicius and Caius Trebonius. He ordered Spurius Nautius to take off the panniers from the mules, and to lead them round quickly, together with his auxiliary cohorts, to a rising ground in view; and there to show himself during the heat of the engagement, and to raise as much dust as possible. While the general was employed in making these dispositions, a dispute arose among the keepers of the chickens, about the auspices of the day, which was overheard by some Roman horsemen, who, deeming it a matter not to be slighted, informed Spurius Papirius, the consul's nephew, that there was a doubt about the auspices. The youth, born in an age when that sort of learning which inculcates contempt of the gods was yet unknown, examined into the affair, that he might not carry an uncertain report to the consul; and then acquainted him with it. His answer was, "I very much applaud your conduct and zeal. However, the person who officiates in taking the auspices, if he makes a false report, draws on his own head the evil portended; but to the Roman people and their army, the favourable omen reported to me is an excellent auspice." He then commanded the centurions to place the keepers of the chickens in the front of the line. The Samnites likewise brought forward their standards; their main body followed, armed and decorated in such a manner, that the enemy afforded a magnificent show. Before the shout was raised, or the battle begun, the auspex, wounded by a random cast of a javelin, fell before the standards; which being told to the consul, he said, "The gods are present in the battle; the guilty has met his punishment." While the consul uttered these words, a crow, in front of him, cawed with a clear voice; at which augury, the consul being rejoiced, and affirming, that never had the gods interposed in a more striking manner in human affairs, ordered the charge to be sounded and the shout to be raised.

41. A furious conflict now ensued, but with very unequal spirit [in the combatants]. Anger, hope, and ardour for conquest, hurried on the Romans to battle, thirsting for their enemy's blood; while the Samnites, for the most part reluctantly, as if compelled by necessity and religious dread, rather stood on their defence, than made an attack. Nor would they, familiarized as they were to defeats, through a course of so many years, have withstood the first shout and shock of the Romans, had not another fear, operating still more powerfully in their breasts, restrained them from flying. For they had before their eyes the whole scene exhibited at the secret sacrifice, the armed priests, the promiscuous carnage of men and cattle, the altars besmeared with the blood of victims and of their murdered countrymen, the dreadful curses, and the direful form of imprecation, drawn up for calling down perdition on their family and race. Prevented by these shackles from running away, they stood, more afraid of then countrymen than of the enemy. The Romans pushed on both the wings, and in the centre, and made great havoc among them, stupified as they were, through their fears of the gods and of men. A faint resistance is now made, as by men whom fear alone prevented from running away. The slaughter had now almost reached to their standards, when, on one side, appeared a cloud of dust, as if raised by the marching of a numerous army: it was Spurius Nautius, (some say Octavius Metius,) commander of the auxiliary cohorts: for these raised a greater quantity of dust than was proportioned to the number of men, the servants of the camp, mounted on the mules, trailing boughs of trees, full of leaves, along the ground. Through the light thus obscured, arms and standards were seen in front; behind, a higher and denser cloud of dust presented the appearance of horsemen bringing up the rear. This effectually deceived, not only the Samnites, but the Romans themselves: and the consul confirmed the mistake, by calling out among the foremost battalions, so that his voice reached also the enemy, that "Cominium was taken, and that his victorious colleague was approaching," bidding his men "now make haste to complete the defeat of the enemy, before the glory should fall to the share of the other army." This he said as he sat on horseback, and then ordered the tribunes

and centurions to open passages for the horse. He had given previous directions to Trebonius and Caedicius, that, when they should see him waving the point of his spear aloft, they should incite the cavalry to charge the enemy with all possible violence. Every particular, as previously concerted, was executed with the utmost exactness. The passages were opened between the ranks, the cavalry darted through, and, with the points of their spears presented, rushed into the midst of the enemy's battalions, breaking down the ranks wherever they charged. Voluminius and Scipio seconded the blow, and taking advantage of the enemy's disorder, made a terrible slaughter. Thus attacked, the cohorts, called *linteatae*, regardless of all restraints from either gods or men, quitted their posts in confusion, the sworn and the unsworn all fled alike, no longer dreading aught but the enemies. The body of their infantry which survived the battle, were driven into the camp at Aquilonia. The nobility and cavalry directed their flight to Bovianum. The horse were pursued by the Roman horse, the infantry by their infantry, while the wings proceeded by different roads; the right, to the camp of the Samnites; the left to the city. Volumnius succeeded first in gaining possession of the camp. At the city, Scipio met a stouter resistance; not because the conquered troops there had gained courage, but because walls were a better defence against armed men than a rampart. From these they repelled the enemy with stones. Scipio, considering that unless the business were effected during their first panic, and before they could recover their spirits, the attack of so strong a town would be very tedious, asked his soldiers "if they could endure, without shame, that the other wing should already have taken the camp, and that they, after all their success, should be repulsed from the gates of the city?" Then, all of them loudly declaring their determination to the contrary, he himself advanced, the foremost, to the gate, with his shield raised over his head: the rest, following under the like cover of their shields conjoined, burst into the city, and dispersing the Samnites who were near the gate, took possession of the walls, but they ventured not to push forward into the interior of the city in consequence of the smallness of their number.

Lecture 26

Cicero, First Speech Against Catiline

Caesar, On the Conspiracy of Catiline

Cicero: First Speech against Catiline

Delivered in the Roman Senate (63 BCE)
Translated by Charles Duke Yonge

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE): Rome's finest orator, Cicero was born at Arpinum on 3 January 106 BCE, and killed at Formia while fleeing from his political enemies on 7 December 43 BCE. served in the Social War in 89; Questor in Sicily in 75; Edile in 69; Prætor in 66; Consul in 63, during the Catiline conspiracy; banished in 58; Proconsul of Cilicia in 51–50; allied with Pompey (against Julius Caesar) in 49, and proscribed by the Second Triumvirate. Of his orations, fifty-seven have been preserved.

WHEN, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours, swaggering about as it does now? Do not the nightly guards placed on the Palatine Hill—do not the watches posted throughout the city—does not the alarm of the people, and the union of all good men—does not the precaution taken of assembling the senate in this most defensible place—do not the looks and countenances of this venerable body here present, have any effect upon you? Do you not feel that your plans are detected? Do you not see that your conspiracy is already arrested and rendered powerless by the knowledge which every one here possesses of it? What is there that you did last night, what the night before—where is it that you were—who was there that you summoned to meet you—what design was there which was adopted by you, with which you think that any one of us is unacquainted?

Shame on the age and on its principles! The senate is aware of these things; the consul sees them; and yet this man lives. Lives! aye, he comes even into the senate. He takes a part in the public deliberations; he is watching and marking down and checking off for slaughter every individual among us. And we, gallant men that we are, think that we are doing our duty to the republic if we keep out of the way of his frenzied attacks.

You ought, O Catiline, long ago to have been led to execution by command of the consul. That destruction which you have been long plotting against us ought to have already fallen on your own head.

What? Did not that most illustrious man, Publius Scipio, the Pontifex Maximus, in his capacity of a private citizen, put to death Tiberius Gracchus, tho but slightly undermining the constitution? And shall we, who are the consuls, tolerate Catiline, openly desirous to destroy the whole world with fire and slaughter? For I pass over older instances, such as how Caius Servilius Ahala with his own hand slew Spurius Mælius when plotting a revolution in the state. There was—there was once such virtue in this republic that brave men would repress mischievous citizens with severer chastisement than the most bitter enemy. For we have a resolution of the senate, a formidable and authoritative decree against you, O Catiline; the wisdom of the republic is not at fault, nor the dignity of this senatorial body. We, we alone—I say it openly,—we, the consuls, are wanting in our duty.

The senate once passed a decree that Lucius Opimius, the consul, should take care that the republic suffered no injury. Not one night elapsed. There was put to death, on some mere suspicion of disaffection, Caius Gracchus, a man whose family had borne the most unblemished reputation for many generations. There was slain Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, and all his children. By a like decree of the senate the safety of the republic was entrusted to Caius Marius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls. Did not the vengeance of the republic, did not execution overtake Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and Caius Servilius, the prætor, without the delay of one single day? But we, for these twenty days, have been allowing the edge of the senate's authority to grow blunt, as it were. For we are in possession of a similar decree of the

senate, but we keep it locked up in its parchment—buried, I may say, in the sheath; and according to this decree you ought, O Catiline, to be put to death this instant. You live—and you live, not to lay aside, but to persist in your audacity.

I wish, O conscript fathers, to be merciful; I wish not to appear negligent amid such danger to the state; but I do now accuse myself of remissness and culpable inactivity. A camp is pitched in Italy, at the entrance of Etruria, in hostility to the republic; the number of the enemy increases every day; and yet the general of that camp, the leader of those enemies, we see within the walls—aye, and even in the senate—planning every day some internal injury to the republic. If, O Catiline, I should now order you to be arrested, to be put to death, I should, I suppose, have to fear lest all good men should say that I had acted tardily, rather than that any one should affirm that I acted cruelly. But yet this, which ought to have been done long since, I have good reason for not doing as yet; I will put you to death, then, when there shall be not one person possible to be found so wicked, so abandoned, so like yourself, as not to allow that it has been rightly done. As long as one person exists who can dare to defend you, you shall live; but you shall live as you do now, surrounded by my many and trusty guards, so that you shall not be able to stir one finger against the republic; many eyes and ears shall still observe and watch you, as they have hitherto done, tho you shall not perceive them.

For what is there, O Catiline, that you can still expect, if night is not able to veil your nefarious meetings in darkness, and if private houses can not conceal the voice of your conspiracy within their walls—if everything is seen and displayed? Change your mind: trust me: forget the slaughter and conflagration you are meditating. You are hemmed in on all sides; all your plans are clearer than the day to us; let me remind you of them. Do you recollect that on the 21st of October I said in the senate that on a certain day, which was to be the 27th of October, C. Manlius, the satellite and servant of your audacity, would be in arms? Was I mistaken, Catiline, not only in so important, so atrocious, so incredible a fact, but, what is much more remarkable, in the very day? I said also in the senate that you had fixed the massacre of the nobles for the 28th of October when many chief men of the senate had left Rome, not so much for the sake of saving themselves as of checking your designs. Can you deny that on that very day you were so hemmed in by my guards and my vigilance that you were unable to stir one finger against the republic; when you said that you would be content with the flight of the rest, and the slaughter of us who remained? What? when you made sure that you would be able to seize Præneste on the 1st of November by a nocturnal attack, did you not find that that colony was fortified by my order, by my garrison, by my watchfulness and care? You do nothing, you plan nothing, you think of nothing which I not only do not hear, but which I do not see and know every particular of.

Listen while I speak of the night before. You shall now see that I watch far more actively for the safety than you do for the destruction of the republic. I say that you came the night before (I will say nothing obscurely) into the Scythedealers' Street, to the house of Marcus Lecca; that many of your accomplices in the same insanity and wickedness came there, too. Do you dare to deny it? Why are you silent? I will prove it if you do deny it; for I see here in the senate some men who were there with you.

O ye immortal gods, where on earth are we? in what city are we living? what constitution is ours? There are here,—here in our body, O conscript fathers, in this the most holy and dignified assembly of the whole world, men who meditate my death, and the death of all of us, and the destruction of this city, and of the whole world. I, the consul, see them; I ask them their opinion about the republic, and I do not yet attack, even by words, those who ought to be put to death by the sword. You were, then, O Catiline, at Lecca's that night; you divided Italy into sections; you settled where every one was to go; you fixed whom you were to leave at Rome, whom you were to take with you; you portioned out the divisions of the city for conflagration; you undertook that you yourself would at once leave the city, and said that there was then only this to delay you,—that I was still alive. Two Roman knights were found to deliver you from this anxiety, and to promise that very night, before daybreak, to slay me in my bed. All this I

knew almost before your meeting had broken up. I strengthened and fortified my house with a stronger guard; I refused admittance, when they came, to those whom you sent in the morning to salute me, and of whom I had foretold to many eminent men that they would come to me at that time.

As, then, this is the case, O Catiline, continue as you have begun. Leave the city at least; the gates are open; depart. That Manlian camp of yours has been waiting too long for you as its general. And lead forth with you all your friends, or at least as many as you can; purge the city of your presence; you will deliver me from a great fear, when there is a wall between you and me. Among us you can dwell no longer—I will not bear it, I will not permit it, I will not tolerate it. Great thanks are due to the immortal gods, and to this very Jupiter Stator, in whose temple we are, the most ancient protector of this city, that we have already so often escaped so foul, so horrible, and so deadly an enemy to the republic. But the safety of the commonwealth must not be too often allowed to be risked on one man. As long as you, O Catiline, plotted against me while I was the consul-elect, I defended myself, not with a public guard, but by my own private diligence. When, in the next consular comitia, you wished to slay me when I was actually consul, and your competitors also, in the Campus Martius, I checked your nefarious attempt by the assistance and resources of my own friends, without exciting any disturbance publicly. In short, as often as you attacked me, I by myself opposed you, and that, too, though I saw that my ruin was connected with great disaster to the republic. But now you are openly attacking the entire republic.

You are summoning to destruction and devastation the temples of the immortal gods, the houses of the city, the lives of all the citizens—in short, all Italy. Wherefore, since I do not yet venture to do that which is the best thing, and which belongs to my office and to the discipline of our ancestors, I will do that which is more merciful if we regard its rigor, and more expedient for the State. For if I order you to be put to death, the rest of the conspirators will still remain in the republic; if, as I have long been exhorting you, you depart, your companions, those worthless dregs of the republic, will be drawn off from the city, too. What is the matter, Catiline? Do you hesitate to do that when I order you which you were already doing of your own accord? The consul orders an enemy to depart from the city. Do you ask me, Are you to go into banishment? I do not order it; but, if you consult me, I advise it.

For what is there, O Catiline, that can now afford you any pleasure in this city? for there is no one in it, except that band of profligate conspirators of yours, who does not fear you,—no one who does not hate you. What brand of domestic baseness is not stamped upon your life? What disgraceful circumstance is wanting to your infamy in your private affairs? From what licentiousness have your eyes, from what atrocity have your hands, from what iniquity has your whole body ever abstained? Is there one youth, when you have once entangled him in the temptations of your corruption, to whom you have not held out a sword for audacious crime, or a torch for licentious wickedness?

What? when lately by the death of your former wife you had made your house empty and ready for a new bridal, did you not even add another incredible wickedness to this wickedness? But I pass that over, and willingly allow it to be buried in silence, that so horrible a crime may not be seen to have existed in this city, and not to have been chastised. I pass over the ruin of your fortune, which you know is hanging over you against the ides of the very next month; I come to those things which relate not to the infamy of your private vices, not to your domestic difficulties and baseness, but to the welfare of the republic and to the lives and safety of us all.

Can the light of this life, O Catiline, can the breath of this atmosphere be pleasant to you, when you know that there is not one man of those here present who is ignorant that you, on the last day of the year, when Lepidus and Tullus were consuls, stood in the assembly armed; that you had prepared your hand for the slaughter of the consuls and chief men of the state, and that no reason or fear of yours hindered your crime and madness, but the fortune of the republic? And I say no more of these things, for the are not unknown to every one. How often have you endeavored to slay me, both as consul-elect and as actual consul? How

many shots of yours, so aimed that they seemed impossible to be escaped, have I avoided by some slight stooping aside, and some dodging, as it were, of my body? You attempt nothing, you execute nothing, you devise nothing that can be kept hid from me at the proper time; and yet you do not cease to attempt and to contrive. How often already has that dagger of yours been wrested from your hands? How often has it slipped through them by some chance, and dropped down? And yet you can not any longer do without it; and to what sacred mysteries it is consecrated and devoted by you I know not, that you think it necessary to plunge it in the body of the consul.

But now, what is that life of yours that you are leading? For I will speak to you not so as to seem influenced by the hatred I ought to feel, but by pity, nothing of which is due to you. You came a little while ago into the senate; in so numerous an assembly, who of so many friends and connections of yours saluted you? If this in the memory of man never happened to any one else, are you waiting for insults by word of mouth, when you are overwhelmed by the most irresistible condemnation of silence? Is it nothing that at your arrival all those seats were vacated? that all the men of consular rank, who had often been marked out by you for slaughter, the very moment you sat down, left that part of the benches bare and vacant? With what feelings do you think you ought to bear this? On my honor, if my slaves feared me as all your fellow citizens fear you, I should think I must leave my house. Do not you think you should leave the city? If I say that I was even undeservedly so suspected and hated by my fellow citizens, I would rather flee from their sight than be gazed at by the hostile eyes of every one. And do you, who, from the consciousness of your wickedness, know that the hatred of all men is just and has been long due to you, hesitate to avoid the sight and presence of those men whose minds and senses you offend? If your parents feared and hated you, and if you could by no means pacify them, you would, I think, depart somewhere out of their sight. Now, your country, which is the common parent of all of us, hates and fears you, and has no other opinion of you, than that you are meditating parricide in her case; and will you neither feel awe of her authority, nor deference for her judgment, nor fear of her power?

And she, O Catiline, thus pleads with you, and after a manner silently speaks to you: There has now for many years been no crime committed but by you; no atrocity has taken place without you; you alone unpunished and unquestioned have murdered the citizens, have harassed and plundered the allies; you alone have had power not only to neglect all laws and investigations, but to overthrow and break through them. Your former actions, tho they ought not to have been borne, yet I did bear as well as I could; but now that I should be wholly occupied with fear of you alone, that at every sound I should dread Catiline, that no design should seem possible to be entertained against me which does not proceed from your wickedness, this is no longer endurable. Depart, then, and deliver me from this fear—that, if it be a just one, I may not be destroyed; if an imaginary one, that at least I may at last cease to fear.

If, as I have said, your country were thus to address you, ought she not to obtain her request, even if she were not able to enforce it? What shall I say of your having given yourself into custody? what of your having said, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, that you were willing to dwell in the house of Marcus Lepidus? And when you were not received by him, you dared even to come to me, and begged me to keep you in my house; and when you had received answer from me that I could not possibly be safe in the same house with you, when I considered myself in great danger as long as we were in the same city, you came to Quintus Metellus, the prætor, and being rejected by him, you passed on to your associate, that most excellent man, Marcus Marcellus, who would be, I suppose you thought, most diligent in guarding you, most sagacious in suspecting you, and most bold in punishing you; but how far can we think that man ought to be from bonds and imprisonment who has already judged himself deserving of being given into custody.

Since, then, this is the case, do you hesitate, O Catiline, if you can not remain here with tranquility, to depart to some distant land, and to trust your life, saved from just and deserved punishment, to flight and solitude? Make a

motion, say you, to the senate (for that is what you demand), and if this body votes that you ought to go into banishment, you say that you will obey. I will not make such a motion—it is contrary to my principles, and yet I will let you see what these men think of you. Be gone from the city, O Catiline; deliver the republic from fear; depart into banishment, if that is the word you are waiting for. What now, O Catiline? Do you not perceive, do you not see the silence of these men; they permit it, they say nothing; why wait you for the authority of their words when you see their wishes in their silence?

But had I said the same to this excellent young man, Publius Sextius, or to that brave man, Marcus Marcellus, before this time the senate would deservedly have laid violent hands on me, consul though I be, in this very temple. But as to you, Catiline, while they are quiet they approve, while they permit me to speak they vote, while they are silent they are loud and eloquent. And not they alone, whose authority forsooth is dear to you, though their lives are unimportant, but the Roman knights, too, those most honorable and excellent men, and the other virtuous citizens who are now surrounding the senate, whose numbers you could see, whose desires you could know, and whose voices you a few minutes ago could hear,—aye, whose very hands and weapons I have for some time been scarcely able to keep off from you; but those, too, I will easily bring to attend you to the gates if you leave these places you have been long desiring to lay waste.

And yet, why am I speaking? That anything may change your purpose? that you may ever amend your life? that you may meditate flight or think of voluntary banishment? I wish the gods may give you such a mind; though I see, if alarmed at my words you bring your mind to go into banishment, what a storm of unpopularity hangs over me, if not at present, while the memory of your wickedness is fresh, at all events hereafter. But it is worth while to incur that, as long as that is but a private misfortune of my own, and is unconnected with the dangers of the republic. But we can not expect that you should be concerned at your own vices, that you should fear the penalties of the laws, or that you should yield to the necessities of the republic, for you are not, O Catiline, one whom either shame can recall from infamy, or fear from danger, or reason from madness.

Wherefore, as I have said before, go forth, and if you wish to make me, your enemy as you call me, unpopular, go straight into banishment. I shall scarcely be able to endure all that will be said if you do so; I shall scarcely be able to support my load of unpopularity if you do go into banishment at the command of the consul; but if you wish to serve my credit and reputation, go forth with your ill-omened band of profligates; betake yourself to Manlius, rouse up the abandoned citizens, separate yourself from the good ones, wage war against your country, exult in your impious banditti, so that you may not seem to have been driven out by me and gone to strangers, but to have gone invited to your own friends.

Though why should I invite you, by whom I know men have been already sent on to wait in arms for you at the forum Aurelium; who I know has fixed and agreed with Manlius upon a settled day; by whom I know that that silver eagle, which I trust will be ruinous and fatal to you and to all your friends, and to which there was set up in your house a shrine as it were of your crimes, has been already sent forward. Need I fear that you can long do without that which you used to worship when going out to murder, and from whose altars you have often transferred your impious hand to the slaughter of citizens?

You will go at last where your unbridled and mad desire has been long hurrying you. And this causes you no grief, but an incredible pleasure. Nature has formed you, desire has trained you, fortune has preserved you for this insanity. Not only did you never desire quiet, but you never even desired any war but a criminal one; you have collected a band of profligates and worthless men, abandoned not only by all fortune but even by hope.

Then what happiness will you enjoy! with what delight will you exult! in what pleasure will you revel! when in so numerous a body of friends, you neither hear nor see one good man. All the toils you have gone through have always pointed to this sort of life; your lying on the ground not merely to lie in wait to gratify your unclean desires, but even to accomplish crimes; your vigilance, not only when plotting against the sleep of husbands, but also against the goods

of your murdered victims, have all been preparations for this. Now you have an opportunity of displaying your splendid endurance of hunger, of cold, of want of everything; by which in a short time you will find yourself worn out. All this I effected when I procured your rejection from the consulship, that you should be reduced to make attempts on your country as an exile, instead of being able to distress it as consul, and that that which had been wickedly undertaken by you should be called piracy rather than war.

Now that I may remove and avert, O conscript fathers, any in the least reasonable complaint from myself, listen, I beseech you, carefully to what I say, and lay it up in your inmost hearts and minds. In truth, if my country, which is far dearer to me than my life—if all Italy—if the whole republic were to address me, "Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? will you permit that man to depart whom you have ascertained to be an enemy? whom you see ready to become the general of the war? whom you know to be expected in the camp of the enemy as their chief, the author of all this wickedness, the head of the conspiracy, the instigator of the slaves and abandoned citizens, so that he shall seem not driven out of the city by you, but let loose by you against the city? Will you not order him to be thrown into prison, to be hurried off to execution, to be put to death with the most prompt severity? What hinders you? Is it the customs of our ancestors? But even private men have often in this republic slain mischievous citizens. Is it the laws which have been passed about the punishment of Roman citizens? But in this city those who have rebelled against the republic have never had the rights of citizens. Do you fear odium with posterity? You are showing fine gratitude to the Roman people which has raised you, a man known only by your own actions, of no ancestral renown, through all the degrees of honor at so early an age to the very highest office, if from fear of unpopularity or of any danger you neglect the safety of your fellow citizens. But if you have a fear of unpopularity, is that arising from the imputation of vigor and boldness, or that arising from that of inactivity and indecision most to be feared? When Italy is laid waste by war, when cities are attacked and houses in flames, do you not think that you will be then consumed by a perfect conflagration of hatred?"

To this holy address of the republic, and to the feelings of those men who entertain the same opinion, I will make this short answer: If, O conscript fathers, I thought it best that Catiline should be punished with death, I would not have given the space of one hour to this gladiator to live in. If, forsooth, those excellent men and most illustrious cities not only did not pollute themselves, but even glorified themselves by the blood of Saturninus, and the Gracchi, and Flaccus, and many others of old time, surely I had no cause to fear lest for slaying this parricidal murderer of the citizens any unpopularity should accrue to me with posterity. And if it did threaten me to ever so great a degree, yet I have always been of the disposition to think unpopularity earned by virtue and glory not unpopularity.

Though there are some men in this body who either do not see what threatens, or dissemble what they do see; who have fed the hope of Catiline by mild sentiments, and have strengthened the rising conspiracy by not believing it; influenced by whose authority many, and they not wicked, but only ignorant, if I punished him would say that I had acted cruelly and tyrannically. But I know that if he arrives at the camp of Manlius to which he is going, there will be no one so stupid as not to see that there has been a conspiracy, no one so hardened as not to confess it. But if this man alone were put to death, I know that this disease of the republic would be only checked for a while, not eradicated forever. But if he banishes himself, and takes with him all his friends, and collects at one point all the ruined men from every quarter, then not only will this full-grown plague of the republic be extinguished and eradicated, but also the root and seed of all future evils.

We have now for a long time, O conscript fathers, lived among these dangers and machinations of conspiracy; but somehow or other, the ripeness of all wickedness, and of this long-standing madness and audacity, has come to a head at the time of my consulship. But if this man alone is removed from this piratical crew, we may appear, perhaps, for a short time relieved from fear and anxiety, but the danger

will settle down and lie hid in the veins and bowels of the republic. As it often happens that men afflicted with a severe disease, when they are tortured with heat and fever, if they drink cold water, seem at first to be relieved, but afterward suffer more and more severely; so this disease which is in the republic, if relieved by the punishment of this man, will only get worse and worse, as the rest will be still alive.

Wherefore, O conscript fathers, let the worthless be gone,—let them separate themselves from the good,—let them collect in one place,—let them, as I have often said before, be separated from us by a wall; let them cease to plot against the consul in his own house,—to surround the tribunal of the city prætor,—to besiege the senate-house with swords,—to prepare brands and torches to burn the city; let it, in short, be written on the brow of every citizen, what his sentiments are about the republic. I promise you, this, O conscript fathers, that there shall be so much diligence in us the consuls, so much authority in you, so much virtue in the Roman knights, so much unanimity in all good men that you shall see everything made plain and manifest by the departure of Catiline,—everything checked and punished.

With these omens, O Catiline, be gone to your impious and nefarious war, to the great safety of the republic, to your own misfortune and injury, and to the destruction of those who have joined themselves to you in every wickedness and atrocity. Then do you, O Jupiter, who were consecrated by Romulus with the same auspices as this city, whom we rightly call the stay of this city and empire, repel this man and his companions from your altars and from the other temples,—from the houses and walls of the city,—from the lives and fortunes of all the citizens; and overwhelm all the enemies of good men, the foes of the republic, the robbers of Italy, men bound together by a treaty and infamous alliance of crimes, dead and alive, with eternal punishments.

Julius Cæsar: Speech on the Catiline Conspiracy

Delivered in the Roman senate in 63 BCE. Reported by Sallust.
Translated by John S. Watson.

Julius Cæsar (100? B.C.–44 B.C.): Pontifex Maximus in 63; Consul in 60; Triumvir in 60; conquered Gaul, Britain, etc., in 58–51; Master of Italy in 49; defeated Pompey at Pharsalia in 48; Dictator in 48; conducted Egyptian and African campaigns in 48–46; reformed the calendar in 46; made Imperator in 45; assassinated in 44. This speech is only one by Cæsar still extant.

IT becomes all men, conscript fathers, who deliberate on dubious matters, to be influenced neither by hatred, affection, anger, nor pity. The mind, when such feelings obstruct its view, can not easily see what is right; nor has any human being consulted, at the same moment, his passions and his interest. When the mind is freely exerted, its reasoning is sound: but passion, if it gain possession of it, becomes its tyrant, and reason is powerless.

I could easily mention, conscript fathers, numerous examples of kings and nations, who, swayed by resentment or compassion, have adopted injudicious courses of conduct; but I had rather speak of those instances in which our ancestors, in opposition to the impulse of passion, acted with wisdom and sound policy.

In the Macedonian War, which we carried on against king Perses, the great and powerful state of Rhodes, which had risen by the aid of the Roman people, was faithless and hostile to us: yet, when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians was taken into consideration, our forefathers left them unmolested, lest any should say that war was made upon them for the sake of seizing their wealth, rather than of punishing their faithlessness. Throughout the Punic Wars, too, tho the Carthaginians, both during peace and in suspensions of arms, were guilty of many acts of injustice, yet our ancestors never took occasion to retaliate, but considered rather what was worthy of themselves, than what might justly be inflicted on their enemies.

Similar caution, conscript fathers, is to be observed by yourselves, that the guilt of Lentulus, and the other conspirators, may not have greater weight with you than your own dignity, and that you may not regard your indignation more than your character. If, indeed, a punishment adequate to their crimes be discovered, I consent to extraordinary measures; but if the enormity of their crime exceeds whatever can be devised, I think that we should inflict only such penalties as the laws have provided.

Most of those, who have given their opinions before me, have deplored, in studied and impressive language, the sad fate that threatens the republic; they have recounted the barbarities of war, and the afflictions that would fall on the vanquished; they have told us that maidens would be dishonored, and youths abused; that children would be torn from the embraces of their parents; that matrons would be subjected to the pleasure of the conquerors; that temples and dwelling-houses would be plundered; that massacres and fires would follow; and that every place would be filled with arms, corpses, blood, and lamentation. But to what end, in the name of the eternal gods! was such eloquence directed? Was it intended to render you indignant at the conspiracy? A speech, no doubt, will inflame him whom so frightful and monstrous a reality has not provoked! Far from it: for to no man does evil, directed against himself, appear a light matter; many, on the contrary, have felt it more seriously than was right.

But to different persons, conscript fathers, different degrees of license are allowed. If those who pass a life sunk in obscurity, commit any error, through excessive anger, few become aware of it, for their fame is as limited as their fortune; but of those who live invested with extensive power, and in an exalted station, the whole world knows the proceedings. Thus in the highest position there is the least liberty of action; and it becomes us to indulge neither

partiality nor aversion, but least of all animosity; for what in others is called resentment, is in the powerful termed violence and cruelty.

I am indeed of opinion, conscript fathers, that the utmost degree of torture is inadequate to punish their crime; but the generality of mankind dwell on that which happens last, and, in the case of malefactors, forget their guilt, and talk only of their punishment, should that punishment have been inordinately severe. I feel assured, too, that Decimus Silanus, a man of spirit and resolution, made the suggestions which he offered, from zeal for the State, and that he had no view, in so important a matter, to favor or to enmity; such I know to be his character, and such his discretion. Yet his proposal appears to me, I will not say cruel (for what can be cruel that is directed against such characters?), but foreign to our policy. For assuredly, Silanus, either your fears, or their treason, must have induced you, a consul-elect, to propose this new kind of punishment. Of fear it is unnecessary to speak, when, by the prompt activity of that distinguished man our consul, such numerous forces are under arms; and as to the punishment we may say, what is indeed the truth, that in trouble and distress, death is a relief from suffering, and not a torment; that it puts an end to all human woes; and that, beyond it, there is no place either for sorrow or joy.

But why, in the name of the immortal gods, did you not add to your proposal, Silanus, that, before they were put to death, they should be punished with the scourge? Was it because the Porcian Law [which provided that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen] forbids it? But other laws forbid condemned citizens to be deprived of life, and allow them to go into exile. Or was it because scourging is a severer penalty than death? Yet what can be too severe, or too harsh, toward men convicted of such an offense? But if scourging be a milder punishment than death, how is it consistent to observe the law as to the smaller point, when you disregard it as to the greater?

But who, it may be asked, will blame any severity that shall be decreed against these parricides of their country? I answer that time, the course of events, and fortune, whose caprice governs nations, may blame it. Whatever shall fall on the traitors, will fall on them justly; but it is for you, conscript fathers, to consider well what you resolve to inflict on others. All precedents productive of evil effects have had their origin from what was good; but when a government passes into the hands of the ignorant or unprincipled, any new example of severity, inflicted on deserving and suitable objects, is extended to those that are improper and undeserving of it. The Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, appointed thirty men to govern their state. These thirty began their administration by putting to death, even without a trial, all who were notoriously wicked, or publicly detestable—acts at which the people rejoiced, and extolled their justice. But afterward, when their lawless power gradually increased, they proceeded, at their pleasure, to kill the good and bad indiscriminately, and to strike terror into all; and thus the State, overpowered and enslaved, paid a heavy penalty for its imprudent exultation.

Within our own memory, too, when the victorious Sulla ordered Damasippus, and others of similar character, who had risen by distressing their country, to be put to death, who did not commend the proceeding? All exclaimed that wicked and factious men, who had troubled the State with their seditious practices, had justly forfeited their lives. Yet this proceeding was the commencement of great bloodshed. For whenever any one coveted the mansion or villa, or even the plate or apparel of another, he exerted his influence to have him numbered among the proscribed. Thus they, to whom the death of Damasippus had been a subject of joy, were soon after dragged to death themselves; nor was there any cessation of slaughter, until Sulla had glutted all his partisans with riches.

Such excesses, indeed, I do not fear from Marcus Tullius, or in these times. But

in a large state there arise many men of various dispositions. At some other period, and under another consul, who, like the present, may have an army at his command, some false accusation may be credited as true; and when, with our example for a precedent, the consul shall have drawn the sword on the authority of the senate, who shall stay its progress, or moderate its fury?

Our ancestors, conscript fathers, were never deficient in conduct or courage; nor did pride prevent them from imitating the customs of other nations, if they appeared deserving of regard. Their armor, and weapons of war, they borrowed from the Samnites; their ensigns of authority, for the most part, from the Etrurians; and, in short, whatever appeared eligible to them, whether among allies or among enemies, they adopted at home with the greatest readiness, being more inclined to emulate merit than to be jealous of it. But at the same time, adopting a practise from Greece, they punished their citizens with the scourge, and inflicted capital punishment on such as were condemned. When the republic, however, became powerful, and faction grew strong from the vast number of citizens, men began to involve the innocent in condemnation, and other like abuses were practised; and it was then that the Porcian and other laws were provided, by which condemned citizens were allowed to go into exile. This lenity of our ancestors, conscript fathers, I regard as a very strong reason why we should not adopt any new measures of severity. For assuredly there was greater merit and wisdom in those, who raised so mighty an empire from humble means, than in us, who can scarcely preserve what they so honorably acquired. Am I of opinion, then, you will ask, that the conspirators should be set free, and that the army of Catiline should thus be increased? Far from it: my recommendation is, that their property be confiscated, and that they themselves be kept in custody in such of the municipal towns as are best able to bear the expense; that no one hereafter bring their case to the senate, or speak on it to the people, and that the senate now give their opinion that he who shall act contrary to this will act against the republic and the general safety.

Lecture 28

Homer, The Iliad (excerpt from Book XX)

Lecture 29

Marcus Aurelius, Meditations (excerpts)

The Meditations By Marcus Aurelius
Written 167 A.C.E.
Translated by George Long
Book Four

That which rules within, when it is according to nature, is so affected with respect to the events which happen, that it always easily adapts itself to that which is and is presented to it. For it requires no definite material, but it moves towards its purpose, under certain conditions however; and it makes a material for itself out of that which opposes it, as fire lays hold of what falls into it, by which a small light would have been extinguished: but when the fire is strong, it soon appropriates to itself the matter which is heaped on it, and consumes it, and rises higher by means of this very material.

Let no act be done without a purpose, nor otherwise than according to the perfect principles of art.

Men seek retreats for themselves, houses in the country, sea-shores, and mountains; and thou too art wont to desire such things very much. But this is altogether a mark of the most common sort of men, for it is in thy power whenever thou shalt choose to retire into thyself. For nowhere either with more quiet or more freedom from trouble does a man retire than into his own soul, particularly when he has within him such thoughts that by looking into them he is immediately in perfect tranquility; and I affirm that tranquility is nothing else than the good ordering of the mind. Constantly then give to thyself this retreat, and renew thyself; and let thy principles be brief and fundamental, which, as soon as thou shalt recur to them, will be sufficient to cleanse the soul completely, and to send thee back free from all discontent with the things to which thou returnest. For with what art thou discontented? With the badness of men? Recall to thy mind this conclusion, that rational animals exist for one another, and that to endure is a part of justice, and that men do wrong involuntarily; and consider how many already, after mutual enmity, suspicion, hatred, and fighting, have been stretched dead, reduced to ashes; and be quiet at last.- But perhaps thou art dissatisfied with that which is assigned to thee out of the universe.- Recall to thy recollection this alternative; either there is providence or atoms, fortuitous concurrence of things; or remember the arguments by which it has been proved that the world is a kind of political community, and be quiet at last.- But perhaps corporeal things will still fasten upon thee.- Consider then further that the mind mingles not with the breath, whether moving gently or violently, when it has once drawn itself apart and discovered its own power, and think also of all that thou hast heard and assented to about pain and pleasure, and be quiet at last.- But perhaps the desire of the thing called fame will torment thee.- See how soon everything is forgotten, and look at the chaos of infinite time on each side of the present, and the emptiness of applause, and the changeableness and want of judgement in those who pretend to give praise, and the narrowness of the space within which it is circumscribed, and be quiet at last. For the whole earth is a point,

and how small a nook in it is this thy dwelling, and how few are there in it, and what kind of people are they who will praise thee.

This then remains: Remember to retire into this little territory of thy own, and above all do not distract or strain thyself, but be free, and look at things as a man, as a human being, as a citizen, as a mortal. But among the things readiest to thy hand to which thou shalt turn, let there be these, which are two. One is that things do not touch the soul, for they are external and remain immovable; but our perturbations come only from the opinion which is within. The other is that all these things, which thou seest, change immediately and will no longer be; and constantly bear in mind how many of these changes thou hast already witnessed. The universe is transformation: life is opinion.

If our intellectual part is common, the reason also, in respect of which we are rational beings, is common: if this is so, common also is the reason which commands us what to do, and what not to do; if this is so, there is a common law also; if this is so, we are fellow-citizens; if this is so, we are members of some political community; if this is so, the world is in a manner a state. For of what other common political community will any one say that the whole human race are members? And from thence, from this common political community comes also our very intellectual faculty and reasoning faculty and our capacity for law; or whence do they come? For as my earthly part is a portion given to me from certain earth, and that which is watery from another element, and that which is hot and fiery from some peculiar source (for nothing comes out of that which is nothing, as nothing also returns to non-existence), so also the intellectual part comes from some source.

Death is such as generation is, a mystery of nature; a composition out of the same elements, and a decomposition into the same; and altogether not a thing of which any man should be ashamed, for it is not contrary to the nature of a reasonable animal, and not contrary to the reason of our constitution.

It is natural that these things should be done by such persons, it is a matter of necessity; and if a man will not have it so, he will not allow the fig-tree to have juice. But by all means bear this in mind, that within a very short time both thou and he will be dead; and soon not even your names will be left behind.

Take away thy opinion, and then there is taken away the complaint, "I have been harmed." Take away the complaint, "I have been harmed," and the harm is taken away.

That which does not make a man worse than he was, also does not make his life worse, nor does it harm him either from without or from within.

The nature of that which is universally useful has been compelled to do this.

Consider that everything which happens, happens justly, and if thou observest carefully, thou wilt find it to be so. I do not say only with respect to the continuity of the series of things, but with respect to what is just, and as if it were done by one who assigns to each

thing its value. Observe then as thou hast begun; and whatever thou doest, do it in conjunction with this, the being good, and in the sense in which a man is properly understood to be good. Keep to this in every action.

Do not have such an opinion of things as he has who does thee wrong, or such as he wishes thee to have, but look at them as they are in truth.

A man should always have these two rules in readiness; the one, to do only whatever the reason of the ruling and legislating faculty may suggest for the use of men; the other, to change thy opinion, if there is any one at hand who sets thee right and moves thee from any opinion. But this change of opinion must proceed only from a certain persuasion, as of what is just or of common advantage, and the like, not because it appears pleasant or brings reputation.

Hast thou reason? I have.- Why then dost not thou use it? For if this does its own work, what else dost thou wish?

Thou hast existed as a part. Thou shalt disappear in that which produced thee; but rather thou shalt be received back into its seminal principle by transmutation.

Many grains of frankincense on the same altar: one falls before, another falls after; but it makes no difference.

Within ten days thou wilt seem a god to those to whom thou art now a beast and an ape, if thou wilt return to thy principles and the worship of reason.

Do not act as if thou were going to live ten thousand years. Death hangs over thee. While thou livest, while it is in thy power, be good.

How much trouble he avoids who does not look to see what his neighbour says or does or thinks, but only to what he does himself, that it may be just and pure; or as Agathon says, look not round at the depraved morals of others, but run straight along the line without deviating from it.

He who has a vehement desire for posthumous fame does not consider that every one of those who remember him will himself also die very soon; then again also they who have succeeded them, until the whole remembrance shall have been extinguished as it is transmitted through men who foolishly admire and perish. But suppose that those who will remember are even immortal, and that the remembrance will be immortal, what then is this to thee? And I say not what is it to the dead, but what is it to the living? What is praise except indeed so far as it has a certain utility? For thou now rejectest unseasonably the gift of nature, clinging to something else...

Everything which is in any way beautiful is beautiful in itself, and terminates in itself, not having praise as part of itself. Neither worse then nor better is a thing made by being praised. I affirm this also of the things which are called beautiful by the vulgar, for

example, material things and works of art. That which is really beautiful has no need of anything; not more than law, not more than truth, not more than benevolence or modesty. Which of these things is beautiful because it is praised, or spoiled by being blamed? Is such a thing as an emerald made worse than it was, if it is not praised? Or gold, ivory, purple, a lyre, a little knife, a flower, a shrub?

If souls continue to exist, how does the air contain them from eternity?- But how does the earth contain the bodies of those who have been buried from time so remote? For as here the mutation of these bodies after a certain continuance, whatever it may be, and their dissolution make room for other dead bodies; so the souls which are removed into the air after subsisting for some time are transmuted and diffused, and assume a fiery nature by being received into the seminal intelligence of the universe, and in this way make room for the fresh souls which come to dwell there. And this is the answer which a man might give on the hypothesis of souls continuing to exist. But we must not only think of the number of bodies which are thus buried, but also of the number of animals which are daily eaten by us and the other animals. For what a number is consumed, and thus in a manner buried in the bodies of those who feed on them! And nevertheless this earth receives them by reason of the changes of these bodies into blood, and the transformations into the aerial or the fiery element.

What is the investigation into the truth in this matter? The division into that which is material and that which is the cause of form, the formal.

Do not be whirled about, but in every movement have respect to justice, and on the occasion of every impression maintain the faculty of comprehension or understanding.

Everything harmonizes with me, which is harmonious to thee, O Universe. Nothing for me is too early nor too late, which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature: from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return. The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops; and wilt not thou say, Dear city of Zeus?

Occupy thyself with few things, says the philosopher, if thou wouldst be tranquil.- But consider if it would not be better to say, Do what is necessary, and whatever the reason of the animal which is naturally social requires, and as it requires. For this brings not only the tranquility which comes from doing well, but also that which comes from doing few things. For the greatest part of what we say and do being unnecessary, if a man takes this away, he will have more leisure and less uneasiness. Accordingly on every occasion a man should ask himself, Is this one of the unnecessary things? Now a man should take away not only unnecessary acts, but also, unnecessary thoughts, for thus superfluous acts will not follow after.

Try how the life of the good man suits thee, the life of him who is satisfied with his portion out of the whole, and satisfied with his own just acts and benevolent disposition.

Hast thou seen those things? Look also at these. Do not disturb thyself. Make thyself all simplicity. Does any one do wrong? It is to himself that he does the wrong. Has anything happened to thee? Well; out of the universe from the beginning everything which happens has been apportioned and spun out to thee. In a word, thy life is short. Thou must turn to profit the present by the aid of reason and justice. Be sober in thy relaxation.

Either it is a well-arranged universe or a chaos huddled together, but still a universe. But can a certain order subsist in thee, and disorder in the All? And this too when all things are so separated and diffused and sympathetic.

A black character, a womanish character, a stubborn character, bestial, childish, animal, stupid, counterfeit, scurrilous, fraudulent, tyrannical.

If he is a stranger to the universe who does not know what is in it, no less is he a stranger who does not know what is going on in it. He is a runaway, who flies from social reason; he is blind, who shuts the eyes of the understanding; he is poor, who has need of another, and has not from himself all things which are useful for life. He is an abscess on the universe who withdraws and separates himself from the reason of our common nature through being displeased with the things which happen, for the same nature produces this, and has produced thee too: he is a piece rent asunder from the state, who tears his own soul from that of reasonable animals, which is one.

The one is a philosopher without a tunic, and the other without a book: here is another half naked: Bread I have not, he says, and I abide by reason.- And I do not get the means of living out of my learning, and I abide by my reason.

Love the art, poor as it may be, which thou hast learned, and be content with it; and pass through the rest of life like one who has intrusted to the gods with his whole soul all that he has, making thyself neither the tyrant nor the slave of any man.

Consider, for example, the times of Vespasian. Thou wilt see all these things, people marrying, bringing up children, sick, dying, warring, feasting, trafficking, cultivating the ground, flattering, obstinately arrogant, suspecting, plotting, wishing for some to die, grumbling about the present, loving, heaping up treasure, desiring counsulship, kingly power. Well then, that life of these people no longer exists at all. Again, remove to the times of Trajan. Again, all is the same. Their life too is gone. In like manner view also the other epochs of time and of whole nations, and see how many after great efforts soon fell and were resolved into the elements. But chiefly thou shouldst think of those whom thou hast thyself known distracting themselves about idle things, neglecting to do what was in accordance with their proper constitution, and to hold firmly to this and to be content with it. And herein it is necessary to remember that the attention given to everything has its proper value and proportion. For thus thou wilt not be dissatisfied, if thou appliest thyself to smaller matters no further than is fit.

The words which were formerly familiar are now antiquated: so also the names of those who were famed of old, are now in a manner antiquated, Camillus, Caeso, Volesus,

Leonnatus, and a little after also Scipio and Cato, then Augustus, then also Hadrian and Antoninus. For all things soon pass away and become a mere tale, and complete oblivion soon buries them. And I say this of those who have shone in a wondrous way. For the rest, as soon as they have breathed out their breath, they are gone, and no man speaks of them. And, to conclude the matter, what is even an eternal remembrance? A mere nothing. What then is that about which we ought to employ our serious pains? This one thing, thoughts just, and acts social, and words which never lie, and a disposition which gladly accepts all that happens, as necessary, as usual, as flowing from a principle and source of the same kind.

Willingly give thyself up to Clotho, one of the Fates, allowing her to spin thy thread into whatever things she pleases.

Everything is only for a day, both that which remembers and that which is remembered.

Observe constantly that all things take place by change, and accustom thyself to consider that the nature of the Universe loves nothing so much as to change the things which are and to make new things like them. For everything that exists is in a manner the seed of that which will be. But thou art thinking only of seeds which are cast into the earth or into a womb: but this is a very vulgar notion.

Thou wilt soon die, and thou art not yet simple, not free from perturbations, nor without suspicion of being hurt by external things, nor kindly disposed towards all; nor dost thou yet place wisdom only in acting justly.

Examine men's ruling principles, even those of the wise, what kind of things they avoid, and what kind they pursue.

What is evil to thee does not subsist in the ruling principle of another; nor yet in any turning and mutation of thy corporeal covering. Where is it then? It is in that part of thee in which subsists the power of forming opinions about evils. Let this power then not form such opinions, and all is well. And if that which is nearest to it, the poor body, is burnt, filled with matter and rottenness, nevertheless let the part which forms opinions about these things be quiet, that is, let it judge that nothing is either bad or good which can happen equally to the bad man and the good. For that which happens equally to him who lives contrary to nature and to him who lives according to nature, is neither according to nature nor contrary to nature.

Constantly regard the universe as one living being, having one substance and one soul; and observe how all things have reference to one perception, the perception of this one living being; and how all things act with one movement; and how all things are the cooperating causes of all things which exist; observe too the continuous spinning of the thread and the contexture of the web.

Thou art a little soul bearing about a corpse, as Epictetus used to say.

It is no evil for things to undergo change, and no good for things to subsist in consequence of change.

Time is like a river made up of the events which happen, and a violent stream; for as soon as a thing has been seen, it is carried away, and another comes in its place, and this will be carried away too.

Everything which happens is as familiar and well known as the rose in spring and the fruit in summer; for such is disease, and death, and calumny, and treachery, and whatever else delights fools or vexes them.

In the series of things those which follow are always aptly fitted to those which have gone before; for this series is not like a mere enumeration of disjointed things, which has only a necessary sequence, but it is a rational connection: and as all existing things are arranged together harmoniously, so the things which come into existence exhibit no mere succession, but a certain wonderful relationship.

Always remember the saying of Heraclitus, that the death of earth is to become water, and the death of water is to become air, and the death of air is to become fire, and reversely. And think too of him who forgets whither the way leads, and that men quarrel with that with which they are most constantly in communion, the reason which governs the universe; and the things which daily meet with seem to them strange: and consider that we ought not to act and speak as if we were asleep, for even in sleep we seem to act and speak; and that we ought not, like children who learn from their parents, simply to act and speak as we have been taught.

If any god told thee that thou shalt die to-morrow, or certainly on the day after to-morrow, thou wouldst not care much whether it was on the third day or on the morrow, unless thou wast in the highest degree mean-spirited- for how small is the difference?- So think it no great thing to die after as many years as thou canst name rather than to-morrow.

Think continually how many physicians are dead after often contracting their eyebrows over the sick; and how many astrologers after predicting with great pretensions the deaths of others; and how many philosophers after endless discourses on death or immortality; how many heroes after killing thousands; and how many tyrants who have used their power over men's lives with terrible insolence as if they were immortal; and how many cities are entirely dead, so to speak, Helice and Pompeii and Herculaneum, and others innumerable. Add to the reckoning all whom thou hast known, one after another. One man after burying another has been laid out dead, and another buries him: and all this in a short time. To conclude, always observe how ephemeral and worthless human things are, and what was yesterday a little mucus to-morrow will be a mummy or ashes. Pass then through this little space of time conformably to nature, and end thy journey in content, just as an olive falls off when it is ripe, blessing nature who produced it, and thanking the tree on which it grew.

Be like the promontory against which the waves continually break, but it stands firm and tames the fury of the water around it.

Unhappy am I because this has happened to me.- Not so, but happy am I, though this has happened to me, because I continue free from pain, neither crushed by the present nor fearing the future. For such a thing as this might have happened to every man; but every man would not have continued free from pain on such an occasion. Why then is that rather a misfortune than this a good fortune? And dost thou in all cases call that a man's misfortune, which is not a deviation from man's nature? And does a thing seem to thee to be a deviation from man's nature, when it is not contrary to the will of man's nature? Well, thou knowest the will of nature. Will then this which has happened prevent thee from being just, magnanimous, temperate, prudent, secure against inconsiderate opinions and falsehood; will it prevent thee from having modesty, freedom, and everything else, by the presence of which man's nature obtains all that is its own? Remember too on every occasion which leads thee to vexation to apply this principle: not that this is a misfortune, but that to bear it nobly is good fortune.

It is a vulgar, but still a useful help towards contempt of death, to pass in review those who have tenaciously stuck to life. What more then have they gained than those who have died early? Certainly they lie in their tombs somewhere at last, Cadicianus, Fabius, Julianus, Lepidus, or any one else like them, who have carried out many to be buried, and then were carried out themselves. Altogether the interval is small between birth and death; and consider with how much trouble, and in company with what sort of people and in what a feeble body this interval is laboriously passed. Do not then consider life a thing of any value. For look to the immensity of time behind thee, and to the time which is before thee, another boundless space. In this infinity then what is the difference between him who lives three days and him who lives three generations?

Always run to the short way; and the short way is the natural: accordingly say and do everything in conformity with the soundest reason. For such a purpose frees a man from trouble, and warfare, and all artifice and ostentatious display.

The Meditations By Marcus Aurelius
Written 167 A.C.E.
Translated by George Long
Book Nine

He who acts unjustly acts impiously. For since the universal nature has made rational animals for the sake of one another to help one another according to their deserts, but in no way to injure one another, he who transgresses her will, is clearly guilty of impiety towards the highest divinity. And he too who lies is guilty of impiety to the same divinity; for the universal nature is the nature of things that are; and things that are have a relation to all things that come into existence. And further, this universal nature is named truth, and is the prime cause of all things that are true. He then who lies intentionally is guilty of impiety inasmuch as he acts unjustly by deceiving; and he also who lies unintentionally, inasmuch as he is at variance with the universal nature, and inasmuch as he disturbs the order by fighting against the nature of the world; for he fights against it, who is moved of himself to that which is contrary to truth, for he had received powers from nature through the neglect of which he is not able now to distinguish falsehood from truth. And indeed he who pursues pleasure as good, and avoids pain as evil, is guilty of impiety. For of necessity such a man must often find fault with the universal nature, alleging that it assigns things to the bad and the good contrary to their deserts, because frequently the bad are in the enjoyment of pleasure and possess the things which procure pleasure, but the good have pain for their share and the things which cause pain. And further, he who is afraid of pain will sometimes also be afraid of some of the things which will happen in the world, and even this is impiety. And he who pursues pleasure will not abstain from injustice, and this is plainly impiety. Now with respect to the things towards which the universal nature is equally affected- for it would not have made both, unless it was equally affected towards both- towards these they who wish to follow nature should be of the same mind with it, and equally affected. With respect to pain, then, and pleasure, or death and life, or honour and dishonour, which the universal nature employs equally, whoever is not equally affected is manifestly acting impiously. And I say that the universal nature employs them equally, instead of saying that they happen alike to those who are produced in continuous series and to those who come after them by virtue of a certain original movement of Providence, according to which it moved from a certain beginning to this ordering of things, having conceived certain principles of the things which were to be, and having determined powers productive of beings and of changes and of such like successions.

It would be a man's happiest lot to depart from mankind without having had any taste of lying and hypocrisy and luxury and pride. However to breathe out one's life when a man has had enough of these things is the next best voyage, as the saying is. Hast thou determined to abide with vice, and has not experience yet induced thee to fly from this pestilence? For the destruction of the understanding is a pestilence, much more indeed than any such corruption and change of this atmosphere which surrounds us. For this

corruption is a pestilence of animals so far as they are animals; but the other is a pestilence of men so far as they are men.

Do not despise death, but be well content with it, since this too is one of those things which nature wills. For such as it is to be young and to grow old, and to increase and to reach maturity, and to have teeth and beard and grey hairs, and to beget, and to be pregnant and to bring forth, and all the other natural operations which the seasons of thy life bring, such also is dissolution. This, then, is consistent with the character of a reflecting man, to be neither careless nor impatient nor contemptuous with respect to death, but to wait for it as one of the operations of nature. As thou now waitest for the time when the child shall come out of thy wife's womb, so be ready for the time when thy soul shall fall out of this envelope. But if thou requirest also a vulgar kind of comfort which shall reach thy heart, thou wilt be made best reconciled to death by observing the objects from which thou art going to be removed, and the morals of those with whom thy soul will no longer be mingled. For it is no way right to be offended with men, but it is thy duty to care for them and to bear with them gently; and yet to remember that thy departure will be not from men who have the same principles as thyself. For this is the only thing, if there be any, which could draw us the contrary way and attach us to life, to be permitted to live with those who have the same principles as ourselves. But now thou seest how great is the trouble arising from the discordance of those who live together, so that thou mayest say, Come quick, O death, lest perchance I, too, should forget myself.

He who does wrong does wrong against himself. He who acts unjustly acts unjustly to himself, because he makes himself bad.

He often acts unjustly who does not do a certain thing; not only he who does a certain thing.

Thy present opinion founded on understanding, and thy present conduct directed to social good, and thy present disposition of contentment with everything which happens- that is enough.

Wipe out imagination: check desire: extinguish appetite: keep the ruling faculty in its own power.

Among the animals which have not reason one life is distributed; but among reasonable animals one intelligent soul is distributed: just as there is one earth of all things which are of an earthy nature, and we see by one light, and breathe one air, all of us that have the faculty of vision and all that have life.

All things which participate in anything which is common to them all move towards that which is of the same kind with themselves. Everything which is earthy turns towards the earth, everything which is liquid flows together, and everything which is of an aerial kind does the same, so that they require something to keep them asunder, and the application of force. Fire indeed moves upwards on account of the elemental fire, but it is so ready to be kindled together with all the fire which is here, that even every substance which is

somewhat dry, is easily ignited, because there is less mingled with it of that which is a hindrance to ignition. Accordingly then everything also which participates in the common intelligent nature moves in like manner towards that which is of the same kind with itself, or moves even more. For so much as it is superior in comparison with all other things, in the same degree also is it more ready to mingle with and to be fused with that which is akin to it. Accordingly among animals devoid of reason we find swarms of bees, and herds of cattle, and the nurture of young birds, and in a manner, loves; for even in animals there are souls, and that power which brings them together is seen to exert itself in the superior degree, and in such a way as never has been observed in plants nor in stones nor in trees. But in rational animals there are political communities and friendships, and families and meetings of people; and in wars, treaties and armistices. But in the things which are still superior, even though they are separated from one another, unity in a manner exists, as in the stars. Thus the ascent to the higher degree is able to produce a sympathy even in things which are separated. See, then, what now takes place. For only intelligent animals have now forgotten this mutual desire and inclination, and in them alone the property of flowing together is not seen. But still though men strive to avoid this union, they are caught and held by it, for their nature is too strong for them; and thou wilt see what I say, if thou only observest. Sooner, then, will one find anything earthy which comes in contact with no earthy thing than a man altogether separated from other men.

Both man and God and the universe produce fruit; at the proper seasons each produces it. But if usage has especially fixed these terms to the vine and like things, this is nothing. Reason produces fruit both for all and for itself, and there are produced from it other things of the same kind as reason itself.

If thou art able, correct by teaching those who do wrong; but if thou canst not, remember that indulgence is given to thee for this purpose. And the gods, too, are indulgent to such persons; and for some purposes they even help them to get health, wealth, reputation; so kind they are. And it is in thy power also; or say, who hinders thee?

Labour not as one who is wretched, nor yet as one who would be pitied or admired: but direct thy will to one thing only, to put thyself in motion and to check thyself, as the social reason requires.

To-day I have got out of all trouble, or rather I have cast out all trouble, for it was not outside, but within and in my opinions.

All things are the same, familiar in experience, and ephemeral in time, and worthless in the matter. Everything now is just as it was in the time of those whom we have buried.

Things stand outside of us, themselves by themselves, neither knowing aught of themselves, nor expressing any judgement. What is it, then, which does judge about them? The ruling faculty.

Not in passivity, but in activity lie the evil and the good of the rational social animal, just as his virtue and his vice lie not in passivity, but in activity.

For the stone which has been thrown up it is no evil to come down, nor indeed any good to have been carried up.

Penetrate inwards into men's leading principles, and thou wilt see what judges thou art afraid of, and what kind of judges they are of themselves.

All things are changing: and thou thyself art in continuous mutation and in a manner in continuous destruction, and the whole universe too.

It is thy duty to leave another man's wrongful act there where it is.

Termination of activity, cessation from movement and opinion, and in a sense their death, is no evil. Turn thy thoughts now to the consideration of thy life, thy life as a child, as a youth, thy manhood, thy old age, for in these also every change was a death. Is this anything to fear? Turn thy thoughts now to thy life under thy grandfather, then to thy life under thy mother, then to thy life under thy father; and as thou findest many other differences and changes and terminations, ask thyself, Is this anything to fear? In like manner, then, neither are the termination and cessation and change of thy whole life a thing to be afraid of.

Hasten to examine thy own ruling faculty and that of the universe and that of thy neighbour: thy own that thou mayest make it just: and that of the universe, that thou mayest remember of what thou art a part; and that of thy neighbour, that thou mayest know whether he has acted ignorantly or with knowledge, and that thou mayest also consider that his ruling faculty is akin to thine.

As thou thyself art a component part of a social system, so let every act of thine be a component part of social life. Whatever act of thine then has no reference either immediately or remotely to a social end, this tears asunder thy life, and does not allow it to be one, and it is of the nature of a mutiny, just as when in a popular assembly a man acting by himself stands apart from the general agreement.

Quarrels of little children and their sports, and poor spirits carrying about dead bodies, such is everything; and so what is exhibited in the representation of the mansions of the dead strikes our eyes more clearly.

Examine into the quality of the form of an object, and detach it altogether from its material part, and then contemplate it; then determine the time, the longest which a thing of this peculiar form is naturally made to endure.

Thou hast endured infinite troubles through not being contented with thy ruling faculty, when it does the things which it is constituted by nature to do. But enough of this.

When another blames thee or hates thee, or when men say about thee anything injurious, approach their poor souls, penetrate within, and see what kind of men they are. Thou wilt discover that there is no reason to take any trouble that these men may have this or that opinion about thee. However thou must be well disposed towards them, for by nature they are friends. And the gods too aid them in all ways, by dreams, by signs, towards the attainment of those things on which they set a value.

The periodic movements of the universe are the same, up and down from age to age. And either the universal intelligence puts itself in motion for every separate effect, and if this is so, be thou content with that which is the result of its activity; or it puts itself in motion once, and everything else comes by way of sequence in a manner; or indivisible elements are the origin of all things.- In a word, if there is a god, all is well; and if chance rules, do not thou also be governed by it.

Soon will the earth cover us all: then the earth, too, will change, and the things also which result from change will continue to change for ever, and these again for ever. For if a man reflects on the changes and transformations which follow one another like wave after wave and their rapidity, he will despise everything which is perishable.

The universal cause is like a winter torrent: it carries everything along with it. But how worthless are all these poor people who are engaged in matters political, and, as they suppose, are playing the philosopher! All drivellers. Well then, man: do what nature now requires. Set thyself in motion, if it is in thy power, and do not look about thee to see if any one will observe it; nor yet expect Plato's Republic: but be content if the smallest thing goes on well, and consider such an event to be no small matter. For who can change men's opinions? And without a change of opinions what else is there than the slavery of men who groan while they pretend to obey? Come now and tell me of Alexander and Philip and Demetrius of Phalerum. They themselves shall judge whether they discovered what the common nature required, and trained themselves accordingly. But if they acted like tragedy heroes, no one has condemned me to imitate them. Simple and modest is the work of philosophy. Draw me not aside to indolence and pride.

Look down from above on the countless herds of men and their countless solemnities, and the infinitely varied voyagings in storms and calms, and the differences among those who are born, who live together, and die. And consider, too, the life lived by others in olden time, and the life of those who will live after thee, and the life now lived among barbarous nations, and how many know not even thy name, and how many will soon forget it, and how they who perhaps now are praising thee will very soon blame thee, and that neither a posthumous name is of any value, nor reputation, nor anything else.

Let there be freedom from perturbations with respect to the things which come from the external cause; and let there be justice in the things done by virtue of the internal cause, that is, let there be movement and action terminating in this, in social acts, for this is according to thy nature.

Thou canst remove out of the way many useless things among those which disturb thee, for they lie entirely in thy opinion; and thou wilt then gain for thyself ample space by comprehending the whole universe in thy mind, and by contemplating the eternity of time, and observing the rapid change of every several thing, how short is the time from birth to dissolution, and the illimitable time before birth as well as the equally boundless time after dissolution.

All that thou seest will quickly perish, and those who have been spectators of its dissolution will very soon perish too. And he who dies at the extremest old age will be brought into the same condition with him who died prematurely.

What are these men's leading principles, and about what kind of things are they busy, and for what kind of reasons do they love and honour? Imagine that thou seest their poor souls laid bare. When they think that they do harm by their blame or good by their praise, what an idea!

Loss is nothing else than change. But the universal nature delights in change, and in obedience to her all things are now done well, and from eternity have been done in like form, and will be such to time without end. What, then, dost thou say? That all things have been and all things always will be bad, and that no power has ever been found in so many gods to rectify these things, but the world has been condemned to be found in never ceasing evil?

The rottenness of the matter which is the foundation of everything! Water, dust, bones, filth: or again, marble rocks, the callosities of the earth; and gold and silver, the sediments; and garments, only bits of hair; and purple dye, blood; and everything else is of the same kind. And that which is of the nature of breath is also another thing of the same kind, changing from this to that.

Enough of this wretched life and murmuring and apish tricks. Why art thou disturbed? What is there new in this? What unsettles thee? Is it the form of the thing? Look at it. Or is it the matter? Look at it. But besides these there is nothing. Towards the gods, then, now become at last more simple and better. It is the same whether we examine these things for a hundred years or three.

If any man has done wrong, the harm is his own. But perhaps he has not done wrong.

Either all things proceed from one intelligent source and come together as in one body, and the part ought not to find fault with what is done for the benefit of the whole; or there are only atoms, and nothing else than mixture and dispersion. Why, then, art thou disturbed? Say to the ruling faculty, Art thou dead, art thou corrupted, art thou playing the hypocrite, art thou become a beast, dost thou herd and feed with the rest?

Either the gods have no power or they have power. If, then, they have no power, why dost thou pray to them? But if they have power, why dost thou not pray for them to give thee the faculty of not fearing any of the things which thou fearest, or of not desiring any

of the things which thou desirest, or not being pained at anything, rather than pray that any of these things should not happen or happen? for certainly if they can co-operate with men, they can co-operate for these purposes. But perhaps thou wilt say, the gods have placed them in thy power. Well, then, is it not better to use what is in thy power like a free man than to desire in a slavish and abject way what is not in thy power? And who has told thee that the gods do not aid us even in the things which are in our power? Begin, then, to pray for such things, and thou wilt see. One man prays thus: How shall I be able to lie with that woman? Do thou pray thus: How shall I not desire to lie with her? Another prays thus: How shall I be released from this? Another prays: How shall I not desire to be released? Another thus: How shall I not lose my little son? Thou thus: How shall I not be afraid to lose him? In fine, turn thy prayers this way, and see what comes.

Epicurus says, In my sickness my conversation was not about my bodily sufferings, nor, says he, did I talk on such subjects to those who visited me; but I continued to discourse on the nature of things as before, keeping to this main point, how the mind, while participating in such movements as go on in the poor flesh, shall be free from perturbations and maintain its proper good. Nor did I, he says, give the physicians an opportunity of putting on solemn looks, as if they were doing something great, but my life went on well and happily. Do, then, the same that he did both in sickness, if thou art sick, and in any other circumstances; for never to desert philosophy in any events that may befall us, nor to hold trifling talk either with an ignorant man or with one unacquainted with nature, is a principle of all schools of philosophy; but to be intent only on that which thou art now doing and on the instrument by which thou doest it.

When thou art offended with any man's shameless conduct, immediately ask thyself, Is it possible, then, that shameless men should not be in the world? It is not possible. Do not, then, require what is impossible. For this man also is one of those shameless men who must of necessity be in the world. Let the same considerations be present to thy mind in the case of the knave, and the faithless man, and of every man who does wrong in any way. For at the same time that thou dost remind thyself that it is impossible that such kind of men should not exist, thou wilt become more kindly disposed towards every one individually. It is useful to perceive this, too, immediately when the occasion arises, what virtue nature has given to man to oppose to every wrongful act. For she has given to man, as an antidote against the stupid man, mildness, and against another kind of man some other power. And in all cases it is possible for thee to correct by teaching the man who is gone astray; for every man who errs misses his object and is gone astray. Besides wherein hast thou been injured? For thou wilt find that no one among those against whom thou art irritated has done anything by which thy mind could be made worse; but that which is evil to thee and harmful has its foundation only in the mind. And what harm is done or what is there strange, if the man who has not been instructed does the acts of an uninstructed man? Consider whether thou shouldst not rather blame thyself, because thou didst not expect such a man to err in such a way. For thou hadst means given thee by thy reason to suppose that it was likely that he would commit this error, and yet thou hast forgotten and art amazed that he has erred. But most of all when thou blamest a man as faithless or ungrateful, turn to thyself. For the fault is manifestly thy own, whether thou didst trust that a man who had such a disposition would keep his promise, or when

conferring thy kindness thou didst not confer it absolutely, nor yet in such way as to have received from thy very act all the profit. For what more dost thou want when thou hast done a man a service? Art thou not content that thou hast done something conformable to thy nature, and dost thou seek to be paid for it? Just as if the eye demanded a recompense for seeing, or the feet for walking. For as these members are formed for a particular purpose, and by working according to their several constitutions obtain what is their own; so also as man is formed by nature to acts of benevolence, when he has done anything benevolent or in any other way conducive to the common interest, he has acted conformably to his constitution, and he gets what is his own.

Lecture 30

Ovid, Metamorphoses (excerpts), The Art of Love (excerpts)

Martial, Epigrams (excerpts)

Vatsyayana, Kama Sutra (excerpts)

Ovid, *The Metamorphoses* (from Book One)

Translated by Sir Samuel Garth, John Dryden, et al.

The Creation of the World

Of bodies chang'd to various forms, I sing:
Ye Gods, from whom these miracles did spring,
Inspire my numbers with celestial heat;
'Till I my long laborious work compleat:
And add perpetual tenour to my rhimes,
Deduc'd from Nature's birth, to Caesar's times.
Before the seas, and this terrestrial ball,
And Heav'n's high canopy, that covers all,
One was the face of Nature; if a face:
Rather a rude and indigested mass:
A lifeless lump, unfashion'd, and unfram'd,
Of jarring seeds; and justly Chaos nam'd.
No sun was lighted up, the world to view;
No moon did yet her blunted horns renew:
Nor yet was Earth suspended in the sky,
Nor pois'd, did on her own foundations lye:
Nor seas about the shores their arms had thrown;
But earth, and air, and water, were in one.
Thus air was void of light, and earth unstable,
And water's dark abyss unnavigable.
No certain form on any was imprest;
All were confus'd, and each disturb'd the rest.
For hot and cold were in one body fixt;
And soft with hard, and light with heavy mixt.

But God, or Nature, while they thus contend,
To these intestine discords put an end:
Then earth from air, and seas from earth were driv'n,
And grosser air sunk from aetherial Heav'n.
Thus disembroil'd, they take their proper place;
The next of kin, contiguously embrace;
And foes are sunder'd, by a larger space.
The force of fire ascended first on high,
And took its dwelling in the vaulted sky:
Then air succeeds, in lightness next to fire;
Whose atoms from unactive earth retire.
Earth sinks beneath, and draws a num'rous throng
Of pondrous, thick, unwieldy seeds along.
About her coasts, unruly waters roar;
And rising, on a ridge, insult the shore.
Thus when the God, whatever God was he,
Had form'd the whole, and made the parts agree,
That no unequal portions might be found,
He moulded Earth into a spacious round:
Then with a breath, he gave the winds to blow;
And bad the congregated waters flow.
He adds the running springs, and standing lakes;
And bounding banks for winding rivers makes.
Some part, in Earth are swallow'd up, the most
In ample oceans, disembogu'd, are lost.
He shades the woods, the vallies he restrains
With rocky mountains, and extends the plains.
And as five zones th' aetherial regions bind,
Five, correspondent, are to Earth assign'd:
The sun with rays, directly darting down,
Fires all beneath, and fries the middle zone:
The two beneath the distant poles, complain
Of endless winter, and perpetual rain.
Betwixt th' extreams, two happier climates hold
The temper that partakes of hot, and cold.
The fields of liquid air, inclosing all,
Surround the compass of this earthly ball:
The lighter parts lye next the fires above;
The grosser near the watry surface move:
Thick clouds are spread, and storms engender there,
And thunder's voice, which wretched mortals fear,
And winds that on their wings cold winter bear.
Nor were those blustring brethren left at large,
On seas, and shores, their fury to discharge:
Bound as they are, and circumscrib'd in place,
They rend the world, resistless, where they pass;
And mighty marks of mischief leave behind;
Such is the rage of their tempestuous kind.
First Eurus to the rising morn is sent
(The regions of the balmy continent);
And Eastern realms, where early Persians run,
To greet the blest appearance of the sun.
Westward, the wanton Zephyr wings his flight;
Pleas'd with the remnants of departing light:
Fierce Boreas, with his off-spring, issues forth
T' invade the frozen waggon of the North.
While frowning Auster seeks the Southern sphere;
And rots, with endless rain, th' unwholsom year.

High o'er the clouds, and empty realms of wind,
The God a clearer space for Heav'n design'd;
Where fields of light, and liquid aether flow;
Purg'd from the pondrous dregs of Earth below.

Scarce had the Pow'r distinguish'd these, when streight
The stars, no longer overlaid with weight,
Exert their heads, from underneath the mass;
And upward shoot, and kindle as they pass,
And with diffusive light adorn their heav'nly place.
Then, every void of Nature to supply,
With forms of Gods he fills the vacant sky:
New herds of beasts he sends, the plains to share:
New colonies of birds, to people air:
And to their oozy beds, the finny fish repair.

A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man design'd:
Conscious of thought, of more capacious breast,

For empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest:
Whether with particles of heav'nly fire
The God of Nature did his soul inspire,
Or Earth, but new divided from the sky,
And, pliant, still retain'd th' aetherial energy:
Which wise Prometheus temper'd into paste,
And, mixt with living streams, the godlike image cast.

Thus, while the mute creation downward bend
Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,
Man looks aloft; and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary skies.
From such rude principles our form began;
And earth was metamorphos'd into Man.

The Golden Age

The golden age was first; when Man yet new,
No rule but uncorrupted reason knew:
And, with a native bent, did good pursue.
Unforc'd by punishment, un-aw'd by fear,
His words were simple, and his soul sincere;
Needless was written law, where none oppress:
The law of Man was written in his breast:
No suppliant crowds before the judge appear'd,
No court erected yet, nor cause was heard:
But all was safe, for conscience was their guard.
The mountain-trees in distant prospect please,
E're yet the pine descended to the seas:
E're sails were spread, new oceans to explore:
And happy mortals, unconcern'd for more,
Confin'd their wishes to their native shore.
No walls were yet; nor fence, nor mote, nor mound,
Nor drum was heard, nor trumpet's angry sound:
Nor swords were forg'd; but void of care and crime,
The soft creation slept away their time.
The teeming Earth, yet guiltless of the plough,
And unprovok'd, did fruitful stores allow:
Content with food, which Nature freely bred,
On wildings and on strawberries they fed;
Cornels and bramble-berries gave the rest,
And falling acorns furnish'd out a feast.
The flow'rs unsown, in fields and meadows reign'd:
And Western winds immortal spring maintain'd.
In following years, the bearded corn ensu'd
From Earth unask'd, nor was that Earth renew'd.
From veins of vallies, milk and nectar broke;
And honey sweating through the pores of oak.

The Silver Age

But when good Saturn, banish'd from above,
Was driv'n to Hell, the world was under Jove.
Succeeding times a silver age behold,
Excelling brass, but more excell'd by gold.
Then summer, autumn, winter did appear:
And spring was but a season of the year.
The sun his annual course obliquely made,
Good days contracted, and enlarg'd the bad.
Then air with sultry heats began to glow;
The wings of winds were clogg'd with ice and snow;
And shivering mortals, into houses driv'n,
Sought shelter from th' inclemency of Heav'n.
Those houses, then, were caves, or homely sheds;
With twining oziers fenc'd; and moss their beds.
Then ploughs, for seed, the fruitful furrows broke,
And oxen labour'd first beneath the yoke.

[Omitted: Bronze and Iron Ages. A race of giants then rebels against the gods, and Jupiter decides to wipe all life from the earth, at first by using fire. . . .]

Already had he toss'd the flaming brand;
And roll'd the thunder in his spacious hand;
Preparing to discharge on seas and land:
But stopt, for fear, thus violently driv'n,
The sparks should catch his axle-tree of Heav'n.
Remembring in the fates, a time when fire
Shou'd to the battlements of Heaven aspire,
And all his blazing worlds above shou'd burn;
And all th' inferior globe to cinders turn.
His dire artill'ry thus dismist, he bent
His thoughts to some securer punishment:
Concludes to pour a watry deluge down;
And what he durst not burn, resolves to drown.

The Flood

The northern breath, that freezes floods, he binds;
With all the race of cloud-dispelling winds:
The south he loos'd, who night and horror brings;
And foggs are shaken from his flaggy wings.
From his divided beard two streams he pours,
His head, and rheumy eyes distill in show'rs,
With rain his robe, and heavy mantle flow:
And lazy mists are lowring on his brow;
Still as he swept along, with his clench'd fist
He squeez'd the clouds, th' imprison'd clouds resist:
The skies, from pole to pole, with peals resound;
And show'rs inlarg'd, come pouring on the ground.
Then, clad in colours of a various dye,
Junonian Iris breeds a new supply
To feed the clouds: impetuous rain descends;
The bearded corn beneath the burden bends:
Defrauded clowns deplore their perish'd grain;
And the long labours of the year are vain.

Nor from his patrimonial Heaven alone
Is Jove content to pour his vengeance down;
Aid from his brother of the seas he craves,
To help him with auxiliary waves.
The watry tyrant calls his brooks and floods,
Who rowl from mossie caves (their moist abodes);
And with perpetual urns his palace fill:
To whom in brief, he thus imparts his will.

Small exhortation needs; your pow'rs employ:
And this bad world, so Jove requires, destroy.
Let loose the reins to all your watry store:
Bear down the damms, and open ev'ry door.

The floods, by Nature enemies to land,
And proudly swelling with their new command,
Remove the living stones, that stopt their way,
And gushing from their source, augment the sea.
Then, with his mace, their monarch struck the ground;
With inward trembling Earth receiv'd the wound;
And rising streams a ready passage found.
Th' expanded waters gather on the plain:
They float the fields, and over-top the grain;
Then rushing onwards, with a sweepy sway,
Bear flocks, and folds, and lab'ring hinds away.
Nor safe their dwellings were, for, sap'd by floods,
Their houses fell upon their houshold Gods.
The solid piles, too strongly built to fall,
High o'er their heads, behold a watry wall:
Now seas and Earth were in confusion lost;
A world of waters, and without a coast.

One climbs a cliff; one in his boat is born:
And ploughs above, where late he sow'd his corn.
Others o'er chimney-tops and turrets row,
And drop their anchors on the meads below:
Or downward driv'n, they bruise the tender vine,
Or tost aloft, are knock'd against a pine.
And where of late the kids had cropt the grass,
The monsters of the deep now take their place.
Insulting Nereids on the cities ride,
And wond'ring dolphins o'er the palace glide.
On leaves, and masts of mighty oaks they brouze;
And their broad fins entangle in the boughs.
The frighted wolf now swims amongst the sheep;
The yellow lion wanders in the deep:
His rapid force no longer helps the boar:
The stag swims faster, than he ran before.
The fowls, long beating on their wings in vain,
Despair of land, and drop into the main.
Now hills, and vales no more distinction know;
And levell'd Nature lies oppress'd below.
The most of mortals perish in the flood:
The small remainder dies for want of food.

A mountain of stupendous height there stands
Betwixt th' Athenian and Boeotian lands,
The bound of fruitful fields, while fields they were,
But then a field of waters did appear:
Parnassus is its name; whose forky rise
Mounts thro' the clouds, and mates the lofty skies.
High on the summit of this dubious cliff,
Deucalion wafting, moor'd his little skiff.
He with his wife were only left behind
Of perish'd Man; they two were human kind.
The mountain nymphs, and Themis they adore,
And from her oracles relief implore.
The most upright of mortal men was he;
The most sincere, and holy woman, she.

When Jupiter, surveying Earth from high,
Beheld it in a lake of water lie,
That where so many millions lately liv'd,
But two, the best of either sex, surviv'd;
He loos'd the northern wind; fierce Boreas flies
To puff away the clouds, and purge the skies:
Serenely, while he blows, the vapours driv'n,
Discover Heav'n to Earth, and Earth to Heav'n.
The billows fall, while Neptune lays his mace
On the rough sea, and smooths its furrow'd face.
Already Triton, at his call, appears
Above the waves; a Tyrian robe he wears;
And in his hand a crooked trumpet bears.
The soveraign bids him peaceful sounds inspire,
And give the waves the signal to retire.
His writhen shell he takes; whose narrow vent
Grows by degrees into a large extent,
Then gives it breath; the blast with doubling sound,
Runs the wide circuit of the world around:
The sun first heard it, in his early east,
And met the rattling ecchos in the west.
The waters, listning to the trumpet's roar,
Obey the summons, and forsake the shore.

A thin circumference of land appears;
And Earth, but not at once, her visage rears,
And peeps upon the seas from upper grounds;
The streams, but just contain'd within their bounds,
By slow degrees into their channels crawl;
And Earth increases, as the waters fall.
In longer time the tops of trees appear,
Which mud on their dishonour'd branches bear.

At length the world was all restor'd to view;
But desolate, and of a sickly hue:
Nature beheld her self, and stood aghast,
A dismal desart, and a silent waste.

Deucalion and Pyrrha

Which when Deucalion, with a piteous look
Beheld, he wept, and thus to Pyrrha spoke:
Oh wife, oh sister, oh of all thy kind
The best, and only creature left behind,
By kindred, love, and now by dangers joyn'd;
Of multitudes, who breath'd the common air,
We two remain; a species in a pair:
The rest the seas have swallow'd; nor have we
Ev'n of this wretched life a certainty.
The clouds are still above; and, while I speak,
A second deluge o'er our heads may break.

Shou'd I be snatcht from hence, and thou remain,
Without relief, or partner of thy pain,
How cou'dst thou such a wretched life sustain?
Shou'd I be left, and thou be lost, the sea
That bury'd her I lov'd, shou'd bury me.
Oh cou'd our father his old arts inspire,
And make me heir of his informing fire,
That so I might abolisht Man retrieve,
And perisht people in new souls might live.
But Heav'n is pleas'd, nor ought we to complain,
That we, th' examples of mankind, remain.
He said; the careful couple joyn their tears:
And then invoke the Gods, with pious prayers.
Thus, in devotion having eas'd their grief,
From sacred oracles they seek relief;
And to Cephysus' brook their way pursue:
The stream was troubled, but the ford they knew;
With living waters, in the fountain bred,
They sprinkle first their garments, and their head,
Then took the way, which to the temple led.
The roofs were all defil'd with moss, and mire,
The desart altars void of solemn fire.
Before the gradual, prostrate they ador'd;
The pavement kiss'd; and thus the saint implor'd.

O righteous Themis, if the Pow'rs above
By pray'rs are bent to pity, and to love;
If humane miseries can move their mind;
If yet they can forgive, and yet be kind;
Tell how we may restore, by second birth,
Mankind, and people desolated Earth.
Then thus the gracious Goddess, nodding, said;
Depart, and with your vestments veil your head:
And stooping lowly down, with losen'd zones,
Throw each behind your backs, your mighty mother's bones.
Amaz'd the pair, and mute with wonder stand,
'Till Pyrrha first refus'd the dire command.
Forbid it Heav'n, said she, that I shou'd tear
Those holy reliques from the sepulcher.
They ponder'd the mysterious words again,
For some new sense; and long they sought in vain:
At length Deucalion clear'd his cloudy brow,
And said, the dark Aenigma will allow
A meaning, which, if well I understand,
From sacrilege will free the God's command:
This Earth our mighty mother is, the stones
In her capacious body, are her bones:
These we must cast behind. With hope, and fear,
The woman did the new solution hear:
The man diffides in his own augury,
And doubts the Gods; yet both resolve to try.
Descending from the mount, they first unbind
Their vests, and veil'd, they cast the stones behind:
The stones (a miracle to mortal view,
But long tradition makes it pass for true)
Did first the rigour of their kind expel,
And suppled into softness, as they fell;
Then swell'd, and swelling, by degrees grew warm;
And took the rudiments of human form.
Imperfect shapes: in marble such are seen,
When the rude chizzel does the man begin;
While yet the roughness of the stone remains,
Without the rising muscles, and the veins.
The sappy parts, and next resembling juice,
Were turn'd to moisture, for the body's use:
Supplying humours, blood, and nourishment;
The rest, too solid to receive a bent,
Converts to bones; and what was once a vein,
Its former name and Nature did retain.
By help of pow'r divine, in little space,
What the man threw, assum'd a manly face;
And what the wife, renew'd the female race.
Hence we derive our nature; born to bear
Laborious life; and harden'd into care.

The rest of animals, from teeming Earth
Produc'd, in various forms receiv'd their birth.
The native moisture, in its close retreat,
Digested by the sun's aetherial heat,
As in a kindly womb, began to breed:
Then swell'd, and quicken'd by the vital seed.
And some in less, and some in longer space,
Were ripen'd into form, and took a sev'ral face.
Thus when the Nile from Pharian fields is fled,
And seeks, with ebbing tides, his ancient bed,
The fat manure with heav'nly fire is warm'd;
And crusted creatures, as in wombs, are form'd;
These, when they turn the glebe, the peasants find;
Some rude, and yet unfinish'd in their kind:
Short of their limbs, a lame imperfect birth:
One half alive; and one of lifeless earth.

For heat, and moisture, when in bodies join'd,
The temper that results from either kind
Conception makes; and fighting 'till they mix,
Their mingled atoms in each other fix.
Thus Nature's hand the genial bed prepares
With friendly discord, and with fruitful wars.

From hence the surface of the ground, with mud
And slime besmear'd (the faeces of the flood),
Receiv'd the rays of Heav'n: and sucking in
The seeds of heat, new creatures did begin:
Some were of sev'ral sorts produc'd before,
But of new monsters, Earth created more.
Unwillingly, but yet she brought to light
Thee, Python too, the wondring world to fright,
And the new nations, with so dire a sight:
So monstrous was his bulk, so large a space
Did his vast body, and long train embrace.
Whom Phoebus basking on a bank espy'd;

E're now the God his arrows had not try'd
But on the trembling deer, or mountain goat;
At this new quarry he prepares to shoot.
Though ev'ry shaft took place, he spent the store
Of his full quiver; and 'twas long before
Th' expiring serpent wallow'd in his gore.
Then, to preserve the fame of such a deed,
For Python slain, he Pythian games decred.
Where noble youths for mastership shou'd strive,
To quoit, to run, and steeds, and chariots drive.
The prize was fame: in witness of renown
An oaken garland did the victor crown.
The laurel was not yet for triumphs born;
But every green alike by Phoebus worn,
Did, with promiscuous grace, his flowing locks adorn.

Ovid: The Art of Love

Translated by J. Lewis May (1925)

From BOOK ONE

IF there be anyone among you who is ignorant of the art of loving, let him read this poem and, having read it and acquired the knowledge it contains, let him address himself to Love. [. . .]

Thus far my Muse, borne in her chariot with wheels of different height, has, told you, would-be lover, where to seek your prey, and how to lay your snares. Now I'll teach you how to captivate and hold the woman of your choice. This is the most important part of all my lessons. Lovers of every land, lend an attentive ear to my discourse; let goodwill warm your hearts, for I am going to fulfill the promises I made you.

First of all, be quite sure that there isn't a woman who cannot be won, and make up your mind that you will win her. Only you must prepare the ground. Sooner would the birds cease their song in the springtime, or the grasshopper be silent in the summer, or the hare turn and give chase to a hound of Mænalus, than a woman resist the tender wooing of a youthful lover. Perhaps you think she doesn't want to yield. You're wrong. She wants to. in her heart of hearts. Stolen love is just as sweet to women as it is to us. Man is a poor dissembler; woman is much more skilful in concealing her desire. If all the men agreed that they would never more make the first advance, the women would soon be fawning at our feet. Out in the springy meadow the heifer lows with longing for the bull; the mare neighs at the approach of the stallion. With men and women love is more restrained, and passion is less fierce. They keep within bounds. Need I mention Byblis, who burned for her brother with an incestuous flame, and hanged herself to expiate her crime? Or Myrrha, who loved her father, but not as a father should be loved, and now her shame is hidden by the bark of the tree that covered her. O sweetly scented tree, the tears which she distils, to us give perfume and recall the ill-fated maid's unhappy name.

One day in wood-crowned Ida's shady vale, a white bull went wandering by. The pride of all the herd was he. Between his horns was just a single spot of black; save for that mark, his body was as white as milk; and all the heifers of Gnossus and of Cydonia sighed for the joy of his caress. Pasiphaë conceived a passion for him and viewed with jealous eye the loveliest among the heifers. There's no gainsaying it, Crete with her hundred cities, Crete, liar though she be, cannot deny it. 'Tis said that Pasiphaë, with hands unused to undertake such toil, tore from the trees their tenderest shoots, culled from the meadows bunches of sweet grass and hastened to offer them to her beloved bull. Whithersoever he went, she followed him; nothing would stay her. She recked not of her spouse; the bull had conquered Minos. "What avails it, Pasiphaë, to deck yourself in costly raiment? How can your

lover of such riches judge? Wherefore, mirror in hand, dost thou follow the wandering herd up to the mountain top? Wherefore dost thou for ever range thy hair? Look in thy mirror: 'twill tell thee thou art no meet mistress for a bull. Ah, what wouldst thou not have given if Nature had but armed thy brow with horns! If Minos still doth hold a corner in thy heart, cease this adulterous love; or if thou must deceive thy spouse, at least deceive him with a man." She hearkens not, but, fleeing from his royal couch, she ranges ever on and on, through forest after forest, like to a Bacchante full of the spirit that unceasingly torments her. How often, looking with jealous anger on a heifer, did she exclaim) "How then can she find favor in his sight? See how she prances before him on the green. Fool, she doubtless deems that thus she is lovelier in his eyes." Then, at her command, the hapless beast is taken from the herd and sent to bow her head beneath the yoke; or else, pretending to offer sacrifice to the gods, she orders her to be slain; at the altar; and then with joy fingers o'er the entrails of her rival. How often, under the guise of one who offers sacrifice, hath she appeased the alleged displeasure of the gods, and waving the bleeding trophies in her hand exclaimed, "Go, get thee to my lover, please him now!" Now she would be Europa; now she would be lo; the one because she was a heifer, the other because a bull bore her on his back. Howbeit, deceived by the image of a cow of maple wood, the king of the herd performed with her the act of love, and by the offspring was the sire betrayed.

Had that other Cretan girl been able to forego her passion for Thyestes (but how hard it is for a woman to love one man alone), Phœbus would not have been compelled to stay his steeds in mid-career, and to have driven his chariot back again towards the Dawn. The daughter of Nisus, because she had stolen from the father's head the fatal lock of hair, is evermore beset by ravening dogs. The son of Atreus, though he escaped the perils of the battlefield and the ocean, died beneath the dagger of his cruel spouse. Who has listened to the love story of Creusa? Who has not hated the mad fury of Medea, a mother stained with her children's blood? Phœnix, the son of Amyntor, wept with his sightless orbs. You, ye steeds, in your terror, tore Hippolytus in pieces. Wherefore, Phineus, didst thou put out the eyes of thy innocent sons? Upon thine own head will that punishment return.

Such are the consequences of woman's unbridled passion. Fiercer it is than ours, with more of frenzy in it.

Be, then, of good cheer, and never doubt that you will conquer. Not one woman in a thousand will seriously resist. Whether a pretty woman grants or withholds her favors, she always likes to be asked for them. Even if you are repulsed, you don't run any danger. But why should a woman refuse? People don't resist the temptation of new delights. We always deem that other people are more fortunate than ourselves. The crop is always better in our neighbor's field; his cows more rich in milk.

Now the first thing you have to do is to get on good terms with the fair one's maid. She can make things easy for you. Find out whether she is fully in her mistress's confidence, and if she knows all about her secret dissipations. Leave no stone unturned to win her over. Once you have her on your side, the rest is easy. Let her watch for a favorable time (that's a precaution that doctors do not neglect); let her take advantage of the moment when her mistress may more easily be persuaded, when she is more likely to surrender to a lover's solicitations. At such times, the whole world seems *couleur de rose* to her; gaiety dances in her eyes as the golden wheat-ears dance in a fertile field. When the heart is glad, when it is not gripped by sorrow, it opens and expands. Then it is that Love slips gently into its inmost folds. So long as Ilion was plunged in mourning, her warriors kept the Greeks at bay; it was when she was rejoicing and making merry that she received within her walls the fatal horse with its armèd freight. Choose, too, the moment when your charmer is smarting from the insult of a rival; make her see in you a

means of wiping off the score. When, in the morning, she is doing her mistress's hair, let the maid foment her anger, let her press on with sail and oar and, sighing, murmur, "Why not, Madam, pay him out in his own coin?" Then let her talk of you; let her adroitly sing your praises and swear that you, poor fellow, are wildly in love with her. But don't lose any time, for fear the wind should drop and the sails hang limp. Fragile as ice, a woman's anger is a transient thing.

"What about the maid herself?" you ask. "Is it well to win her favors first?" Now that's a ticklish business. Sometimes it stimulates their zeal; sometimes the opposite's the case. One girl will do her utmost for her mistress, another will want to keep you for herself. The only thing is just to try, and see how it turns out. On the whole, my advice to you is "Don't." I shouldn't risk these steep and dangerous by-ways myself. If you keep with me, you'll be on the right road. If, however, you are taken with the servant's charms, if you find her as pretty as she's zealous, win the mistress first, and afterwards turn your attention to the maid; but don't begin with her. Only I warn you, if you have any faith in my teaching, if my words are not dispersed by the winds over the seas, don't make the attempt at all unless you carry it right through. Once she herself is well involved, she won't give you away. The bird, with its wings well limed, won't fly far; the boar can't escape from the nets; once a fish is on the hook, he can't get away. So my advice to you is, push your attack well home, and don't be in a hurry to withdraw your forces when the victory's won. Thus she'll be your companion in crime, and she'll never betray you; she'll tell you everything you want to know about her mistress. The great thing is to be careful. If you keep your goings-on with the maid quite dark, you'll hear about everything her mistress does.

Some people think that time and the seasons only concern farmers and seafaring men. They're wrong. Just as there's a time to sow, and a time to sail, so there's a time to begin on a pretty girl. Success often depends on your seizing the right moment to open the attack. Keep clear of her birthday, for example, and shun the Kalends of March. Don't begin when there's a big show on at the circus. That would prove the winter of your discontent, when the stormy winds would blow, and you'd do well to hold off. If you launch the ship then, you'll be lucky if you're washed ashore clinging to a spar. If you want a really good opportunity, wait for the anniversary of the fatal day when Roman blood incarnadined the waters of the Allia, or for that one day out of the seven on which the Syrian Jew will do no manner of work. Above all, don't go near her on her birthday; or indeed on any day when you're expected to give a present. However much you try to wriggle out of it, she'll make you buy her something. A woman always knows how to exploit an ardent lover. Some peddler fellow will be sure to turn up, and since buying's a mania with them all, she'll be sure to find the very things she wants. She'll ask you to look at 'em; then she'll kiss you, and say, "Oh, do buy me that. It'll last for years; it's just the very thing I want, and you couldn't buy me anything I should like more." It's no good saying you haven't got the money on you; she'll ask you to draw a check, and then you'll curse the day you learned to write. And how many times you'll have to give her something for her birthday! Every time she wants anything very special, she'll have a birthday. And then she'll come grieving some pretended loss; she'll come to you with eyes all red with weeping and tell you she's lost one of her precious ear-rings. That's the little game they play. Then they'll keep on asking you to lend them money; and once they've got it, I wouldn't give much for your chances of getting it back. You can look on that as gone, and they won't give you so much as a "thank you." Why, if I'd got ten mouths and ten tongues, I couldn't tell you all the tricks our ladies of the demi-monde get up to.

In the first place, it's best to send her a letter, just to pave the way. In it you should tell her how you dote on her; pay her pretty compliments and say all the nice things lovers always say. Achilles gave way to Priam's

supplications. Even the gods are moved by the voice of entreaty. And promise, promise, promise. Promises will cost you nothing. Everyone's a millionaire where promises are concerned. Hope, if only she is duly fostered, holds out a long time. She's a deceitful goddess, but a very useful one. If you give your mistress something, she may give you your *congé*. She will have had her quid pro quo. Always make her think you're just about to give, but never really do so. Thus your farmer will keep on manuring a barren field, hoping it will produce a crop some day. Your gambler will keep throwing good money after bad, in hopes of redeeming all his losses; and thus his greed falls a victim to his hope of gain. The really great problem, the problem that takes all a man's skill to solve, is to win a woman's favors without making her a present. If you succeed in that, she will go on giving, so as not to lose the guerdon of the favors she has already bestowed. So send off your letter and couch it in the sweetest terms; it should be a sort of preliminary reconnaissance and pave the way to her heart. A few characters written on an apple led the young Cydippe astray and, when she had read them, the rash girl found she was ensnared by her own words.

Take my advice, my youthful fellow-citizens, and study the fine arts, not only that you may champion the cause of some trembling dependent. The common herd, the austere judge, and those superior people, the senators, are not the only people who are moved by eloquence. But don't show your hand, and don't be in too much of a hurry to display your powers of speech. And don't put on the professorial style. Who but an idiot would write to his mistress as though he were addressing a meeting. A show-off letter will often turn a woman against you. Be quite natural, quite simple, but engaging. In a word, say just what you would say if you were speaking to her. If she refuses your letter and sends it back unread, don't give up; hope for the best and try again. The unruly bull bows to the yoke in time, and, in time, the most obstreperous colt gets broken in. You can wear through an iron ring by continuous friction; the ploughshare wears away every day against the soil it cleaves. What could you have harder than a rock, or less hard than water? Nevertheless, water will wear away the hardest rock. So keep pegging away, and, given time, you'll get your way with Penelope herself. Troy held out a long time, but it fell at last. Suppose she reads your letter but doesn't answer. So be it. Only keep her busy reading. Since she has condescended to read, she'll answer some fine day. Everything comes gradually and at its appointed hour. Peradventure she'll write in a huff and tell you to cease annoying her. If she does, she's trembling lest you take her at her word. She wants you to go on, although she tells you not to. So go on, and soon you'll have your heart's desire.

Martial: Epigrams

Translated by J.A. Pott except where otherwise noted

From BOOK ONE

I (Two Versions)

PREFACE

SEE, at your service, if you list,
Martial the epigrammatist;
To whom, kind reader, here below,
While he the joys of fame could know,
Such meed of glory you have given
As poets seldom reap in heaven.

Trans. F.A. Wright

He unto whom thou art so partial,
O reader, is the well-known Martial,
The Epigrammatist: while living,
Give him the fame thou wouldst be giving
So shall he hear, and feel, and know it:
Post-obits rarely reach a poet.

Trans. Byron

XXXII (Latin & Two Versions)

NON AMO TE

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

I love not you, Sabidius.
Just why, I can't explain, it's true.
But this, it seems, I can express:
Without a doubt, I don't love you!

Trans. D. Mesher

I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this I know and know full well
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.

Tom Brown, on Dr. John Fell (c. 1670)

XXXIV

TO LESBIA

You never guard or close the doors
  To hide your pranks from observation,
And for those stolen joys of yours
  Your confidant is all the nation.
Nay, those who see your wantonness
  Delight you more than those who share it,
No pleasure pleases you unless
  To all the world you can declare it.
From brazen ways pray, Lesbia, turn
  And let the demi-mondaines teach you,
A show of virtue, I beseech you.
You think my censure harsh? Not so,
  For if you follow my direction
I would not ask you to forgo
  Your lovers, but to shun detection.

XLVI

FESTINA LENTE

When you say—"Quick: let's get it over"—
I feel myself a languid lover.
It's only when you bid me wait
That I dash from the starting-gate.
If you are in such haste to go
You'd better tell me to be slow.

From BOOK TWO

XXXVIII

TO LINUS

You ask me how my farm can pay,
Since little it will bear;
It pays me thus.—'Tis far away
And you are never there.

LVII

THE DANDY

Just watch the fellow yonder stroll along!
The costliest of clothes he loves to wear,
And after him there comes a motley throng
  Of clients spruce and slaves with curly hair.
His chair is gay and decked with curtains fair;
  Say you the smartest dandy in the town?
Just now to buy a meal of plainest fare
  He pawned his only ring for half-a-crown.

LXXXII

TO PONTICUS

Why maim your slave by cutting out
  The wretch's tongue, you brute,
When all the city talks about
  Your crimes—though he is mute?

LXXXIII

TO A JEALOUS HUSBAND

You have robbed the young gallant of nostrils
    and ears,
  And his face now of both is bereft.
But your vengeance remains incomplete it
    appears;
  He has still got another part left.

Trans. F.A. Wright

From BOOK THREE

LXXXV

TO A JEALOUS HUSBAND

What ailed you to cut off the young gallant's
nose,
And leave all unscathed the prime source of
your woes.

Trans. F.A. Wright

LXXXVI

TO A MATRON

These pages were not meant for you
That was distinctly understood,
Yet you are reading them—I knew
You would.

Dear prude, through many plays you've sat.
Read on, nor fear my coarsest verse;
The scenes you often chuckle at
Are worse.

LXXXVI I

TO CHIONE

They tell me, dear lady, you've always lived
chaste
And your limbs by a lover have ne'er been
embraced.
Yet for them at the baths a close cover's
supplied:
It's your face, in my judgment, you rather should
hide.

Trans. F.A. Wright

From BOOK FOUR

IV

TO BASSA

Stench from the pools of marshes newly
drained,
Vapors from springs that bubble sulfur-stained,
Reek of a fish-pond old and salt and black,
Of he-goat straining on his partner's back,
Of soldiers' boots, when they have been long
worn,
Of Jews who take no food on Sabbath morn,
Of fleeces dipped too much in purple dye,
Of criminals as loud they sob and sigh;
Leda's foul lamp whose fumes the ceiling soil,
Ointment that's made from lees of Sabine oil,
A fox in flight, a viper in her lair,
All these compared with you are perfumes rare.

Trans. F.A. Wright

From BOOK SEVEN

LXI

THE OPEN-AIR MARKET

Bold hucksters had seized on the roads all about,
The contents of each shop you would see inside
out,
Till the Emperor told them to beat a retreat,
And what was an alley made once more a street.
No cups chained to pillars to-day are allowed,
No barbers ply razors unseen in the crowd,
No longer through mud do our magistrates stray,
No longer do cookshops spread out o'er the way
Within doors butcher, barber, cook, vintner remain:
Rome was one big bazaar; she's herself now again,

Trans. F.A. Wright

From BOOK EIGHT

LXXVI

TO GALLICUS

'Pray tell me plainly what you think of it,'
You always say, 'I love a frank report.'
Thus when you read the products of your wit,
Thus when you plead a client's case in court,
You pester me a verdict to extort,
And since a flat refusal seems uncouth
Here is the truth you ask for, plain and short—
That truth is that you do not want the truth.

LXXIX

THE CONTRAST

Your lady friends are ill to see,
All old or ugly as can be,
And in their company you go
To banquet, play, and portico;
This hideous background you prepare
To seem, by contrast, young and fair.

From BOOK TEN

XLVII

THE HAPPY LIFE

The things that make a happy life,
My genial friend, are these:
A quiet dwelling free from strife,
Health, strength, a mind at ease;
Money bequeathed, not hardly won,
A blazing fire when work is done.

Ingenuous prudence, equal friends,
Bright talk and simple fare,
A farm that crops ungrudging lends,
Soberness free from care,
A wife who's chaste yet fond of sport,
And sleep that makes the night seem short.

Trans. F.A. Wright

C

ON A PLAGIARIST

To mix with yours my verse you steal,
The knavish trick is far from deft;
The easy contrast will reveal
The theft.

Think you a lion's lordly roar
Resembles the hyena's howl,
Or would you with the eagle soar,
Poor owl?

Had you one wooden leg, and one
Endowed with Ladas' might of limb
Do you suppose that you could run
Like him?

From BOOK ELEVEN

XXXIX

TO HIS OLD TUTOR

You rocked my cradle, were my boyhood's guide,
And faithful comrade ever at my side;
And now my beard makes black the shaving-cloth
And these my bristles rouse my lady's wrath,
You think me still the child you used to chide,
My bailiff trembles, pale and terrified,
My roof, too, quakes when your reproof goes forth,
I'm only free to do what you decide.

So if I game or flirt, you mourn your woes;
I use some scent, you scarce refrain from blows,
For that my father never used to do;
So if I wear a cloak of Tyrian hue
Or drink a draught of wine, one might suppose
You had to pay. Bring grumbling to a close,
I hate a freedman who's a Cato too.
Am I a man you ask? My lady knows.

LXXXII

THE WINE-BIBBER

A guest, going home to his lodging at night,
Had near Sinuessa an unpleasant fright,
For hurrying down a long stairway he fell,
And all but joined hapless Elpenor in hell.
He would never have fallen, ye Nymphs of the shrine,
If he'd kept to your water and kept off the wine.

Trans. F.A. Wright

Vatsyayana: Kama Sutra

Translated by Richard Burton

From BOOK ONE
Chapter Five:
About the Kinds of Women Resorted to by the Citizens, and of Friends and Messengers

WHEN Kama is practiced by men of the four castes according to the rules of the Holy Writ (i.e. by lawful marriage) with virgins of their own caste, it then becomes a means of acquiring lawful progeny and good fame, and it is not also opposed to the customs of the world. On the contrary the practice of Kama with women of the higher castes, and with those previously enjoyed by others, even though they be of the same caste, is prohibited. But the practice of Kama with women of the lower castes, with women excommunicated from their own caste, with public women, and with women twice married, is neither enjoined nor prohibited. The object of practicing Kama with such women is pleasure only.

Nayikas, therefore, are of three kinds, viz. maids, women twice married, and public women. Gonikaputra has expressed an opinion that there is a fourth kind of Nayika, viz. a woman who is resorted to on some special occasion even though she be previously married to another. These special occasions are when a man thinks thus:

> This woman is self-willed, and has been previously enjoyed by many others besides myself. I may, therefore, safely resort to her as to a public woman though she belongs to a higher caste than mine, and, in so doing, I shall not be violating the ordinances of Dharma.

Or thus:

> This is a twice-married woman and has been enjoyed by others before me; there is, therefore, no objection to my resorting to her.

Or thus:

> This woman has gained the heart of her great and powerful husband, and exercises a mastery over him, who is a friend of my enemy; if, therefore, she becomes united with me she will cause her husband to abandon my enemy.

Or thus:

> This woman will turn the mind of her husband, who is very powerful, in my favor, he being at present disaffected towards me, and intent on doing me some harm.

Or thus:

> By making this woman my friend I shall gain the object of some friend of mine, or shall be able to effect the ruin of some enemy, or shall accomplish some other difficult purpose.

Or thus:

> By being united with this woman, I shall kill her husband, and so obtain his vast riches which I covet.

Or thus:

> The union of this woman with me is not attended with any danger, and will bring me wealth, of which, on account of my poverty and inability to support myself, I am very much in need. I shall

therefore obtain her vast riches in this way without any difficulty.

Or thus:

This woman loves me ardently, and knows all my weak points; if therefore, I am unwilling to be united with her, she will make my faults public, and thus tarnish my character and reputation. Or she will bring some gross accusation against me, of which it may be hard to clear myself, and I shall be ruined. Or perhaps she will detach from me her husband who is powerful, and yet under her control, and will unite him to my enemy, or will herself join the latter.

Or thus:

The husband of this woman has violated the chastity of my wives, I shall therefore return that injury by seducing his wives.

Or thus:

By the help of this woman I shall kill an enemy of the king, who has taken shelter with her, and whom I am ordered by the king to destroy.

Or thus:

The woman whom I love is under the control of this woman. I shall, through the influence of the latter, be able to get at the former.

Or thus:

This woman will bring to me a maid, who possesses wealth and beauty, but who is hard to get at, and under the control of another.

Or lastly thus:

My enemy is a friend of this woman's husband, I shall therefore cause her to join him, and will thus create an enmity between her husband and him.

For these and similar other reasons the wives of other men may be resorted to, but it must be distinctly understood that is only allowed for special reasons, and not for mere carnal desire.

Charayana thinks that under these circumstances there is also a fifth kind of Nayika, viz. a woman who is kept by a minister, or who repairs to him occasionally; or a widow who accomplishes the purpose of a man with the person to whom she resorts.

Suvarnanabha adds that a woman who passes the life of an ascetic and in the condition of a widow may be considered as a sixth kind of Nayika.

Ghotakamukha says that the daughter of a public woman, and a female servant, who are still virgins, form a seventh kind of Nayika.

Gonardiya puts forth his doctrine that any woman born of good family, after she has come of age, is an eighth kind of Nayika.

But these four latter kinds of Nayikas do not differ much from the first four kinds of them, as there is no separate object in resorting to them. Therefore, Vatsyayana is of opinion that there are only four kinds of Nayikas, i.e. the maid, the twice-married woman, the public woman, and the woman resorted to for a special purpose.

The following women are not to be enjoyed:

- A leper
- A lunatic
- A woman turned out of caste
- A woman who reveals secrets
- A woman who publicly expresses desire for sexual intercourse
- A woman who is extremely white
- A woman who is extremely black

- A bad-smelling woman
- A woman who is a near relation
- A woman who is a female friend
- A woman who leads the life of an ascetic
- And, lastly the wife of a relation, of a friend, of a learned Brahman, and of the king

The followers of Babhravya say that any woman who has been enjoyed by five men is a fit and proper person to be enjoyed. But Gonikaputra is of opinion that even when this is the case, the wives of a relation, of a learned Brahman and of a king should be excepted.

The following are of the kind of friends:

- One who has played with you in the dust, i.e. in childhood
- One who is bound by an obligation
- One who is of the same disposition and fond of the same things
- One who is a fellow student
- One who is acquainted with your secrets and faults, and whose faults and secrets are also known to you
- One who is a child of your nurse
- One who is brought up with you one who is an hereditary friend

These friends should possess the following qualities:

- They should tell the truth
- They should not be changed by time
- They should be favorable to your designs
- They should be firm
- They should be free from covetousness
- They should not be capable of being gained over by others
- They should not reveal your secrets

Charayana says that citizens form friendship with washermen, barbers, cowherds, florists, druggists, betel-leaf sellers, tavern keepers, beggars, Pithamardas, Vitas and Vidushekas, as also with the wives of all these people.

A messenger should possess the following qualities:

- Skillfulness
- Boldness
- Knowledge of the intention of men by their outward signs
- Absence of confusion, i.e. no shyness
- Knowledge of the exact meaning of what others do or say
- Good manners
- Knowledge of appropriate times and places for doing different things
- Ingenuity in business
- Quick comprehension
- Quick application of remedies, i.e. quick and ready resources

And this part ends with a verse:

> "The man who is ingenious and wise, who is accompanied by a friend, and who knows the intentions of others, as also the proper time and place for doing everything, can gain over, very easily, even a woman who is very hard to be obtained."

Hum 1A Reader Fall 2016 Table of Contents